

The History of Freemasonry



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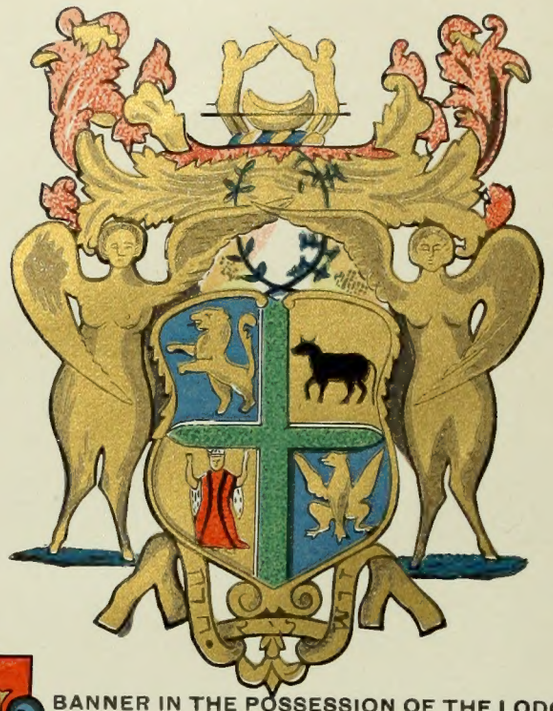


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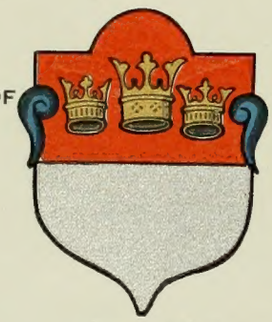
PAINTED PANEL IN THE POSSESSION OF W. HY. RYLANDS, *circa 1680.*



BANNER IN THE POSSESSION OF THE LODGE OF YORK, *circa 1776.*



STONE MASONS OF STRASBURG, *from seal circa 1725*



Arms of the CITY OF COLOGNE.



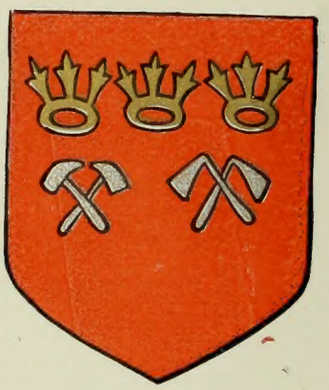
STONE MASONS OF NURENBURG, *from seal circa 1725.*



The arms borne by GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND, *circa 1725.*



BRICKLAYERS AND TILERS, *from Gateshead charter 1671.*



MASONS OF COLOGNE, *from seal 1396 (colours restored).*

ARMS OF FREEMASONS, STONEMASONS, BRICKLAYERS, Etc.

Copied from the Originals and Highest Authorities.

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THE HISTORY

OF

FREEMASONRY

ITS

Antiquities, Symbols, Constitutions, Customs,

ETC.

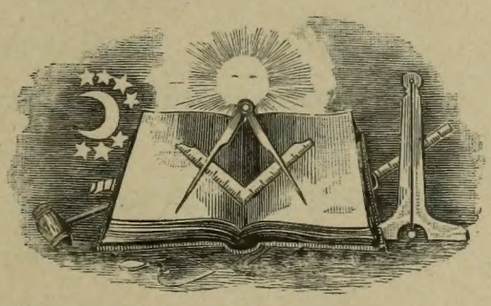
Derived from Official Sources throughout the World.

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AND OTHERS.

VOLUME III.



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THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF FREEMASONRY.

CHAPTER XVI.

LODGE MINUTES—ALNWICK—SWALWELL—YORK—THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION—MASONRY IN NORTH AND SOUTH BRITAIN.

IT is certain that the same degree of confidence which is due to an historian who narrates events in which he was personally concerned, cannot be claimed by one who compiles the history of remote times from such materials as he is able to collect. In the former case, if the writer's veracity and competency are above suspicion, there remains no room for reasonable doubt, at least in reference to those principal facts of the story, for the truth of which his character is pledged. Whilst in the latter case, though the veracity of the writer, as well as his judgment, may be open to no censure, still the confidence afforded must necessarily be conditional, and will be measured by the opinion which is formed of the validity of his authorities.[1]

Hence, it has been laid down that since a modern author, who writes the history of ancient times, can have no personal knowledge of the events of which he writes; consequently he can have no title to the credit and confidence of the public, merely on his own authority. If he does not write romance instead of history, he must have received his information from tradition—from authentic monuments, original records, or the memoirs of more ancient writers—and therefore it is but just to acquaint his readers from whence he *actually* received it.[2]

In regard, however, to the character and probable value of their authorities, each historian, and, indeed, almost every separate portion of the words of each, must be estimated apart, and a failure to observe this precaution, will expose the reader, who, in his simplicity, peruses a Masonic work throughout with an equal faith, to the imminent risk "of having his indiscriminate confidence suddenly converted into undistinguishing scepticism, by discovering the slight authority upon which some few portions of it are founded."[3] But it unfortunately happens that the evidence on questions of antiquity possesses few attractions for ordinary readers, so that on this subject, as well as upon some others, there often exists at the same time too much faith and too little. "From a want of acquaintance with the details on which a rational conviction of the genuineness and validity of ancient records may be founded, many persons, even though otherwise well informed, feel that

[1] See Isaac Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, 1827, p. 116; and Lewis, Inquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History, vol. i., p. 272.

[2] Dr. R. Henry, History of Great Britain.

[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

they have hardly an alternative between a simple acceptance of the entire mass of ancient history, or an equally indiscriminate suspicion of the whole. And when it happens that a particular fact is questioned, or the genuineness of some ancient book is argued, such persons, conscious that they are little familiar with the particulars of which the evidence on these subjects consists, and perceiving that the controversy involves a multiplicity of recondite and uninteresting researches; or that it turns upon the validity of minute criticisms, either recoil altogether from the argument or accept an opinion without inquiry, from that party on whose judgment they think they may most safely rely."[1]

It thus follows, as a general rule, that such controversies are left entirely in the hands of critics and antiquaries, whose peculiar tastes and acquirements qualify them for investigations which are utterly uninteresting to the mass of readers.[2] Comparing small things with greater ones, this usage, which has penetrated into Masonry, is productive of great inconvenience, and by narrowing the base of Masonic research, tends to render the early history of the craft naught but "the traditions of experts, to be taken by the outside world on faith."

The few students of our antiquities address themselves, not so much to the craft at large, as to each other. They are sure of a select and appreciative audience, and they make no real effort to popularize truths not yet patent to the world, and which are at once foreign to the intellectual habits and tastes of ordinary persons, and very far removed from the mental range of a not inconsiderable section of our fraternity.

In the preceding remarks, I must, however, be more especially understood, as having in my mind the Freemasons of these islands, for whilst, as a rule—to which, however, there are several brilliant exceptions—the research of Masonic writers of Germany and America has not kept pace with that of historians in the mother country of Freemasonry, it must be freely conceded, that both in the United States and among German-speaking people, there exists a familiarity with the history and principles of the craft—that is to say, up to a certain point—for which a parallel will be vainly sought in Britain.

These introductory observations, I am aware, may be deemed of a somewhat desultory character, but a few words have yet to be said, before resuming and concluding the section of this history which brings us to a point where surmise and conjecture, so largely incidental to the mythico-historical period of our annals, will be tempered, if not altogether superseded, by the evidence derivable from accredited documents and the archives of Grand Lodges. The passage which I shall next quote will serve as the text for a short digression.

"However much," says a high authority, "of falsification and of error there may be in the world, there is yet so great a predominance of truth, that he who believes indiscriminately will be in the right a thousand times to one oftener than he who doubts indiscriminately."[3]

Now, without questioning the literal accuracy of this general proposition, the sense in which its *application* is sometimes understood, must be respectfully demurred to.

If, indeed, no choice is allowed to exist between blindly accepting the fables that have descended to us, or commencing a new history of Masonry on a blank page, the progress of honest scepticism may well be arrested, and the fabulists be left in possession of the field.

But is there no middle course? Let us hear Lord Bacon:—

[1] Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, 1827, pp. 1, 2.

[2] See Chap. I., p. 3, note 4.

[3] Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

"Although the position be good, *oportet discentem credere* [a man who is learning must be content to believe what he is told], yet it must be coupled with this, *oportet edoctum judiciare* [when he has learned it, he must exercise his judgment and see whether it be worthy of belief], for disciples do owe unto masters only a temporary belief and a suspension of their own judgment until they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation or perpetual captivity."[1]

"Those who have read of everything," says Locke, "are thought to understand everything too; but it is not always so. Reading furnishes the mind only with materials of knowledge; *it is thinking makes what we read ours.* We are of the ruminating kind, and it is not enough to cram ourselves with a great load of collections; *unless we chew them over again,* they will not give us strength and nourishment. The memory may be stored, but the judgment is little better, and the stock of knowledge not increased, by being able to repeat what others have said, or produce the arguments we have found in them."[2]

It unfortunately happens, that those who are firmly convinced of the accuracy of their opinions, will never take the pains of examining the basis on which they are built. They who do not feel the darkness will never look for the light."[3] "If in any point we have attained to certainty," says a profound thinker of our own time, who has gone to his rest, "we make no further inquiry on that point, because inquiry would be useless, or perhaps dangerous. *The doubt must intervene before the investigation can begin.* Here then," he continues, "we have the act of doubting as the originator, or, at all events, the necessary antecedent of all progress. Here we have that scepticism, the very name of which is an abomination to the ignorant, because it disturbs their lazy and complacent minds; *because it troubles their cherished superstitions;* because it imposes on them the fatigue of inquiry; and because it rouses even sluggish understandings to ask if things are as they are commonly supposed, and if all is really true which they, from their childhood, have been taught to believe."[4]

"Evidence," says Locke, "is that by which alone every man is (and should be) taught to regulate his assent, who is then and then only in the right way when he follows it."[5]

But there exists a class of men whose understandings are, so to speak, cast into a mould, and fashioned just to the size of a received hypothesis. They are not affected by proofs, which might convince them that events have not happened quite in the same manner that they have decreed within themselves that they have. To such persons, indeed, may be commended the fine observation of Fontenelle, that the number of those who believe in a system already established in the world does not, in the least, add to its credibility, but that the number of those who doubt it has a tendency to diminish it.[6]

To the want of reverence for antiquity—or, in other words, tradition—with which I have been freely charged,[7] I shall reply in a few words. "Until it is recognized," says one

[1] Bacon, Works (Advancement of Learning), edit. Spedding, 1857, vol. iii., p. 290.

[2] Conduct of the Understanding, § 20 (Locke's Works, edit. 1828, vol. iii., p. 241).

[3] Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, edit. 1868, vol. i., p. 335.

[4] *Ibid.* Locke observes, "There is nothing more ordinary than children receiving into their minds propositions from their parents, nurses, or those about them, which, being fastened by degrees, are at last (equally whether true or false) riveted there by long custom and education, beyond all possibility of being pulled out again" (Essay on the Human Understanding, chap. xx , § 9).

[5] Conduct of the Understanding, § 34

[6] Cited approvingly by Dugald Stewart in his "Philosophy of the Mind," vol. ii., p. 357.

[7] The Rev. A. F. A. Woodford in the *Freemason, passim.*

of the greatest masters of historical criticism, "that the same strict rules of evidence are applicable to historical composition, which are employed in courts of justice, and in the practical business of life, history must remain open to the well-grounded suspicions under which it often labors, and will, by many, be treated with that despairing scepticism, which is one of the great obstacles to the advancement of knowledge. The historian will do well to remember the old legal adage, '*Mendax in uno, præsumitur mendax in alio,*'[1] and if, in putting together his materials, he makes additions from his imagination, he incurs the danger of being met—by persons who adopt Sir R. Walpole's canon of judgment—with general disbelief."[2]

Those of us, indeed, whose mission it is (in the opinion of our critics) only to *destroy*[3] may derive consolation from some remarks of Buckle, which occur in his encomium upon Descartes. Of the pioneer of Modern Philosophy, he says—"He deserves the gratitude of posterity, not so much on account of what he built up, *as on account of what he pulled down.* His life was one great and successful warfare against the prejudices and traditions of men. .·. .·. To prefer, therefore, even the most successful discoverers of physical laws to this great innovator and disturber of tradition, is just as if we should prefer knowledge to freedom, and believe that science is better than liberty. We must, indeed, always be grateful to these eminent thinkers, to whose labors we are indebted for that vast body of physical truths which we now possess. But let us reserve the full measure of our homage for those far greater men, who have not hesitated to attack and destroy the most inveterate prejudices—men who, *by removing the pressure of tradition,* have purified the very source and fountain of our knowledge, and secured its future progress, by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible."[4]

Until quite recently—and it must be frankly confessed that the practice is not yet extinct—the historians of the craft have treated their subject in a free and discretionary style, by interpolations, not derived from extrinsic evidence, but framed according to their own notions of internal probability.[5] They have supplied from conjecture what they think

[1] "Testimonium testis, quando in unâ parte falsum, præsumitur esse et in ceteris partibus falsum" (Menochius, de Præsumptionibus, lib. v., præf. 22).

[2] Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, vol. i., p. 246. The same writer observes: "It is of paramount importance that truth, and not error, should be accredited; that men, when they are led, should be led by safe guides; and that they should thus profit by those processes of reasoning and investigation which have been carried on in accordance with logical rules, but which they are not able to verify for themselves" (On the Influence of Authority in matters of Opinion, p. 9).

[3] As the term "iconoclast" has been frequently applied to me by my friend, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who, moreover, suggests that my historical studies evince a policy of "dynamite," the attention of my reverend critic is especially invited to the following observations of Dr. Arnold: "To tax any one with want of reverence, because he pays no respect to what we venerate, is either irrelevant, or is a mere confusion. The fact, so far as it is true, is no reproach, but an honor; because to reverence all persons and all things is absolutely wrong. .·. .·. If it be meant that he is wanting in proper reverence, not respecting what is really to be respected, that is assuming the whole question at issue, because what we call divine, he calls an idol; and as, supposing we are in the right, we are bound to fall down and worship, so, supposing him to be in the right, he is no less bound to pull it to the ground and destroy it" (Lectures on Modern History).

[4] History of Civilisation in England, vol. ii., p. 83. As Turgot finely says: "Ce n'est pas l'erreur qui s'oppose aux progrès de la vérité. Ce sont la mollesse, l'entêtement, l'esprit de routine, tout ce qui porte à l'inaction" (Pensées, Œuvres de Turgot, vol. ii., p. 343).

[5] See Chap. XII., p. 125.

might have been the contents of the record, if any record of the fact were extant, in the same manner that an antiquary attempts to restore an inscription which is part defaced or obliterated.[1]

"If, indeed," as it has been well observed, "the results of historians lead to an immediate practical result; if the conclusion of the writer deprived a man of his life, liberty, or goods, the necessity of guiding his discretion by rules, such as those followed in courts of justice, would long ago have been recognized."[2]

It is, moreover, but imperfectly grasped by Masonic writers, that as a country advances, the influence of tradition diminishes, and traditions themselves become less trustworthy.[3] Where there is no written record, tradition alone must be received, and there alone it has a chance of being accurate. But where events have been recorded in books, tradition soon becomes a faint and erroneous echo of their pages;[4] and the Freemasons, like the Scottish Highlanders, are apt to take their ancient traditions from very modern books, as the readers of this work,[5] in the one instance, and those of Burton's "History of Scotland"[6] in the other, can readily testify. Yet if an attempt is made to trace such traditions *retrogressively* up to the age to which they are usually attributed, we are presented with no *evidence*, but are merely given the *alleged facts*, a mode of elucidating ancient history, not unlike that pursued by Dr. Hickes, who, in order to explain the Northern Antiquities, always went farther north—a method of procedure which might serve to illustrate, but could never explain, and has been compared to going down the stream to seek the fountain-head, or in tracing the progress of learning, to begin with the Goths.[7]

Although it is impossible to speak positively to a negative proposition, nevertheless the writer who questions the accuracy of his predecessors can hardly, by reason of his scepticism, be considered bound to *demonstrate* what they have failed to *prove*.[8] It has been

[1] *Cf.* Lewis, On the Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics, pp. 247, 248, 291.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197. The author of the "Memoir of Sebastian Cabot" (bk. i., chap. i.), thus comments on a hearsay statement respecting the discoveries of that navigator: "It is obvious that, if the present were an inquiry in a court of justice, the evidence which limits Cabot to 56° would be at once rejected as incompetent. The alleged communication from him is exposed in its transmission, not only to all the chances of misconception on the part of the Pope's Legate, but admitting that personage to have truly understood, accurately remembered, and faithfully reported what he heard, we are again exposed to a similar series of errors on the part of our informant, who furnished it to us at second-hand. *But the dead have not the benefit of the rules of evidence.*" The preceding extract will merit the attention of those persons who attach any historical weight to the newspaper evidence of 1723, which makes Wren a Freemason, or to the hearsay statement of John Aubrey.

[3] "Although," says Buckle, "without letters, there can be no knowledge of much importance, it is nevertheless true that their introduction is injurious to historical traditions in two distinct ways: first by weakening the traditions, and secondly by weakening the class of men whose occupation it is to preserve them" (History of Civilisation, vol. i., p. 297).

[4] J. H. Burton, History of Scotland from 1689 to 1748, vol. i., p. 135. [5] See Chap. XII., *passim.*

[6] A parallel might be drawn between the influence upon the popular imagination of such works of fancy as Scott's "Lady of the Lake" and Preston's "Illustrations of Masonry." In his notice of the Highland Costume, Burton observes: "Here, unfortunately, we stumble on the rankest corner of what may be termed *the classic soil of fabrication and fable.* The assertions are abundant unto affluence; the facts few and meagre" (History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 374).

[7] Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv., p. 457.

[8] This is precisely and exactly what my reviewers (in the Masonic press) seem to require of me, and I respectfully commend to their notice the following remarks on the intolerance of the "Cameronians," as being capable of a far wider application: "The ruling principle among these men was

well observed—"To every intelligent mind it is clear, that assertion without proof can no more be received to invalidate history, than to confirm and support it; and when objections founded on facts are advanced, it will then be for consideration whether they apply, and to what extent. But till assertion is converted into proof, and that proof found to destroy the authenticity of the instances produced, those instances must, by every rule of good sense and right reason, and infallibly will, be regarded as adequate evidence by every competent judge."[1]

Taylor rightly lays down that, "when historical facts, which in their nature are fairly open to direct proof, are called in question, there is no species of trifling more irksome (to those who have no dishonest ends to serve) that the halting upon twenty indirect arguments, while the *centre proof*—that which clear and upright minds fasten upon intuitively—remains undisposed of."[2] Now, it must be freely conceded, that however strongly the balance of probability may appear to incline *against* the *reception* of Sir Christopher Wren, at any time of his life, into the Masonic fraternity, the question after all must remain an open one, as even his dying declaration to the contrary, were such extant, might be held insufficient to clearly establish this negative proposition.[3] Though *until* "*assertion is converted into proof*, and that proof found to destroy the authenticity of the objections" raised by me to the current belief, I shall rest content that the latter "must, by every rule of good sense and right reason, and infallibly will, be regarded as adequate evidence by every competent judge."

Among these objections, however, is one, which no lapse of time can remove, and it is the contention that Wren could not have held in the seventeenth century a title which did not then exist. This point I shall not re-argue, but may be permitted to allude to, as by "the removal of the pressure of tradition"[4] in this instance, it is confidently hoped that

the simplest and the broadest of all human principles—that which has more or less guided mankind in all ages and all conditions of society—in despotisms, oligarchies, and democracies—among Polytheists, Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians. It was the simple doctrine, that I am right and you are wrong. and that whatever opinion different from mine is entertained by you, must be forthwith uprooted" (Burton, History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 33).

[1] J. S. Hawkins, History of the Origin and Establishment of Gothic Architecture, 1813, p. 89.

[2] History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 224.

[3] In support of this position, the case of the late Duke of Wellington may be cited, who was initiated at the close of the last century in Lodge No. 494 on the Registry of Ireland (F. Q. Rev., 1836, p. 442; Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., 1874-75, p. 198), and of whom Lord Combermere said at Macclesfield in 1852—"Often when in Spain, where Masonry was prohibited, he [Wellington] regretted . . . . that his military duties had prevented him taking the active part his feelings dictated." (F. Q. Rev., 1852, p. 505). Although the records of No. 494 are said to contain a letter from the Duke, written during the secretaryship of Mr. Edward Carleton (1838-53), declining to allow the Lodge to be called after him, "inasmuch as he never was inside any lodge since the day he was made" (Masonic Magazine, *loc. cit.*), the following communication attests that shortly before his death the circumstance of his initiation had quite passed out of his mind: "London, October 13th, 1851—F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to Mr. Walsh. He has received his letter of the 7th ult. The Duke has no recollection of having been admitted a Freemason. He has no knowledge of that association" (F. Q. Rev., 1854. p. 88).

[4] Although the *ancient* tradition of Wren's Grand Mastership was first published to the world in a work of comparatively *modern* date (Anderson's Constitutions, 1738), it must not be forgotten that fables, as Voltaire says, begin to be current in one generation, are established in the second, become respectable in the third, whilst in the fourth generation temples are raised in honor of them (Fragments sur l'Histoire, art. i., Œuvres, tome xxvii., pp. 158, 159).

"the future progress of our knowledge" has been ensured, "by casting off obstacles in the presence of which progress was impossible."[1]

It is immaterial whether Wren was or was not a mere *member* of the Society. To my mind, and *upon the evidence before us*—to which our attention must be strictly confined—it seems impossible that he could have been, but even if he was, we should only have one speculative or geomatic brother the more, a circumstance of no real moment, and unless supported by new evidence of such a character as to utterly destroy the authenticity of that already produced, not in any way calculated to modify the judgment I have ventured to pass upon his alleged connection with Freemasonry. But the consequences arising from the deeply rooted belief in his being—under what title is immaterial—the Grand Master or virtual head of the Society, have already borne much evil fruit, by leading those who have successively founded schools of Masonic thought, to pursue their researches on erroneous *data*, and as a natural result, to reduce to a minimum the value of even the most diligent inquiry into the past history of the craft. Indeed, a moment's reflection will convince the candid reader that any generalization of Masonic facts, based on an assumption, that the era of "Grand Lodges" can be carried back to 1663[2]—when the famous regulations are alleged to have been made, which I have handled with some freedom in the last chapter[3]—must be devoid of any practical utility, or in other words, that in all such cases the want of judgment in the writer can only be supplied by the discrimination of his readers.

By way of illustration, let us take Kloss. It is certain that this author collected his materials with equal diligence and judgment; but yet, we perceive that in much relating to a country not his own, he was often egregiously misinformed.

I am not here considering his misinterpretation of the English statutes,[4] an error of judgment arising, not unnaturally, from the inherent defects of the printed copy to which alone he had access, but the inaccuracies which are to be found in his writings, owing to the confidence he placed in Anderson as the witness of truth.

The writings of Sir James Hall may also be referred to, as affording equally cogent evidence of the wide diffusion of error, owing to a similar dependence upon statements for which the compiler of the first two editions of the "Constitutions" is the original authority. In the latter instance, we find, as I have already mentioned, that the *fact* of Wren's Grand Mastership, is actually relied upon, by a non-masonic writer of eminence, as stamping the opinion of the great architect, with regard to the origin of Gothic architecture, as the very highest that the subject will admit of.[5]

How, indeed—when we have marshalled all the authorities, considered their arguments, examined their proofs, and estimated the probability or improbability of what they advance by the *evidence* they present to us—any lingering belief in the existence of Grand Lodges during the seventeenth century can remain in the mind, is a mystery which I can only attempt to solve by making use of a comparison.

Writing in 1633, Sir Thomas Browne informs us, that the more improbable any proposition is, the greater is his willingness to assent to it; but that where a thing is actually impossible he is, on that account, prepared to believe it![6]

[1] See p. 4; and Buckle, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 82.

[2] Chaps. II., p. 107; XII., p. 135; and XV., p. 325.

[3] Vol. II., p. 325, *et seq.*

[4] Chap. VII., pp. 356-359, 361-2, 365-6.

[5] Chap. VI., p. 260.

[6] "Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith. I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *Altitudo*. I can answer all the objections of Satan

By principles such as these, it is very evident that some living writers are accustomed to regulate their assent, and in this way a belief in Wren's *membership of the Society* will naturally arise out of its extreme improbability,[1] whilst a firm conviction in his having been *Grand Master*, will as readily follow from the circumstance of its utter impossibility![2]

The object of this digression will have been but imperfectly attained, if any lengthened observations are required to make it clear.

Upon the confidence hitherto extended to me by my readers, I shall again have occasion to draw very largely as we proceed. We are about to pass from one period of darkness and uncertainty to another of almost equal obscurity, and which presents even greater difficulties than we have yet encountered. In writing the history of the craft, as far as we have proceeded, the materials have been few and scanty, and I have had to feel my way very much in the dark.

If, under these conditions, I have sometimes strayed from the right path, it will not surprise me, and I shall be ever ready to accept with gratitude the help of any friendly hand that can set me right. All I can answer for is a sincere endeavor to search impartially after truth. Throughout my labors, to use the words of Locke, "I have not made it my business, either to quit or follow any authority. Truth has been my only aim, and wherever that has appeared to lead, my thoughts have impartially followed, without minding whether the footsteps of any other lay that way or no. Not that I want a due respect to other men's opinions, but after all, the greatest reverence is due to truth."[3]

It may be observed, that in my attempt to demonstrate the only safe principles on which Masonic inquiry can be pursued, whilst making a free use of *classical* quotations in support of the several positions for which I contend, the literature of the craft has not been laid under requisition for any addition to the general store. For this reason, and as an excuse for all the others, I shall introduce one quotation more, and this I shall borrow

and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian, *certum est quia impossibile est.* I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point, for, to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith but persuasion" (Sir T. Browne, Works, edit. by S. Wilkin—Bohn's Antiq. Lib.—vol. ii., Religio Medici, sect. ix., p. 332). After this expression of his opinions, it is singular to find that only twelve years later (Inquiries into Vulgar Errors), the same writer lays down, that one main cause of error is *adherence to authority ;* another, *neglect of inquiry ;* and a third, *credulity.*

[1] The remarks on which the biographer of Sebastian Cabot founded his conclusion, "that the dead have not the benefit of the rules of evidence" (*ante*, p. 5), may be usefully perused by those who accept the paragraphs in the *Postboy* (Chap. XII. p. 133)—the only *positive* evidence on the subject prior to 1738—as determining the *fact* of Wren's membership of the Society. If the argument in respect of Cabot is deemed to be of any force, it follows, *a fortiori*, that we should place no confidence whatever in a mere newspaper entry of the year 1723.

It has been forcibly observed: "*Anonymous testimony to a matter of fact is wholly devoid of weight*, unless, indeed, there be circumstances which render it probable that a trustworthy witness has adequate motives for concealment, or extraneous circumstances may support and accredit a statement, *which, left to itself*, would fall to the ground" (Lewis, On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion, p. 23).

[2] Tertullian's apophthegm, "credo quia impossibile est"—*I believe because it is impossible*—once quoted by the Duke of Argyle as "the ancient religious maxim" (Parl. Hist., vol. xi., p. 802), "might," Locke considers, "in a good man pass for a sally of zeal, but would prove a very ill rule for men to choose their opinions or religion by" (Essay on the Human Understanding, bk. iv., chap. xix., § 11). According to Neander, it was the spirit embodied in this sentence which supplied Celsus with some formidable arguments against the Fathers (General Hist. of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. i., p. 227).

[3] Essay on the Human Understanding, bk. i., chap. iv., sec. 23.

from an address recently delivered by our Imperial *brother*, the heir to the German Crown, who says: "But while earlier ages contented themselves with the authority of traditions, in our days the investigations of historical criticism have become a power. ∴ ∴ Historical truths ∴ can only be secured by historical investigations; therefore such studies are in our time a serious obligation toward the Order, from which we cannot withdraw, having the confident conviction, that whatever the result may be, they can in the end be only beneficial. If they are confirmatory of the tradition, then in the result doubts will disappear; should they prove anything to be untenable, the love of truth will give us the manly courage to sacrifice what is untenable, but we shall then with the greater energy uphold that which is undoubted."[1]

We left off at that part of our inquiry,[2] where the evidence of several writers would seem to point very clearly to the widely-spread existence of Masonic lodges in southern Britain, at a period of time closely approaching the last decade of the seventeenth century.[3] But however naturally this inference may arise from a perusal of the evidence referred to, it may be at once stated that it acquires very little support from the scattered facts relating to the subject, which are to be met with between the publication of Dr. Plot's account of the Freemasons (1686), and the formation of the Grand Lodge of England (1717).

The period, indeed, intervening between the date of Randle Holme's observations in the "Academie of Armory," to which attention has been directed,[4] and the establishment of a governing body for the English craft, affords rather materials for dissertation than consecutive facts for such a work as the present. It may be outlined in a few words, though by no means the least important portion of this chapter, which the study and inclination of the reader will enable him to fill up.

It is believed that changes of an essential nature were in operation during the years immediately preceding what I shall venture to term the *consolidation* of the Grand Lodge of England, or, in other words, the publication of the first "Book of Constitutions" (1723). The circumstances which conduced to these changes are at once complicated and obscure, and as they have not yet been studied in connection with each other, I shall presently examine them at some length.

That the Masonry which flourished under the sanction of the Grand Lodge of England in 1723, differed in some respects from that known at Warrington in 1646, may be readily admitted, but the more serious point, as to whether the changes made were of *form* only, and not of *substance*, is not so easily disposed of. In the first place, the time at which any change occurred, is not only uncertain, but by its nature will never admit of complete precision.

"Criticism," as it has been happily observed, "may do somewhat toward the rectification of historical difficulties, but let her refrain from promising more than she can perform. A spurious instrument may be detected; if two dates are absolutely incongruous, you may accept that which reason shows you to be most probable. Amongst irreconcilable statements you may elect those most coherent with the series which you have formed. *But an*

[1] From an address delivered by the then Crown Prince of Prussia, in the double capacity of Deputy Protector of the Three Prussian Grand Lodges, and M. I. Master of the Order of the Countries of Germany (Grand) Lodge, on June 24, 1870 (cited by Dr. E. E. Wendt, in a lecture printed in the History of St. Mary's Lodge No. 63, 1883, pp. 90-92).

[2] Chap. XV., pp. 369-371.

[3] Ashmole, 1682; Plot and Aubrey, 1686; Randle Holme, 1688; and Aubrey, 1691. *Ante*, Vol. ii., pp. 130, 267, 288, 305. For the dates dependent on the testimony of John Aubrey, see, however, Vol. II., pp. 5, 286.

[4] A.D. 1688. *Ante*, Vol. II., pp. 305, 306.

approximation to truth, except so far as concerns single and insulated facts, *is the utmost we can obtain.* We have absolute certainty that the battle of Trafalgar was fought, but there is so much variety in the accounts of the Logs, that we cannot ascertain with precision the hour when the battle commenced, nor the exact position or distance of the fleet from the shore."[1]

In the same way we have reasonable certainty that an alteration in the method of communicating the Masonic secrets took place in the eighteenth century, but there is no evidence that will enable us to fix the date of the alteration itself. "An approximation to the truth is the utmost we can obtain," and in order that our inquiry may have this result, some points occur to me, which in my judgment we shall do well to carefully bear in mind during the progress of our research, as upon their right determination at its close, the accuracy of our final conclusions with regard to many vexed questions in Masonic history, can alone be ensured.

In the first place, let us ask ourselves—were the Masonic systems prevailing in England and Scotland respectively, before the era of Grand Lodges, identical?

They either were, or were not, and far more than would at first sight appear is involved in the reply to which we are led by the evidence.

If they were, the general character of our early *British* Freemasonry, would be sufficiently disclosed by the Masonic records of the Northern Kingdom. A difficulty, however, presents itself at the outset, and it is—the minutes of all Scottish Lodges of the seventeenth century, which are extant, show the essentially *operative* character of these bodies—whilst the scanty evidence that has come down to us—minutes there are none—of the existence of English Lodges at the same period, prove the latter to have been as essentially *speculative.*[2] I am not here forgetting either the Haughfoot records in the one case, or those of Alnwick in the other, which might be cited as invalidating these two propositions, but it will be seen that I limit the application of my remarks to the *seventeenth* centu[illegible]ot that I undervalue the importance of either of the sets of documents last refe[illegible]ut their dates are material, and in both instances the minutes might tend to mis[illegible] since *if* the customs of the Scottish and English masons *were* dissimilar, the old I[illegible] Haughfoot and Galashiels may possibly afford the only example there is, before D[illegible]ers' time, of the method of working in the south of Britain, having crossed the Border; whilst the very name of the Alnwick Lodge arouses a suspicion of its Scottish derivation.

Leaving undecided for the present the question, whether the two systems were in substance the same, or whether England borrowed hers from Scotland, and repaid the obligation (with interest) at the Revival, let us see what alternative suppositions we can find.

If the Freemasonry of England was *sui generis*, are we to conclude, that like the civilization of Egypt, it culminated before the dawn of its recorded history? Or, instead of a gradual process of deterioration, is there ground for supposing that there was a progressive improvement, of which we see the great result, in the movement of 1717?

By some persons the speculative character of the Warrington Lodge, so far back as 1646, may be held to point to an antecedent system, or body of knowledge, of which the extent

[1] Palgrave, History of Normandy and England, vol. i., pp. 116, 117. The same writer remarks: "We can do no more than we are enabled; the crooked cannot be made straight, nor the wanting numbered. The preservation or destruction of historical materials is as providential as the guidance of events" (*Ibid.*, p. 121).

[2] *I.e.*, In the one case the lodges existed for trade purposes, and in the other not.



Fraternally

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Most Eminent Grand Master of the Grand Encampment of the
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of time, is, without further evidence, simply incalculable, whilst others, without inquiry of any kind, will shelter themselves under the authority of great names, and adopt a conclusion, in which our later historians are practically unanimous, that Freemasonry, as it emerged from the crucible in 1723, was the product of many evolutionary changes, consummated for the most part in the six years during which the craft had been ruled by a central authority.

It will be seen, that in tracing the historical development of Freemasonry, from the point of view of those who see in the early Scottish system something very distinct from our own, we must derive what light we can from the meagre allusions to *English* lodges that can be produced in evidence, aided by the dim and flickering torch which is supplied by tradition.

It may be freely confessed, that in our present state of knowledge, much of the early history of the Society must remain under a veil of obscurity, and whilst there is no portion of our annals which possesses greater interest for the student than that intervening between the latter end of the seventeenth century and the year 1723—the date of the earliest entries in the existing minutes of Grand Lodge, and of the first "Book of Constitutions"—it must be as frankly admitted, that the *evidence* forthcoming, upon which alone any determinate conclusion can be based, is of too vague and uncertain a character to afford a sure foot-hold to the historical inquirer.

By keeping steadily in view, however, the main point on which our attention should be directed, many of the difficulties that confront us may be overcome, and without giving too loose a rein to the imagination, some speculations may be safely hazarded, with regard to the period of transition, connecting the old Society with the new, which will be at least consistent with the evidence, and may be allowed to stand as a possible solution of a very complicated problem, until greater diligence and higher ability shall finally resolve it.

An antiquary of the last century has observed: "In Subjects of such distant ages, where History will so often withdraw her taper, Conjecture may sometimes strike a new light, and the truths of Antiquity be more effectually pursued, than where people will not venture to guess at all. One Conjecture may move the Veil, another partly remove it, and a third happier still, borrowing light and strength from what went before, may wholly disclose what we want to know."[1]

Now, I must carefully guard myself from being understood to go the length of laying down, that wherever there is a deficiency of evidence, we must fall back upon conjecture. Such a contention would utterly conflict with all the principles of criticism which, both in this and earlier chapters, I have sought to uphold.

But an historical *epoch* will never admit of that chronological exactitude familiar to antiquaries and genealogists, and the chief objection, therefore, to a generalization respecting the changes introduced during the period of transition will be, not so much that it wants certainty, as that it lacks precision. For example, there is a great deal of evidence, direct, collateral, and presumptive, to support the belief that but a single form of reception was in vogue in the seventeenth century, and there are no known facts which are inconsistent with it. In 1723, as accredited writings prove, the ceremonies at the admission of Fellow Crafts and Apprentices were distinct from one another. Here is the old story of the Battle of Trafalgar and the confusion in the Logs,[2] over again. We are certain that alterations took place, but the dates cannot be established with precision and exactitude.

[1] W. Borlase, Antiquities of Cornwall, 1764. Preface, p. vii.

[2] *Ante*, p. 10.

We can point out the year in which a classification of the Society was published by order of the Grand Lodge; but who can point out the year in which the idea of that classification was first broached?

Upon the grounds stated, it will be allowable to speculate somewhat freely upon the possible *causes*—leading to *results*, which are patent to our senses.

The remaining evidence, that will bring us up to the year 1717, or to the close of what is sometimes described as Ancient Masonry, is, as already stated, of a very fragmentary character. Taking up the thread of our narrative from 1688, we find that Dr. Anderson speaks of a London Lodge having met, at the instance of Sir Robert Clayton, in 1693, and on the authority of "some brothers, living in 1730," he names the localities in which six other metropolitan lodges held their assemblies,[1] a statement furnishing, at least so far as I am aware, the only historical *data* in support of the assertion in "Multa Paucis," that the formation of the Grand Lodge of England was due to the combined efforts of *six* private lodges.[2] Meetings of provincial lodges, in 1693 and 1705 respectively, are commemorated by *memoranda* on two of the "Old Charges," Nos. 25 and 28,[3] but the significance of these entries will more fitly claim our attention a little later, in connection with the subject of Masonry in York.

The records of the Alnwick Lodge come next before us,[4] and are of especial value in our examination, as they constitute the only evidence of the actual proceedings of an *English* lodge essentially, if not, indeed, exclusively operative, during the entire portion of our early history which precedes the era of Grand Lodges. That is to say, without these records, whatever we might infer, it would be impossible to prove, from other extant documents, or contemporary evidence of any sort or kind, that in a single lodge the operative predominated over the speculative elements. The rules of the Lodge are dated September 29, 1701, and the earliest minute October 3, 1703. It would overtask my space were I here to give a full summary of these records, which, however, will be found in the appendix, so I shall merely notice their leading features, and restrict myself to such as appear to be of importance in this inquiry.

It should be stated, that the question of *degrees* receives no additional light from these minutes, indeed, if the Alnwick documents stood alone, as the sole representative of the class of evidence we have been hitherto considering, there would be nothing whatever from which we might even plausibly infer, that anything beyond trade secrets were possessed by the members. To some extent, however, a side-light is thrown upon these records by some later documents of a kindred character, and the minutes of the Lodge of Industry, Gateshead, which date from 1725, ten years prior to its *acceptance* of a warrant from the Grand Lodge of England, supply much valuable information relative to the customs of early operative lodges, which, even if it does not give us a clearer picture of the Masonry of 1701, is considered by some excellent authorities, to hold up a mirror in which is reflected the

[1] Chap. XIV., pp. 303, 304; Constitutions, 1738, p. 106; 1756 and 1767, p. 176; and 1784, p. 193.

[2] Chap. XII., p. 161, note 1. See also "The Four Old Lodges," p. 23; and Woodford, A Point of Masonic History (Masonic Magazine, vol. i., p. 255).

[3] Chap. II., pp. 68, 70.

[4] An abstract of these was given by Hughan in the *Freemason*, January 21, 1871, which was reprinted in the *Masonic Magazine*, February, 1874, and I have also before me the valuable MS. notes made from the original documents by Mr. F. Hockley, to whom I here offer my best thanks. *Cf. ante*, Chaps. II., p. 70, and XIV., p. 281.

usages of a period antedating, by at least several years, the occasion of their being committed to writing.

Although the circumstance of no less than three Cheshire lodges having been "constituted"—*i.e.*, warranted—by the Grand Lodge in 1724, the first era in which charters, or as they were then termed, "deputations," were granted to other than London lodges, may be held to prove that the old system, so to speak, overlapped the new, and to justify the conclusion, that the Masonry of Randle Holme's time survived the epoch of transition—this evidence is unfortunately too meagre, to do more than satisfy the mind of the strong probability, to put it no higher, that such was really the case. All three lodges died out before 1756, and their records perished with them. But here the minutes of Grand Lodge come to our assistance, and as will be seen in the next chapter, a petitioner for relief in 1732 claimed to have been made a Mason *by the Duke of Richmond* at *Chichester* in 1696.

The Lodge of Industry affords an example of an operative lodge—with extant minutes—which, although originally independent of the Grand Lodge, ultimately became merged in the establishment.[1]

The original home of this lodge was at the village of Swalwell, in the county of Durham, about four miles from Gateshead; and a tradition exists, for it is nothing more, that it was founded by operative masons brought from the south by Sir Ambrose Crowley, when he established his celebrated foundry at Winlaton about A.D. 1690. Its records date from 1725, and on June 24, 1735,[2] the lodge accepted a "deputation" from the Grand Lodge. The meetings continued to be held at Swalwell until 1844, and from 1845 till the present time have taken place at Gateshead. In the records there appear "Orders of Antiquity, Apprentice Orders, General Orders, and Penal Orders," all written in the old Minute Book by the same clear hand, *circa* 1730. These I shall shortly have occasion to cite, but in the first instance it becomes necessary to resume our examination of the Alnwick documents.

The records of the Alnwick Lodge comprise a good copy of the "Masons' Constitutions" or "Old Charges,"[3] certain rules of the lodge, enacted in 1701, and the ordinary minutes, which terminate June 24, 1757, though the lodge was still in existence, and preserved its operative character until at least the year 1763.[4] The rules or regulations are headed:—

[1] Authorities consulted—By-Laws of the Lodge of Industry, No. 48, 1870; Abstract of the Minutes of the Lodge by the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 72, 82, 125, 648); and Letters of Mr. Robert Whitfield (Freemason, October 26 and December 11, 1880).

[2] Although no previous lodge was *charted* in or near Newcastle, the following extracts show that there were several independent or non-warranted lodges in the neighborhood about this period. "Newcastle-on-Tyne, May 29.—On Wednesday last was held at Mr. Bartholomew Pratt's in the Flesh-Market, a Lodge of the Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons at which abundance of Gentlemen assisted, wearing white Leathern Aprons and Gloves. N.B.—Never such an Appearance of Ladies and Gentlemen were ever seen together at this place" (Weekly Journal, No. 272, June 6, 1730). [Newcastle] "December 28, 1734.—Yesterday, being St. John's Day, was held the *usual* anniversary of the Most Honourable and Ancient Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons, at Widow Grey's on the Quay, where there was the greatest appearance that has been known on that occasion, the Society consisting of the principal inhabitants of the town and country. In the evening they unanimously nominated Dr. Askew their Master, Mr. Thoresby their Deputy Master, Mr. Blenkinsop and Mr. Skal their Wardens for the ensuing year" (St. James Evening Post).

[3] Chap. II., p. 69.

[4] Rules and Orders of the Lodge of Free Masons in the Town of Alnwick, Newcastle, Printed by T. Slack, 1763.

"Orders to be observed by the Company and Fellowship of Freemasons att a Lodge held at Alnwick, Septr. 29, 1701, being the Gen^ll Head Meeting Day.

	£	s.	d.
"1*st.*—First it is ordered by the said Fellowship thatt there shall be yearly Two Wardens chosen upon the said Twenty-ninth of Septr., being the Feast of St. Michaell the Archangell, which Wardens shall be elected and appoynted by the most consent of the Fellowship.[1]			
"2*nd.*—Item, Thatt the said Wardens receive, commence, and sue all such penaltyes and fforfeitures and fines as shall in any wise be amongst the said Fellowship, and shall render and yield up a just account att the year's end of all such fines and forfeitures as shall come to their hands, or oftener if need require, or if the Master or Fellows list to call for them, for every such offence to pay[2] .	0	6	8
"3*rd.*—Item, That noe mason shall take any worke by task or by Day, other then the King's work, butt, thatt att the least he shall make Three or Four of his Fellows acquainted therewith, for to take his part, paying for every such offence.	3	6	8[3]
"4*th.*—Item, Thatt noe mason shall take any work thatt any of his Fellows is in hand with all—to pay for every such offence the sume off.[4] . . .	2	6	8[5]
"5*th.*—Item, Thatt noe mason shall take any Apprentice [but he must] enter him and give him his charge within one whole year after. Nott soe doing, the master shall pay for every such offence	0	3	4
"6*th.*—Item, Thatt every master for entering his apprentice shall pay[6] .	0	0	6
"7*th.*—Item, Thatt every mason when he is warned by the Wardens or other of the Company, and shall nott come to the place appoynted, except he have a reasonable cause to shew the Master and Wardens to the contrary; nott soe doing shall pay[7]	0	6	8

"8*th.* Item, Thatt noe Mason shall shon [shun] his Fellow or give him the lye, or any ways contend with him or give him any other name in the place of

[1] "That there shall on St. John Baptist's day, June 24, yearly by the Majority of Votes in the assembly be chosen a Master and Warden for the year ensuing, and a Deputy to act in [the] Master's absence as Master" (Swalwell Lodge, General Orders, No. 1). "That the Chief Meeting Day be June 24th each year, the 29th of September, the 27th of December, and the 25th of March, Quarterly meeting days" (*Ibid.*, No. 2). See the rules of the Gateshead Corporation, *ante*, p. 275.

[2] "That the Master shall receive all ffines, Penaltys, and moneys collected amongst the ffellowship; And keep the moneys in the public fund-Box of the company. And from time to time render a just account of the State thereof when required on penalty of £01—00—00" (*Ibid.*, Penal Orders, No. 3).

[3] The Hockley MS. has, *query* £1. 6s. 8d.

[4] The "Old Charges" are very precise in forbidding one mason "to supplant another of his work." See the Buchanan MS. (15), Chap. II., p. 101; also the Orders of Antiquity (8th) and the Penal Orders (20th) of the Swalwell Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 82, 85).

[5] Mr. Hockley writes, *query* £1. 6s. 8d., which is the amount deciphered by Hughan.

[6] "When any Mason shall take an Apprentice, he shall enter him in the Company's Records within 40 days, and pay 6d. for Registering on Penalty of 00—03—04" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 4).

[7] "Whatever Mason when warned by a Summons from Master &Warden [the last two words erased], shall not thereon attend at the place and time appointed, or within an hour after, without a reasonable Cause hindering, Satisfactory to the ffellowship; he shall pay for his Disobedience the sum of 00—00—06, whether on a Quarterly Meeting or any other occasion" (*ibid.*, No. 1).

	£	s.	d.
meeting then Brother or Fellow, or hold any disobedient argument, against any of the Company reproachfully, for every such offence shall pay[1] . . .	0	0	6
"9*th.* Item, There shall noe apprentice after he have served seaven years be admitted or accepted but upon the Feast of St. Michael the Archangell, paying to the Master and Wardens[2]	0	6	8
"10*th.* Item, if any Mason, either in the place of meeting or att work among his Fellows swear or take God's name in vain, thatt he or they soe offending shall pay for every time[3]	[0	5	4][4]
"11*th.* Item, Thatt if any Fellow or Fellows shall att any time or times discover his master's secretts, or his owne, be it nott onely spoken in the Lodge or without, or the secreets or councell of his Fellows, thatt may extend to the Damage of any of his Fellows, or to any of their good names, whereby the Science may be ill spoken of, ffor every such offence shall pay[5] . . .	1	6	8
"12*th.* Item, Thatt noe Fellow or Fellows within this Lodge shall att any time or times call or hold Assemblys to make any mason or masons free: Nott acquainting the Master[6] or Wardens therewith, For every time so offending shall pay[7]	3	6	8
"13*th.* Item, Thatt noe rough Layers or any others thatt has nott served their time, or [been] admitted masons, shall work within the Lodge any work of masonry whatsoever (except under a Master), for every such offence shall pay[8]	3	13	4

"14*th.* Item, That all Fellows being younger shall give his Elder fellows the honor due to their degree and standing. Alsoe thatt the Master,[9] Wardens, and all the Fellows of this Lodge doe promise severally and respectively to performe all and every the orders above named, and to stand bye each other (but more particularly to the Wardens and their successors)[10] in sueing for all and every the forfeitures of our said Brethren, contrary to any of the said orders, demand thereof being first made."[11]

[1] "That no Mason shall huff his ffelow, giue him the lie, swear or take God's name in vain within the accustomed place of meeting, on pain of 00—01—00, on the yearly or Quarterly meeting days" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 2).

[2] "That no apprentice when having served 7 years, be admitted or accepted into the ffellowship, but either on the chief meeting day, or on a Quarterly meeting day" (*Ibid.*, General Orders, No. 3).

[3] See note above to the *eighth* order of the Alnwick Lodge.

[4] A blank here according to Mr. Hockley.

[5] "If any be found not faithfully to keep and maintain the 3 ffraternal signs, and all points of ffelowship, and principal matters relating to the secret craft, each offence, penalty 10—10—00" (Swalwell Lodge, Penal Orders, No. 8).

[6] *Masters* (Hockley MS.).

[7] "That no master or ffelow take any allowance or ffee of any, for their being made a Mason without ye knowledge and consent of Seaven of the Society at least" (Swalwell Lodge, Orders of Antiquity, No. 10). *Cf.* Buchanan MS. (15), Special Charges, § 5; Schaw Statutes No. 1, § 12; Rules of the Gateshead "ffelowshipp;" and Plot's Account of the Freemasons, *ante*, Chaps. II., p. 101; VIII., p. 6; XIV., pp. 276, 288.

[8] See Chaps. II., p. 102 (Buchanan MS., § 16); and VIII., pp. 6, 10 (Schaw Statutes, No 1, § 15, and No. 2, § 12).

[9] *Masters* (Hockley MS.).

[10] The absence to any allusion of the *Master*, in view of the observations that follow in the text, should be carefully noted.

[11] "That you reverence your elders according to their degree, and especially those of the Mason's

The regulations of the Alnwick Lodge, though duly enacting the manner in which the annual election of Wardens shall be conducted, make no provision, as will be seen, for that of Master; nor among the signatures attached to the code, although those of two members have the descriptive title of "Warden" affixed, is there one which we might deem more likely than another to be the autograph of the actual head of the fraternity. This is the more remarkable, from the fact that in several places *the* Master is referred to;[1] and although we learn from the minute-book that James Mills (or Milles) was "chosen and elected Master" in 1704—there being but a single entry of earlier date (October 3, 1703), from this period till the records come to an end—both Master *and* Wardens were annually elected. Some alteration in the procedure, however slight, must have occurred, as instead of the election taking place on the "Feast of St. Michael," from 1774 onwards, the principal officers were invariably chosen on December 27, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist. The latter evidently became the "general head-meeting day" from at least 1704, and the words "made Free Decr. 27th," which are of frequent occurrence, show that the apprentices who had served their time in accordance with the ninth regulation, were no longer "admitted or accepted" on the date therein prescribed.

The fifth and sixth regulations, which relate to the "entering" of apprentices, are worthy of our most careful attention, since they not only cast some rays of light upon our immediate subject—the customs of those early *English* Lodges which were in existence before the second decade of the eighteenth century—but also tend to illuminate some obscure passages in the Masonic records of the sister kingdom, upon which many erroneous statements have been founded.[2]

We have seen that a mason who took an apprentice was required to enter him and *give him his charge* within a year, and in estimating the meaning of these words it will be essential to recollect that a copy of the "Old Charges" formed part of the records of the lodge.[3] This was doubtless read to the apprentice at his entry, and may be easily referred to;[4] but the actual procedure in cases of admission into the lodge, is so vividly presented to us by a passage in the Swalwell records, that I shall venture to transcribe it.

"Forasmuch as you are contracted and Bound to one of our Brethren: We are here assembled together with one Accord, to declare unto you the Laudable Dutys appertaining unto those yt are Apprentices, to those who are of the Lodge of Masonry, which if you take good heed unto and keep, will find the same worthy your regard for a Worthy Science: ffor at the building of the Tower of Babylon and Citys of the East, King Nimrod the Son of Cush, the Son of Ham, the Son of Noah, etc., gave Charges and Orders to Masons, as also did Abraham in Egypt. King David and his Son, King SOLOMAN at the building of the Temple of Jerusalem, and many more Kings and Princes of worthy memory from time to time, and did not only promote the ffame of the 7 Liberal Sciences but fformed Lodges, and give and granted their Commissions and Charters to those of or belonging to

Craft" (Swalwell Lodge,'Apprentice Orders, No. 3); and see further, Chaps. II., pp. 100, 101; and VIII., p. 5.

[1] §§ 2, 7, 9, 12, 14.

[2] *E.g.*, that apprentices were not *members* of the lodge, and that they possessed but a fragmentary knowledge of the Masonic secrets. The Scottish practice with regard to the entering of apprentices will be presently examined.

[3] See, however, Johnson's Dictionary, *s.v.* Charge.

[4] Hughan, The Old Charges of British Freemasons, p. 69; and Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, pp. 253, 295.

the Sciences of Masonry, to keep and hold their Assemblys, for correcting of ffaults, or making Masons within their Dominions, when and where they pleased."[1]

The manuscript last quoted is of value in more ways than one, as whilst indicating with greater precision than any other document of its class, that apprentices under indentures were received into the lodge, and that a ceremony embodying at least the recital of our legendary history took place, the extract given tends to enhance the authority of the Swalwell records, as elucidatory of usages *dating* much farther back, by showing that the lodge was still essentially an operative one, and, so far as this evidence extends, that its simple routine was as yet uninfluenced by the speculative system into which it was subsequently absorbed.

Whether, indeed, the customs of the Swalwell Lodge received, at any period prior to its acceptance of a warrant, some tinge or coloring from the essentially speculative usages which are *supposed* to have sprung up during what I have already termed the epoch of transition—1717-23—cannot be determined; but even leaving this point, as we are fain to do, undecided, the *eighth* Penal Order of the Swalwell fraternity, which I have given in a note to regulation *eleven* of the Alnwick Lodge, possesses a significance that we can hardly overrate.

Reading the latter by the light of the former, we might well conjecture, that though to the Alnwick brethren *degrees*, as we now have them, were unknown, still, with the essentials out of which these degrees were compounded, they may have been familiar. This point, in connection with the evidence of Dr. Plot and Randle Holme, will again come before us, but it will be convenient to state, that throughout the entire series of the Alnwick records there is no entry, if we except the regulation under examination, from which, by the greatest latitude of construction, it might be inferred that secrets of any kind were communicated to the brethren of this lodge.

The silence of the Alnwick records with respect to *degrees*, which is continuous and unbroken from 1701 to 1757, suggests, however, a line of argument, which, by confirming the idea that the Swalwell Lodge preserved its operative customs intact until 1730 or later, may have the effect of convincing some minds, that for an explanation of Alnwick regulation No. 11, we shall rightly consult Penal Order No. 8 of the junior sodality, to which attention has already been directed.

If, then, the silence of the Alnwick minutes with regard to "degrees" is held to prove —as it will be by most persons—that the independent character of the lodge was wholly unaffected by the marvellous success of the speculative system; or, in other words, that the Alnwick Lodge and the lodges under the Grand Lodge of England, existed side by side from 1717 to 1757—a period of forty years—without the operative giving way, even in part, to the speculative usages—it follows, *a fortiori*, that we must admit, if we do no more, the strong probability of the Swalwell customs having preserved their vitality unimpaired from the date we first hear of them (1725) until at any rate the year 1730, which is about the period when the Penal and other Orders, to which such frequent reference has been made, were committed to writing.[2]

The notes appended to the Alnwick regulations constitute a running commentary on

[1] Swalwell Lodge, Apprentice Orders, No. 1 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, pp. 82, 83). These orders are eight in number, and may be termed an abbreviated form of the ordinary prose "Constitutions," or "Old Charges." See *ante*, Chap. II., p. 71 (30).

[2] *Ante*, p. 13; and Chap. II. (30), p. 71.

the text, and indicate the leading points on which, in my opinion, our attention should be fixed while scrutinizing these laws.

According to Hughan, sixty-nine signatures are attached to the code, but Mr. Hockley's MS. only gives fifty-eight, forty-two of which were subscribed *before* December 27, 1709, four on that date, and the remainder between 1710 and 1722. In several instances, marks, though almost entirely of a monogrammatic character, are affixed. Many names occur in the list, which, if not actually those of persons who have crossed the border, are certainly of Scottish derivation, *e.g.*, there is a Boswell and a Pringell, whilst of the extensive family of the Andersons there are no less than four representatives, two bearing the name of "John," and the younger of whom—"made free" July 17, 1713—is probably the same John Anderson who was Master of the Lodge in 1749, and a member so late as 1753. The protracted membership of certain of the subscribers is a noteworthy circumstance, from which may be drawn the same inference as in the parallel case of the brethren who founded the Grand Lodge of England, some of whom we know to have been active members of that organization many years subsequently, viz., that no evolutionary changes of a violent character can be supposed to have taken place, since it is improbable—not to say impossible—that either the Alnwick Masons of 1701, or the London brethren of 1717, would have looked calmly on, had the forms and ceremonies to which they were accustomed been as suddenly metamorphosed, as it has become, in some degree, the fashion to believe.[1]

Four members of the Alnwick Lodge, Thomas Davidson,[2] William Balmbrough, Robert Hudson, and Patrick Milles[3]—the last named having been "made free" December 27, 1706, the others earlier—are named in its later records. Hudson was a warden in 1749, and the remaining three, or brethren of the same names, were present at the lodge on St. John's Day, 1753.

The minutes of the Alnwick and of the Swalwell Lodges exhibit a general uniformity. The entries in both, record for the most part the "Inrollments of Apprentices," together with the imposition of fines, and the resolutions passed from time to time for the assistance of indigent brethren.

The head or chief meeting day, in the case of the Alnwick brethren, the festival of St. John the Evangelist, and in that of the Swalwell fraternity, the corresponding feast of St. John the Baptist, was commemorated with much solemnity. Thus, under date of January 20, 1708, we find: "At a true and perfect Lodge kept at Alnwick, at the house of Mr. Thomas Davidson, one of the Wardens of the same Lodge, it was ordered that for the future noe member of the said lodge, Master, Wardens, or Fellows, should appear at any lodge to be kept on St. John's day (in church[4]), with his apron and common Square fixed in the belt thereof;[5] upon pain of forfeiting two shillings and 6 pence, each person offending, and that care be taken by the Master and Wardens for the time being, that a sermon

[1] The *names* of members of the Swalwell lodge, especially in the earlier portion of its history, are very sparingly given, in the excerpts to which alone I have had access, but there is at least a sufficiency of evidence, to warrant the conclusion, that the essentially operative character of the lodge remained unchanged for many years *after* 1735, the date of its coming under the rule of Grand Lodge.

[2] Warden apparently from 1701 to 1709, and Master 1710.

[3] Warden 1709-10, and again (or a namesake) in 1752.

[4] *Christmas*, according to Hughan, but given as above, within parenthesis, by Mr. Hockley.

[5] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 43.

be provided and preached that day at the parish Church of Alnwick by some clergyman at their appointment; when the Lodge shall all appear with their aprons on and common Squares as aforesaid, and that the Master and Wardens neglecting their duty in providing a clergyman to preach as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of ten shillings."

A minute of the Swalwell lodge, dated the year *before* it ceased to be an independent Masonic body, reads: "Decr. 27, 1734.—It is agreed by the Master and Wardens, and the rest of the Society, that if any brother shall appear in the Assembly[1] without gloves and aprons at any time when summoned by [the] Master and Wardens, [he] shall for each offence pay one shilling on demand."

Between the years 1710 and 1748 the Alnwick records, if not wholly wanting, contain at best very trivial entries. A few notes, however, may be usefully extracted from the later minutes, which, though relating to a period of time somewhat in advance of the particular epoch we are considering, will fit in here better than at any later stage, and it must not escape our recollection, that the Alnwick Lodge never surrendered its independence, and moreover, from first to last, was an operative rather than a speculative fraternity. Indeed, that it was speculative at all, in the sense either of possessing members who were not operative masons, or of discarding its ancient formulary for the ceremonial of Grand Lodge, is very problematical. If it became so, the influx of speculative *Free*masons on the one hand, or its assimilation of modern customs on the other hand, must alike have occurred at a comparatively late period.

The minutes of the lodge, towards the close of its existence, admit, it must be confessed, of a varied interpretation, and in order that my readers may judge of this for themselves, I subjoin the few entries which appear to me at all material in this inquiry—

December 27, 1748.—Three persons subscribe their names as having been "made free Brothers" of the lodge, and their signatures are carefully distinguished from those of the Master, Wardens, and the twelve other members present, by the memorandum.—"Bro^{s}. to the assistance of the said lodge."

By a resolution of the same date—December 2, 1748—though entered on a separate page —"It was ordered, that a Meeting of the Society shall be held at the house of M^{r} Thos. Woodhouse, on Sat^{y}. evening next, at 6 o'clock [for the propose of making] proper Orders and Rules for the better regulating *the free masonry.*"

.Among a variety of resolutions, passed December 31, 1748, are the following:

"It is ordered that all apprentices that shall offer to be admitted into the s^{d} lodge after serving due apprenticeship, shall pay for such admittance—10s."

"Also that *all other persons* and *strangers not serving a due apprenticeship,* shall pay for such admittance the sum of 17s. 6d."[2]

"Ordered that none shall be admitted into the said lodge under the age of 21 or above 40."[3]

[1] June 24. See General Orders of the Swalwell Lodge, Nos. 1 and 2 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 83).

[2] "June 14, 1733.—It is agreed by the Society, that any brother of the lodge that hath an apprentice that serves his time equally and lawfully as he ought to do, shall be made free for the sum of 8s. And for any working mason, not of the lodge, the sum of 10s. And to any *gentlemen or other* that is not a working mason, [an amount fixed] according to the majority of the company" (Records of the Swalwell Lodge).

[3] A similar regulation was enacted by the Swalwell Lodge *circa* 1754, and was not an unusual one in the *regular* lodges, *e.g.*:—"Feb. 5, 1740, a debate arising concerning the entrance of B^{ro} Peek

"Also, that in case any of the s^d^. members of s^d^. Society shall fail in the world, it is ordered that there shall be paid weekly out of the s^d^. Lodge, 4s."[1]

The striking resemblance of these old regulations of the Alnwick and Swalwell fraternities, to those of the Gateshead Incorporation,[2] will be apparent to the most casual reader.

Apprentices, in every case, were only admitted to full membership at the expiration of seven years from the dates of their indentures. Whether, indeed, any process analogous to that of "entering" prevailed in the Incorporation, cannot be positively affirmed, but it is almost certain that it did, though the term "entered apprentice" does not occur, at least so far as I am aware, in any *English* book or manuscript, Masonic or otherwise, of earlier date than 1723. From the fifth of the Alnwick "Orders" we can gather with sufficient clearness what an "Entered Apprentice" must have been, but the particular expression first appears in 1725, in the actual minutes of any English *lodge*, of which I have seen either the originals or copies.

The earliest entry in the minute book of Swalwell Lodge runs as follows:—

"September 29, 1725.—Then Matthew Armstrong and Arthur Douglas, Masons, appeared in ye lodge of Freemasons, and agreed to have their names registered as 'Enterprentices,' to be accepted next quarterly meeting, paying one shilling for entrance, and 7s. 6d. when they take their freedom."[3]

As the question will arise, whether the terms Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice—all well known in Scotland, in the seventeenth century—were *introduced* into England, and popularized by the author of the first book of Constitutions (1723); the earliest allusion to any grade of the Masonic hierarchy, which is met with in the records of an English lodge—one, moreover, working by inherent right, and independently of the Grand Lodge—may well claim our patient examination.

It may be urged that the entry of 1725 comes two years later than Dr. Anderson's "Constitutions," where all the titles are repeatedly mentioned, and the lowest of all, "Entered Prentice," acquires a *prestige* from the song at the end of the book, "to be sung when all *grave* business is over,"[4] which may have greatly aided in bringing the term within the popular comprehension.[5]

Yet to this may be replied, that the Swalwell minutes, not only during the ten years of independency—1725-35—but for a generation or two after the lodge had accepted a charter from the Grand Lodge, teem with resolutions of an exclusively operative character, for example:—"25th March 1754.—That B^ro^. W^m^. Burton having taken John Cloy'd as an apprentice for 7 years, made his appearance and had the apprentice charge read over, and p^d^. for registering, 6d."[6]

Here, at a period nearly forty years after the formation of a Grand Lodge, we find one

the ensuing lodge night. But he confessing himself to be above 40 years of age, and he was rejected" (Minutes of No. 163, afterwards the "Vacation Lodge," and numbered 76 at the Union, now extinct).

[1] See the "Fund Laws" of the Swalwell Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 125).

[2] Chap. XIV., p. 275

[3] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 74.

[4] "The Enter'd Prentice's Song, by our late Brother Mr. Matthew Birkhead, deceased" (Constitutions, 1723).

[5] As will presently appear, "Apprentices" are not alluded to in the York minutes of 1712-25.

[6] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., p. 74.

THE

Enter'd 'PRENTICES SONG.

By our late BROTHER

Mr. MATTHEW BIRKHEAD, deceas'd.

To be ſung when all *grave Buſineſs* is over, and *with the* MASTER'S *Leave.*

I.

COME let us prepare,
We *Brothers* that are
A ſembled on merry Occaſion ;
Let's drink, laugh, and ſing ;
Our *Wine* has a Spring :
Here's a Health to an *Accepted* MASON.

II

The *World* is in pain
Our *Secrets* to gain,
And ſtill let them wonder and gaze on :
They ne'er can divine
The *Word* or the *Sign*
Of a *Free* and an *Accepted* MASON.

III.

'Tis *This*, and 'tis *That*,
They cannot tell *What*,
Why ſo many GREAT MEN of the Nation
Should *Aprons* put on,
To make themſelves one
With a *Free* and an *Accepted* MASON.

IV.

Great KINGS, DUKES, and LORDS,
Have laid by their Swords,
Our *Myſt'ry* to put a good Grace on,
And ne'er been aſham'd
To hear themſelves nam'd
With a *Free* and an *Accepted* MASON.

V.

Antiquity's *Pride*
We have on our ſide,
And it maketh Men juſt in their Station :
There's nought but what's good
To be underſtood
By a *Free* and an *Accepted* MASON.

VI.

Then join *Hand in Hand*,
T'each other firm ſtand,
Let's be merry, and put a bright Face on :
What *Mortal* can boaſt
So NOBLE A TOAST,
As a *Free* and an *Accepted* MASON?

Fac-simile of "The Entered Apprentice's Song," by Brother Matthew Birkhead.

Copied from the original in "The Constitutions of the Freemasons," published 1723.

of the lodges under its sway, entering an apprentice in the time-honored fashion handed down by the oldest of our manuscript Constitutions.

The Swalwell records present other noteworthy features, to which attention will be hereafter directed. Yet, though they have but a slight connection with the immediate subject of our inquiry, it would be unfair to pass them over without notice, as the entries relating to the Orders of the "Highrodiams" and the "Domaskius," which begin in 1746, and are peculiar to this lodge, may be held by some to attest the presence of speculative novelties, that detract from the *weight* which its later documentary evidence would otherwise possess as coming from the archives of an operative sodality. A reference to these entries is therefore given below,[1] whilst such readers as are content with the information contained in this history, may consult a later chapter, where the curious allusions above cited, and some others, will be carefully examined in connection with the origin of the Royal Arch degree.

Before leaving these old minutes, however, there is a singular law, which, as it throws some light upon the doubtful point of how far females were permitted, in those early days, to take part in the proceedings of lodges, I shall venture to transcribe:—

"No woman, if [she] comes to speak to her husband, or any other person, shall be admitted, *into the room,* but speak at the door, nor any woman be admitted to serve [those within] wth drink, etc."[2]

The next evidence in point of time, as we pass from the operative records, which have their commencement in 1701, is contained in the following reply from Governor Jonathan Belcher to a congratulatory address, delivered September 25, 1741, by a deputation from the "First Lodge in Boston."

"Worthy Brothers: I take very kindly this mark of your respect. It is now thirty-seven years since I was admitted into the Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, to whom I have been a faithful Brother & a well-wisher to the Art of Freemasonry. I shall ever maintain a strict friendship for the whole Fraternity, & always be glad when it may fall in my power to do them any Services."[3]

Governor Belcher was born in Boston in 1681, graduated at Harvard in 1699, and immediately afterwards went abroad, and was absent six years.[4] It was at this time that he was presented to the Princess Sophia and her son, afterwards George II., and made a Mason, as his language would imply, about the year 1704. His next visit to England occurred in 1729, and in the following year he returned to America, on receiving the appointment of Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.[5]

Although Governor Belcher does not name the place of his initiation, it is probable that it took place in London, and the words he uses to describe his "admission" into the Society, will justify the inference, that on being *made* a Freemason, whatever Masonic

[1] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., pp. 73, 75, 76; Freemason, Oct. 30, Dec. 4, and Dec. 11, 1880.

[2] Swalwell Lodge—General Orders, No. 6. See *ante*, Chap. II., pp. 68, 93, 94; III., p. 176; VI., p. 319; and Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 121, 122.

[3] Proceedings, Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1871, p. 376; *Ibid.*, 1882, p. 184; New England Freemason, Boston, U.S.A., vol. i., 1874, p. 67.

[4] Grand Master Gardner (Massachusetts), Address upon Henry Price, 1872, p. 22.

[5] "On Monday next, Jonathan Belcher, who is soon to depart in the 'Susannah,' Captain Cary, for his government of New England, is to be entertained at dinner at Mercer's Hall, by the gentlemen trading to that Colony" (Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, No. 248, Feb. 28, 1730).

Secrets then existed, were communicated to him in their entirety, precisely as we may imagine was the case when Ashmole became a member of the Warrington Lodge, and in the parallel instances of the reception of gentlemen at York, to the records of which Masonic centre I shall next turn.

The history of Freemasonry in York will, however, be only partially treated in the ensuing pages. Its later records will form the subject of a distinct chapter, and I shall attempt no more, at this stage, than to introduce such extracts from the early minutes, as in my judgment are at all likely to elucidate the particular inquiry we are now pursuing.

At present I pass over the *inferences* to be drawn from the existence of so many copies of the "Old Charges," as found a home in the archives of the Grand Lodge of York. Their cumulative value is great, and will be hereafter considered. The names also, which appear on York MS. 4 (25), at once carry us back to the existence of a lodge in 1693. But *where* it was held is a point upon which we can now only vainly speculate, without the possibility of arriving at any definite conclusion.

Happily, there is undoubted evidence, coming from two distinct sources, which in each case points to the vigorous vitality of York Masonry in 1705, and inferentially, to its continuance from a more remote period. At that date, as we learn from a minute-book of the Old Lodge at York, which unfortunately only commences in that year,[1] "Sir George Tempest, Barronet," was the President, a position he again filled in 1706 and 1713. Among the subsequent Presidents were the Lord Mayor of York, afterwards Lord Bingley (1707), the following Baronets, Sir William Robinson (1708-10), Sir Walter Hawksworth (1711-12, 1720-23), and other persons of distinction.

The "Scarborough" MS. (28)[2] furnishes the remaining evidence, which attests the active condition of Yorkshire Freemasonry in 1705. The endorsement in this roll may, without any effort of the imagination, be regarded as bearing indirect testimony to the influence of the Lodge or Society at York. This must have radiated to some extent at least, and an example is afforded by the proceedings at Bradford in 1713. These, I shall presently cite, but the position of York as a local and independent centre of the transitional Masonry, which interposed between the reigns of the purely operative and the purely speculative Societies, will be examined at greater length hereafter. We learn at all events, from the roll referred to (28,) that at a *private* lodge held at Scarborough "*in the County of York,*" on the 10th of July 1705, "before" William Thompson, *President,* and other Free Masons, six persons, whose names are subscribed, were "admitted into the fraternity." It is difficult to understand what is meant by the term "private lodge," an expression which is frequently met with, as will be shortly perceived, in the minutes of the York body itself. Possibly the explanation may be, that it signified a *special* as distinguished from a *regular* meeting, or the words may imply that an *occasional* and not a *stated*[3] lodge was then held?

Indeed the speculation might even be advanced, that the meeting was in effect a "moveable lodge," convened by the York brethren. Such assemblies were frequently held in the *county,* and on the occasion of the York Lodge, meeting at Bradford in 1713, no

[1] Now unfortunately missing; but for an account of the vicissitudes both of good and bad fortune, through which the York Records have passed, see Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, *passim;* and Freemasonry in York *post.*

[2] Chap. II., p. 70.

[3] For the use of these expressions, see *ante,* Vol. II., pp. 134, 303, 304; The Four Old Lodges, pp. 27, 46; Book of Constitutions, 1738, pp. 106, 107, 129, 137.

less than eighteen gentlemen of the first families in that neighborhood were made Masons. A further supposition presents itself, and it is, that we have here an example of the custom of granting written licences to enter Masons at a distance from the lodge, such as we find traces of in the Kilwinning, the Dunblane, and the Haughfoot minutes.[1] If so, we may suppose that the precedent set by the Lodge of Kilwinning in 1677,[2] when the Masons from the Canongate of Edinburgh applied to it for a roving commission or "travelling warrant," was duly followed, and that the Scarborough brethren were empowered to admit qualified persons "in name and behalf" of the Lodge of York?

The earliest of the York minutes—now extant—are contained in a roll of parchment,[3] endorsed "1712 to 1730," and for the following extracts I am indebted to my friend and *collaborateur*, William James Hughan.

"March the 19th, 1712.[4]—At a private Lodge, held at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr Thomas Shipton, Mr Caleb Greenbury, Mr Jno. Norrison, Mr Jno. Russell, Jno. Whitehead, and Francis Norrison were all of them severally sworne and admitted into the honorable Society and fraternity of Free-Masons.

Geo. Bowes, Esq., *Dep.-President.*

Jno. Wilcock also admitted at the same Lodge.	Thos. Shipton.	Caleb Greenbury.
	Jno. Norrison.	John Russell.
	Fran. Norrison.	John Whitehead.
		John Wilcock."

"June the 24th 1713.—At a General Lodge on St. John's Day, at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr. John Langwith was admitted and sworne into the honourable Society and fraternity of Freemasons.

Sir Walter Hawksworth, Knt. and Bart., *President.*
Jno. Langwith."

"August the 7th, 1713.—At a private Lodge held there at the house of James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in the City of York, Robert Fairfax, Esq., and Tobias Jenkings, Esq., were admitted and sworne into the hon^{ble} Society and fraternity of Freemasons, as also the Reverend Mr Robert Barker was then admitted and sworn as before.

Geo. Bowes, Esq., *Dep.-President.*
Robert Fairfax. T. Jenkyns. Robt. Barber.'

"December the 18th, 1713.—At a private Lodge held there at the house of Mr James Boreham, in Stonegate, in the City of York, Mr Thos. Hardwick, Mr Godfrey Giles, and Mr Tho. Challoner was admitted and sworne into the hono^{ble} Society and Company of Freemasons before the Worshipfull S^{r} Walter Hawksworth, Knt. and Barr^{t}., *President.*

Tho. Hardwicke.
Godfrey Giles.
Thomas his T mark. Challoner."

[1] Chap. VIII.; and Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 100.

[2] Chap. VIII., p. 30.

[3] The entire contents of this roll were copied for Hughan, by the late Mr. William Cowling of York.

[4] It is quite patent that if there had been no other evidence of the earlier existence of the Lodge, this record indicates that the meeting of March 19th, 1712, was not the first of its kind.

"1714.—At a General Lodge held there on the 24th June at Mr James Boreham, situate in Stonegate, in York, John Taylor, of Langton in the Woulds, was admitted and sworne into the hono^ble^ Society and Company of Freemasons in the City of York, before the Worshipfull Charles Fairfax, Esq.

John Taylor."

"At St. John's Lodge in Christmas, 1716.—At the house of Mr James Boreham, situate [in] Stonegate, in York, being a General Lodge, held there by the hono^ble^ Society and Company of Freemasons, in the City of York, John Turner, Esq., was sworne and admitted into the said Hono^ble^ Society and Fraternity of Free Masons.

Charles Fairfax, Esq., *Dep.-President.*
John Turner."

"At St. John's Lodge in Christmas, 1721.—At Mr Robert Chippendal's, in the Shambles, York, Rob^t^ Fairfax, Esq., then Dep.-President, the said Rob^t^ Chippendal was admitted and sworne into the hon^ble^ Society of Free Masons.

Rob. Fairfax, Esq., D.P.
Robt. Chippendal."

"January the 10th, 1722-3.—At a private Lodge, held at the house of Mrs Hall, in Thursday Market, in the City of York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into y^e^ honourable Society of Free Masons:—

Henry Legh. Richd. Marsh. Edward Paper.

At the same time the following persons *were acknowledged as Brethren of this ancient Society*:[1]—

Edmd. Winwood. G. Rhodes. Josh. Hebson. John Vauner. Francis Hildyard, jun^r^."

"February the 4th 1722-3.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Boreham's, in Stonegate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into the Ancient and Hon^ble^ Society of Free Masons:—

John Lockwood. Matt^w^. Hall.

At the same time and place, the two persons whose names are underwritten were, *upon their examinations*, received as Masons, and as such were accordingly introduced and admitted into this Lodge.[1] Geo. Reynoldson. Barnaby Bawtry."

"November 4th, 1723.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Wm. Stephenson's, in Petergate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworne into the Antient Society of Free Masons:— John Taylor. Jno. Colling."

"Feb. 5th, 1723-4.—At a private Lodge at Mr James Boreham's, in Stonegate, York, the underwritten persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons:—

Wm. Tireman. Charles Pick. Will^m^. Musgrave. John Jenkinson. John Sudell."

"June 15, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held in Davy Hall, in the City of York, the underwritten persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons:—

Daniel Harvey. Ralph Grayme."

"June 22, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, in the City of York, were admitted and sworn into the Society of Free Masont the persons underwritten, viz.:—

Robert Armorer. William Jackson. Geo. Gibson."

[1] Evidently these seven brethren—*acknowledged* and *received* as Masons on January 10 and February 4, 1723—were accepted either as Joining members, or as visitors, hailing from another Lodge or Lodges.

"Dec. 28, 1724.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Jno. Colling's, in Petergate, the following persons were admitted and sworn into y^e^ Society of Free Masons.

Wm. Wright. Ric. Denton. Jno. Marsden. Ste. Bulkley."

"July 21, 1725.—At a private Lodge at Mr Jno. Colling's, in Petergate, York, the following persons were admitted and sworn into the Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

Luke Lowther. Chas. Hutton."

"At an adjournment of a Lodge of Free Masons from Mr Jno. Colling, in Petergate, to Mr Luke Lowther's, in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Society of free [and] Accepted Masons—Ed. Bell, Esq., Master.

Chas. Bathurst. John Johnson. John Elsworth. Lewis Wood."

"Augt. 10, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held this day at the Star Inn in Stonegate, the underwritten Persons were admitted and sworne into the Antient Society of Free Masons, viz.:—

Jo. Bilton.

The Wors^l^. Mr Wm. Scourfield, M^r^.
Mr Marsden, } Wardens."
Mr Reynoldson, }

"Augt. 12, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at the Starr, in Stonegate, the underwritten Person was sworn and admitted a member of the Antient Society of Free Masons, viz.—

John Wilmer.

The Worsp^l^. Philip Huddy, M^r^.
Mr Marsden, } Wardens."
Mr Reynoldson, }

"Sept. 6, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at the Starr Inn, in Stonegate, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into [the] Antient Society of Free Masons.

William Pawson.
The Worsp^l^. Wm. Scourfield, M^r^. Edmond Aylward.
Jonathan Perritt, } Wardens. Jon. Pawson.
Mr Marsden, } Francis Drake.[1]
Malby Beckwith."

"A new Lodge being call'd as the same time and Place, the following Person was admitted and sworn into this Antient and Hon^ble^ Society.

The Worsp^l^ Mr Scourfield, M^r^. Henry Pawson.
Mr Jonathan Perritt, } Wardens."
Mr Marsden, }

"Oct. 6, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr James Boreham's, the underwritten Person[s] was [were] admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Antho. Hall.
Philemon Marsh."

"Nov. 3, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Hutton's, at the Bl. Swan in Coney

[1] Author of "Eboracum; or, History and Antiquities of the City and Cathedral Church of York, 1736." As Junior Grand Warden he delivered a speech at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of York, December 27, 1726, which will be noticed hereafter.

Street, in York, the following Person was admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons. John Smith."

"Dec. 1st, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, in the City of York, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons before

The Worsh[l] E. Bell, Esq., M[r].

Mr Etty, Mr Perritt, } Wardens. Will. Sotheran. John Iveson. Jos. Lodge."

"Dec. 8, 1725.—At a private Lodge at Mr Lowther's, being the Starr, in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free Masons. Christof. Coulton. Thos. Metcalfe. Francis Lowther. George Coates. William Day."

"Dec. 24, 1725.—At a private Lodge, held at Mr Lowther's, at y[e] Starr in Stonegate, the following Persons were admitted and sworn into the Antient Society of Free-Masons. Matt. St. Quintin. Tim. Thompson. Fran[s]. Thompson. William Hendrick. Tho. Bean."

"Dec. 27, 1725.—At a Lodge, held at Mr Philemon Marsh's in Petergate, the following gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Freemasons. Leo[d] Smith was also sworn and admitted at the same time. Chas. Howard.
Richd. Thompson."

"The same day the undermentioned Person was received, admitted, and acknowledged as a member of this Antient and Hon[ble] Society. John Hann.
Isaac ⊥ Scott."

Further extracts from these minutes will be given in their proper place. I have brought down the evidence to 1725, because that year was as memorable in the York annals, as 1717 and 1736 were in those of the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland respectively. The most important entries are, of course, those antedating the great event of 1717. None of these require any very elaborate commentary, and I shall therefore allow them, for the most part, to tell their own tale. "Sworne and admitted" or "admitted and sworne" are correlative terms, which, in the documents of the Company or the Guild, appear quite to belong to one another. Thus, the 14th ordinance of the Associated Corvisors (Cordwainers) of Hereford, A.D. 1569, runs:—

"The manner of the *othe* geven to any that shall be *admytted* to the felowshippe or companye—you ∴ shall keepe secrete all the lawful councill of the saide felowshippe, and shall observe all manner of rules and ordinances by the same felowshippe, made or hereafter to be made ∴ ∴ soe helpe me God."[1]

Also, we learn from the ordinances of the Guild of St. Katherine, at Stamford, which date from 1494, though, in the opinion of Mr. Toulmin Smith, they are "the early translation of a lost original,"[2] that on St. Katherine's Day, "when the first euensong is doone, the Alderman and his Bredern shall assemble in their Halle, and *dryncke*. And then shal be called forth all thoo [those] that shal be *admytted* Bredern or Sustern off the Gilde." A colloquy then ensued between the Alderman and the newcomers, the latter being asked if they were willing to become "Bredern," and whether they would desire and ask it, in the worship of Almighty God, our blessed Lady Saint Mary, and of the holy virgin and

[1] J. D. Devlin, Helps to Hereford History, in an Account of the Ancient Cordwainers' Company of the City, 1848, p. 23. [2] English Gilds, p. 191.

martyr, St. Katherine, the founder of the Guild, "*and in the way of Charyte.*"[1] To this "*by their owne Wille,*" they were to answer yea or nay, after which the clerk, by the direction of the Alderman, administered to them an oath of fealty to God, Saints Mary and Katherine, and the Guild. They then kissed the book, were lovingly received by the brethren, *drank a bout,* and went home.[2]

The York minutes inform us that three *Private* lodges were held in 1712 and the following year, two *General* lodges in 1713-14, and a *St. John's* Lodge at Christmas, 1716. Confining our attention to the entries which precede the year 1717, we find the proceedings of *three* meetings described as those of "the Honourable Society and *Fraternity* of Freemasons," whilst on two later occasions, *Fraternity* gives place to *Company,* and in the minutes of 1716, these terms are evidently used as words of indifferent application.

Whether a "Deputy President" was appointed by the President or elected by the members as chairman of the meeting, in the absence of the latter official, there are no means of determining. In every instance, however, the Deputy President appears to have been a person of gentle birth and an *Esquire.* It is worthy of note, that Charles Fairfax, who occupied the chair, June 24, 1714, is styled "Worshipful" in the minutes.

Under the dates, July 21, August 10 and 12, September 6, and December 1, 1725, certain brethren are named as "Masters," but which of the three was really *the Master,* is a point that must be left undecided. The speculative character of the lodge is sufficiently apparent from the minutes of its proceedings. This, indeed, constitutes one of the *two* leading characteristics of the Freemasonry practised at York, a system frequently though erroneously termed the York Rite—the other, being, if we form our conclusions from the documentary evidence before us, the extreme simplicity of the lodge ceremonial.

Two allusions to the "Freemasons," between the date at which the York records begin (1705) and the year 1717, remain to be noticed. These occur in the *Tatler,* and in each case were penned by Mr. (afterwards Sir Richard) Steele, who has been aptly described by Mr. J. L. Lewis, in an article on the earlier of the two passages, as "one of the wits of Queen Anne's time—a man about town, and a close observer of everything transpiring in London in his day."[3] The following are extracts from Steele's Essays:—

June 9, 1709.—"But my Reason for troubling you at this present is, to put a stop, if it may be, to an insinuating set of People, who sticking to the LETTER of your Treatise,[4] and not to the spirit of it, do assume the Name of PRETTY[5] Fellows; nay, and even get

[1] "Amen! Amen! So mot hyt be!
Say we so alle per Charyté."
—Halliwell Poem. *Cf.* Chap. XIV., p. 342.

[2] Smith, English Gilds, pp. 188, 189. See further, *ibid.*, pp. 316-319; Rev. J. Brand, History and Antiquities of Newcastle, 1789, vol. ii., p. 346; Jupp, History of the Carpenters' Company, 1848, p. 8; Dr. T. Harwood, History and Antiquities of Lichfield, 1806, p. 311; and Rev. C. Coates, History and Antiquities of Reading, 1802, p. 57.

[3] A Fragment of History (Masonic Eclectic, vol. i., New York, 1865, pp. 144-146).

[4] Referring to the *Tatler,* No. 24—June 4, 1709—also by Steele.

[5] Sir Walter Scott in "Waverley," p. 75, makes the Highland robber, Donald Bean Lean, speak of "the recruits who had recently joined Waverley's troop from his Uncle's estate, as '*pretty men,*' meaning (says Scott), not handsome, but stout warlike fellows." Also, at p. 326, note 30, he cites the following lines from an old ballad on the "Battle of the Bridge of Dee:"—

"The Highlandmen are pretty men
For handling sword and shield,
But yet they are but simple men
To stand a stricken field.'

new Names, as you very well hint. .·. .·. *They have their Signs and Tokens like Free-Masons;* they rail at Womankind," etc.[1]

May 3, 1710.—[After some remarks on "the tasteless manner of life which a set of idle fellows lead in this town," the essay proceeds] "You may see them at first sight grow acquainted by sympathy, insomuch that one who did not know the true cause of their sudden Familiarities, would think, *that they had some secret Intimation of each other like the Free-Masons.*"[2]

The "Fragment of History" from which I have already quoted, is too long for transcription, but some of Mr. Lewis's observations on the passage in the *Tatler,* No. 26—it does not appear that he had seen the equally significant allusion in the *Tatler,* No. 166—are so finely expressed, that I shall here introduce them. He says, "The Writer (Steele) is addressing a miscellaneous public, and is giving, in his usual lively style of description, mixed with good-humored satire, an account of a band of London dandies and loungers, whom he terms in the quaint language of the day, Pretty Fellows. He describes their effeminacy and gossip, and to give his readers the best idea that they were a closely-allied community, represents them as having 'signs and tokens like the Free-Masons.' Of course he would employ in this, as in every other of his essays, such language as would convey the clearest and simplest idea to the mind of his readers. Is it conceivable, therefore, if Freemasonry was a novelty, that he would content himself with this simple reference?"

The same commentator proceeds, "Signs and tokens are spoken of in the same technical language which is employed at the present time, and as being something peculiarly and distinctively Masonic. What other society ever had its signs except Masons and their modern imitators?[3] In what other, even of modern societies, except the Masonic, is the Grip termed 'a token?' Whether," he continues, "Sir Richard Steele was a Mason, *I do not know,*[4] but *I do know* that, in the extract I have given, he speaks of signs and tokens as matters well known and well understood by the public in his day as belonging to a particular class of men. It is left for the intelligent inquirer to ascertain how long and how widely such a custom must have existed and extended, to render such a brief and pointed reference to them intelligible to the public at large, or even to a mere London public. Again, they are spoken of as *Free-Masons,* and not merely, *Masons* or artificers in stone, and brick, and mortar; and this too, like the signs and tokens, is unaccompanied by a single word of explanation. If it meant operative masons only, freemen of the Guild or Corporation, why should the compound word be used, connected, as, *in the original,* by a hyphen? Why not say Free-Carpenters or Free-Smiths as well?"

Mr. Lewis then adds,—and if we agree with him, a portion of the difficulty which overhangs our subject is removed,—"The conclusion forces itself irresistibly upon the mind of every candid and intelligent person that there existed in London in 1709, and for a *long*

[1] The Tatler, No. 26. From Tuesday, June 7, to Thursday, June 9, 1709.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 166. From Saturday, April 29, to Tuesday, May 2, 1710.

[3] The essayist here goes much too far, though his general argument is not invalidated. See Chaps. I., pp. 20-22; V., *passim;* and XV., p. 355.

[4] There is no further evidence to connect Sir Richard Steele with the Society of Freemasons, beyond the existence of a curious plate in Bernard Picart's "Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the various Nations of the Known World," English Edition, vol. vi., 1737, p. 193, where a portrait of Steele surmounts a copy of Pine's "Engraved List of Lodges," arranged after a very singular fashion. See further, Freemasons' Magazine, Feb. 26, 1870, p. 165; and Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, pt. i., pp. 67, 68.



Pine's "Engraved List of Lodges," with the Portrait of Sir Richard Steele.

Copied from the original plate in Bernard Picart's "Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World." Published in 1737.

time before, a Society known as the Free-masons, having certain *distinct* modes of recognition; and the proof of it is found, not in the assertions of Masonic writers and historians, but in a standard work. It is not found in an elaborate panegyric written by a Masonic pen, but in the bare statement of a fact, unaccompanied by explanation, because it needed none then, as it needs none now, and is one of these sure and infallible guide-marks whence the materials for truthful history are taken, and by which its veracity is tested."[1]

Steele's allusions to the Freemasons merit our closest attention, and if, indeed, the information contained in them should not appear as complete as might be wished, it must not be forgotten that a faint light is better than total darkness.

The passages quoted from the *Tatler*, may well be held to point to something more than was implied by the phrase, "the benefit of the MASON WORD," which, if we follow the evidence, was all that *Scottish* brethren, in the *seventeenth* century, were entitled to.[2] The Masonic systems prevailing in the *two* kingdoms, will be hereafter more closely compared, but having regard to the expediency, of keeping steadily in our minds as we proceed, the important point,[3] towards the determination of which we are progressing, Lyon's definition of what is to be understood by the expression MASON WORD, will assist us in arriving at a conclusion with regard to the special value (if any) of the extracts from the *Tatler*. "The Word," says this excellent authority, "is the only secret that is ever alluded to in the minutes of Mary's Chapel or in those of Kilwinning, Atcheson's Haven, or Dunblane, or any other that we have examined of a date prior to the erection of the Grand Lodge. But that this talisman consisted of something more than a word is evident from the *secrets* of the Mason Word, being referred to in the minute-book of the Lodge of Dunblane, and from the further information drawn from that of Haughfoot, viz., that in 1707 [1702] the Word was accompanied by a grip." Lyon adds,—and in the following remarks I am wholly with him,—"If the communication by Masonic Lodges of secret words or signs constituted a *degree*—a term of modern application to the esoteric observances of the Masonic body—then there was, under the purely Operative regime, *only one known to Scottish Lodges*,[4] viz., that in which, under an oath, apprentices obtained a knowledge of the Mason Word and all that was implied in the expression."[5]

It will be observed that Lyon rests his belief in the term "Mason Word" comprising far more than its ordinary meaning would convey, upon lodge-minutes of the *eighteenth* century —the Haughfoot entry dating from 1702,[6] and that of the lodge of Dunblane so late as 1729.[7] These, however, in my judgment, are not sufficiently to be depended upon, in the entire absence of corroboration, as indicating, with any precision, the actual customs prevalent among Scottish Masons in the *seventeenth* century. The Haughfoot minute-book, like some other old manuscripts, notably the Harleian, No. 1942, and the Sloane, No. 3329,[8] opens more questions than it closes; but as the records of this lodge will again claim

[1] Masonic Eclectic, vol. i., *loc. cit.*

[2] Chap. VIII., pp. 11, 17, 38, 40, 49, 52, 64, 65, 67, and 74.

[3] *I.e.*, whether the early Freemasonry of England and that of Scotland were substantially one and the same thing? See *ante*, p. 10.

[4] The italics are mine.

[5] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 22, 23.

[6] *Ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 67. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[8] Given in Appendix C. of Findel's "History of Freemasonry," and again printed, with lithographed *facsimile*, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, in 1872.

our attention, I shall at this point merely refer below[1] to some words of caution, already thrown out, against placing too great a reliance upon the Haughfoot documents, as laying bare the inner life of a *representative* Scottish lodge, even of so late a date as the year 1702.

Neither is the evidence furnished by the Dunblane records, of an entirely satisfactory character. The fact that in 1729, two "entered apprentices" from "Mother Kilwinning," on proof of their possessing "a competent knowledge of the secrets of the MASON WORD," were entered *and passed* in the Lodge of Dunblane[2] is interesting no doubt, but the proceedings of this meeting would be more entitled to our confidence, as presenting a picture of Scottish Masonic life *before* the era of Grand Lodges, if they dated from an earlier period. It is true that in Scotland the year 1736 corresponds in some respects with 1717 in England. Lodges in either country prior to these dates respectively were independent communities. But it does not follow, because nineteen years elapsed before the example set in England (1717) was followed in Scotland (1736), that during this interval the speculative Freemasonry of the former kingdom never crossed the Border. Indeed, the visit of Dr. Desaguliers to the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721[3] will of itself dispel this illusion, and we may leave out of sight reasons that might be freely cited, which would afford the most convincing proof of the influence of English ideas and English customs on the Scottish character, between the Treaty of Union (1707) and "the Forty-Five"[4] a period of time that overlaps at both ends the interval which divides the two Grand Lodges. That the larger number of the members of the Lodge of Dunblane were non-operatives, is also a circumstance that must not be forgotten, and it is unlikely that the noblemen and gentlemen of whom the lodge was mainly composed, were wholly without curiosity in respect of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England, which in 1729 had been just twelve years established. The probability, indeed, is quite the other way, since we learn from the minutes that on September 6, 1723, William Caddell of Fossothy, a member of the lodge, presented it with a "Book intituled the Constitutions of the Free Masons .·. .·. by Mr James Andersone, Minister of the Gospell, and printed at London .·. Anno Domini 1723."[5]

But putting all the objections I have hitherto raised on one side, and assuming, let us say, that the allusion to "the Secrets of the MASON WORD" can be carried back to the seventeenth century, what does it amount to? I am far from contending that the term "secrets" *may* not comprise the "signs and tokens" in use in the South. But the question is, will such a deduction be justified by the *entire body* of documentary evidence relating to the early proceedings of Scottish lodges? Are the mention of a *grip* in the Haughfoot minutes, and the allusion to *secrets* in those of Dunblane, to be considered as outweighing the uniform silence of the records of all the other Scottish lodges, with regard to aught but the MASON WORD itself, or to the "benefit" accruing therefrom?[6]

Here, for the present, I break off. A few final words have yet to be said on the comparative development of the two Masonic systems, but these will be more fitly introduced

[1] *Ante*, p. 10. [2] Chap. VIII., p. 40; Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 417.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 150-153. The details of Desaguliers' reception by the Lodge of Edinburgh are fully given by the Scottish Historian, who, however, has founded on them—as I shall presently endeavour to show—rather more than they will safely bear. *Cf. post*, pp. 37, 38.

[4] It is somewhat singular that Cameron of Lochiel, Lord Strathallan, Lord John Drummond, and other leading members of the Lodge of Dunblane, were prominent actors on the Stewart side in the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Lord John Drummond was Master in 1743-45 (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 414). [5] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 416.

[6] See the observations in Chap. VIII., pp. 51, 52.

when I have brought up the evidence to the year 1723. But before attempting to describe the rise and progress of the "Premier Grand Lodge of the World," a remarkable manuscript of uncertain date must be briefly noticed, as by so doing I shall hold the scales evenly, since to waive its consideration altogether until a later period, or to examine its pretensions at length in this place, would in either case be equivalent to dealing with the writing *chronologically*, an obligation happily not forced upon me, and which I shall not rashly assume.

"The antiquity and independence of the three degrees" are *claimed* to be satisfactorily attested by the evidence of Sloane MS. 3329. Therefore (it is argued), as the existence or non-existence of degrees before the era of Grand Lodges is the *crux* of Masonic historians, *if* this MS. is of earlier date than 1717—*cadit quæstio*. But inasmuch as there is no other *proof*—if the premises are conceded—that *degrees*, in the modern acceptation of the term, were known in Masonry until the third decade of the eighteenth century, even the most superstitious believer in the antiquity of the Sloane MS. should pause before laying down that their earlier existence is conclusively established—by relying on that portion *only* of the paleographical evidence which is satisfactory to his own mind.

Sloane MS. 3329 will be presently examined in connection with other documents of a similar class, and I now turn to the great Masonic event of the eighteenth century—the ASSEMBLY of 1717—out of which sprang the Grand Lodge of England, the Mother of Grand Lodges.

Unfortunately the minutes of Grand Lodge only commence on June 24, 1723.

For the history, therefore, of the first six years of the new *régime*, we are mainly dependent on the account given by Dr. Anderson in the "Constitutions" of 1738, nothing whatever relating to the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, except the "General Regulations" of 1721, having been inserted in the earlier edition of 1723. From this source I derive the following narrative, in which are preserved as nearly as possible both the orthographical and the typographical peculiarities of the original:[1]—

"KING GEORGE I. enter'd *London* most magnificently on 20 *Sept.* 1714. And after the Rebellion was over A.D. 1716, the few *Lodges* at *London* finding themselves neglected by Sir *Christopher Wren*,[2] through fit to cement under a *Grand Master* as the Centre of Union and Harmony, *viz.*, the *Lodges* that met,

"1. At the *Goose* and *Gridiron* Ale house in St *Paul's Church-Yard*.

"2. At the *Crown* Ale-house in *Parker's-Lane* near *Drury-Lane*.

"3. At the *Apple-Tree* Tavern in *Charles-street, Covent-Garden*.

"4. At the *Rummer* and *Grapes* Tavern in *Channel-Row, Westminster*.[3]

"They and some old Brothers met at the said *Apple-Tree*, and having put into the Chair the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*) they constituted themselves a

[1] Except other authorities are cited, the ensuing account down to the meeting of Grand Lodge, at the White Lion, Cornhill, April 25, 1723, is taken from the "New Book of Constitutions," 1738, pp. 109-115.

[2] See Chap. XII., *passim*.

[3] On removing from Oxford to London in 1714, Dr. Desaguliers settled in *Channel-Row, Westminster*, and continued to reside there until it was pulled down to make way for the new bridge at Westminster. George Payne, his immediate predecessor as Grand Master, lived at New Palace Yard, Westminster, where he died February 23, 1757. Both Desaguliers and Payne were members in 1723 of the lodge at the "Horn" Tavern in New Palace Yard, Westminster, which is described in the "Constitutions" of 1738 (p. 185) as "the *Old Lodge* removed from the RUMMER and GRAPES, *Channel-Row*, whose *Constitution* is immemorial." (*Now* the Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge, No. 4.)

GRAND LODGE pro Tempore in *Due Form*, and forthwith revived [1] the Quarterly *Communication* of the *Officers* of Lodges (call'd the **Grand Lodge**) resolv'd to hold the *Annual* ASSEMBLY *and Feast*, and them to chuse a GRAND MASTER from among themselves, till they should have the Honor of a Noble Brother at their Head.

"Accordingly

On St. *John's Baptist's* Day, in the 3d year of KING GEORGE I., A.D. 1717, the ASSEMBLY and *Feast* of the *Free and accepted Masons* was held at the foresaid *Goose and Gridiron* Ale-house.

"Before Dinner, the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*) in the Chair, proposed a List of proper Candidates;

and the Brethren by a Majority of Hands elected MR ANTONY SAYER, Gentleman, *Grand Master* of *Masons*, who being

{ Mr *Jacob Lamball*, Carpenter, / Capt. *Joseph Elliot*,[2] } Grand Wardens.

forthwith invested with the Badges of Office and Power by the said *oldest Master*, and install'd, was duly congratulated by the Assembly who pay'd him the Homage.[3]

"Sayer, *Grand Master*, commanded the *Masters* and *Wardens* of Lodges to meet the *Grand* Officers every *Quarter* in *Communication*,* at the Place that he should appoint in his Summons sent by the *Tyler*.

* "N.B.—It is call'd the *Quarterly Communication*, because it should meet *Quarterly* according to antient Usage. And
When the *Grand Master* is present it is a Lodge in *Ample Form*; otherwise, only in *Due Form*, yet having the same Authority with *Ample Form*.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at the said Place 24 *June* 1718.

"Brother *Sayer* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud our Brother GEORGE PAYNE [4] Esq^r *Grand Master* of *Masons* who being duly invested,

[1] It must be carefully borne in mind, that this *revival* of the Quarterly Communication was *recorded* twenty-one years after the date of the occurrence to which it refers; also, that no such "revival" is mentioned by Dr. Anderson in the Constitutions of 1723.

[2] The positions of these worthies are generally reversed, and the *Captain* is made to take precedence of the *Carpenter*, but the *corrigenda* appended to the "Book of Constitutions" directs that the names shall be read as above.

[3] In an anonymous and undated work, but which must have been published in 1763 or the following year, we are told that "the Masters and Wardens of *six* Lodges assembled at the *Apple Tree* on St. *John's* Day, 1716, and after the oldest Master Mason (who was also the Master of a lodge) had taken the Chair, they constituted among themselves a GRAND LODGE '*pro tempore*,' and revived their Quarterly Communications, and their Annual Feast" (The Complete Free-mason; or, Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets, p. 83). All subsequent writers appear to have copied from Anderson in their accounts of the proceedings of 1717, though the details are occasionally varied. The statement in "Multa Paucis" is evidently a "blend" of the events arranged by Anderson under the years 1716 *and* 1717, and that the author of "Multa Paucis" had studied the Constitutions of 1738 with some care, is proved by his placing Lambell [*Lamball*] and Elliot in their proper places as *Senior* and *Junior* Grand Warden respectively, The word *six* can hardly be a misprint, as it occurs twice in the work (pp. 83, 111), but see *ante*, p. 12.

[4] Although Payne is commonly described as a "learned antiquarian," he does not appear to have been a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxvii., 1757, p. 93, has the following: "*Deaths.*—Jan. 23. Geo. Payne, Esq., of New-Palace-yd. *Promotions.*—Arthur Leigh, Esq., secretary to the tax-office (George Payne, Esq., dec.).

install'd, congratulated and homaged, recommended the strict Observance of the Quarterly Communication; and desired any Brethren to bring to the Grand Lodge any old *Writings* and *Records* concerning *Masons* and *Masonry* in order to shew the Usages of antient Times: And this Year several old Copies of the *Gothic Constitutions* were produced and collated. { Mr *John Cordwell*, City Carpenter, / Mr *Thomas Morrice*,[1] Stone Cutter, } Grand Wardens.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at the said Place, 24 *June* 1719. Brother *Payne* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud our Reverend Brother JOHN *Theophilus Desaguliers*, L.L.D. and F.R.S., *Grand Master* of *Masons*, and being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homaged, forthwith reviv'd the old regular and peculiar Toasts or Healths of the *Free Masons*. Now several *old* Brothers, that had neglected the *Craft*, visited the *Lodges;* some *Noblemen* were also made Brothers, and more *new* Lodges were constituted. { Mr *Antony* Sayer foresaid, / Mr *Tho. Morrice* foresaid, } *Grand Wardens.*

"ASSEMBLY and Feast at the foresaid Place 24 *June* 1720. Brother *Desaguliers* having gather'd the Votes, after Dinner proclaim'd aloud GEORGE PAYNE, Esq[r]; again *Grand Master* of *Masons;* who being duly invested, install'd, congratulated and homag'd, began the usual Demonstrations of Joy, Love and Harmony. { Mr *Thomas Hobby*, Stone-Cutter, / Mr *Rich. Ware*, Mathematician, } *Grand Wardens.*

"This Year, at some *private* Lodges, several very valuable *Manuscripts* (for they had nothing yet in Print) concerning the Fraternity, their Lodges, Regulations, Charges, Secrets, and Usages (particularly one writ by Mr *Nicholas Stone* the Warden of *Inigo Jones*) were too hastily burnt by some scrupulous Brothers; that those Papers might not fall into strange Hands."[2]

"At the *Quarterly* Communication or *Grand Lodge*, in *ample* Form, on St *John Evangelist's* Day 1720,[3] at the said Place

"It was agreed, in order to avoid Disputes on the *Annual* Feast-Day, that the *new Grand Master* for the future shall be named and proposed to the *Grand Lodge* some time before the Feast, by the present or *old Grand Master;* and if approv'd, that the Brother proposed, if present, shall be kindly saluted; or even if absent, his Health shall be toasted as *Grand Master Elect.*

"Also agreed, that for the future the *New Grand Master*, as soon as he is install'd,

[1] A member of the Masons' Company. See *ante*, Vol. II., p. 274.

[2] Dallaway, citing Ware's Essay in the Archæologia (vol. xvii., p. 83), says: "Perhaps they thought the new mode, though dependent on taste, was independent of science, and, like the Caliph Omar, held what was agreeable to the new faith useless, and what was not, ought to be destroyed" (Discourses upon Architecture, p. 428). An antagonistic writer wittily observes: "[Freemasonry] professes to teach the seven liberal arts, and also the black art; professes to give one a wonderful secret, which is, that she has none; who sprung from the clouds, *formed by the smoke of her own records, which were burnt for the honour of the mystery*," etc. (Quoted by Dr. Oliver in his "Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry," 1846, vol. ii., preface, p. vi.).

[3] Although Quarterly Communications are *said* to have been enjoined by Sayer, none seem to have taken place up to the above date. Subsequently, with the exception of the stormy year, 1722, they were held with frequency.

shall have the sole Power of appointing both his *Grand Wardens* and a *Deputy* Grand Master (now found as necessary as formerly) according to antient Custom, when *Noble* Brothers were *Grand* Masters.[1]

"Accordingly

At the **Grand Lodge** in *ample* Form on *Lady-Day* 1721, at the said Place *Grand Master* PAYNE proposed for his Successor our most Noble Brother.

"John Duke of Montagu,[2] *Master* of a Lodge; who being present, was forthwith saluted *Grand Master Elect,* and his Health drank in *due* Form; when they all express'd great Joy at the happy Prospect of being again patronized by *noble Grand Masters,* as in the prosperous Times of *Free Masonry.*[3]

"PAYNE, *Grand Master,* observing the *Number* of Lodges to encrease, and that the General *Assembly* requir'd more Room, proposed the next *Assembly* and *Feast* to be held at *Stationers-Hall, Ludgate Street;* which was agreed to.

"Then the *Grand Wardens* were order'd, as usual, to prepare the Feast, and to take some *Stewards* to their Assistance, Brothers of Ability and Capacity, and to appoint some Brethren to attend the Tables; for that no strangers must be there.[4] But the *Grand* Officers not finding a proper Number of *Stewards,* our Brother Mr **Josiah Villenau,** Upholder in the *Burrough Southwark,* generously undertook the whole himself, attended by some Waiters, *Thomas Morrice, Francis Bailey,* &c.

"ASSEMBLY and *Feast* at *Stationers-Hall,* 24 *June* 1721 in the 7th Year of King GEORGE I.[5]

"PAYNE, *Grand Master,* with his *Wardens,* the former *Grand* Officers, and the *Masters* and *Wardens* of 12 Lodges, met the *Grand Master Elect* in a *Grand Lodge* at the *Kings' Arms* Tavern[6] St *Paul's Church-yard,* in the Morning; and having forthwith

[1] At the risk of being found tedious, I must again ask the reader to bear in mind that the above narrative was compiled many years *after* the events occurred, upon which Dr. Anderson moralizes. To quote my own remarks, expressed some years ago: "The first innovation upon the usages of the Society occurred December 27, 1720, when the office of Deputy Grand Master was established, and the Grand Master was empowered to *appoint* that officer, together with the *two wardens.* This encroachment upon the privileges of members seems to have been strenuously resisted for several years, and the question of *nomination* or *election* was not finally settled until April 28, 1724" (The Four Old Lodges, 1879, p. 30).

[2] See Chap. XIII., p. 251.

[3] See *ante,* pp. 7, 8; and Chap. XII., *passim.*

[4] Notwithstanding the precautions taken to exclude the uninitiated, if we believe the witty author of the "Praise of Drunkenness" (*ante,* vol. II., pp. 252, 253), one *stranger,* at least, succeeded in obtaining admission to *a* meeting of the Grand Lodge held at Stationers' Hall

[5] Up to this period there appear to have been *seven* meetings of the Grand Lodge, of which one was held at the "Apple Tree Tavern" in Charles Street, Covent Garden, and the remainder at the "Goose and Gridiron" Alehouse in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Thus the four earliest Grand Masters were elected in the local habitation of the "old lodge of St. Paul"—a circumstance which, as far as I know, furnishes the only evidence at all consistent with Preston's statement—That the new Grand Master was always proposed and presented for approval in the Lodge of Antiquity (original No. 1) before his election in the Grand Lodge (Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 257, *ante,* Chap. XII., p. 171).

[6] Preston, who styles it "the *Queen's* Arms," says in a note: "The old Lodge of St. Paul's, now the Lodge of Antiquity, having been removed hither" (Illustrations p. 262)—but the lodge in question is entered in the Grand Lodge books as meeting at the "Goose and Gridiron" in 1723, 1725, and 1728, and continued to do so until 1729, as we learn from Pine's Engraved list. Of course, the lodge *may* have removed from the Goose and Gridiron to the King's Arms *after* 1717, and have gone back

recognized their Choice of Brother MONTAGU they made some new Brothers,[1] particularly the noble PHILIP Lord *Stanhope*, now Earl of *Chesterfield:* And from thence they marched on Foot to the *Hall* in proper Clothing and due Form; where they were joyfully receiv'd by about 150 *true* and *faithful*, all clothed.

"After Grace said, they sat down in the antient Manner of *Masons* to a very elegant Feast, and dined with Joy and Gladness. After Dinner and Grace said, Brother PAYNE, the old *Grand Master*, made the *first Procession* round the *Hall*, and when return'd he proclaim'd aloud the most noble Prince and our Brother.

"JOHN MONTAGU, Duke of **Montagu**, GRAND MASTER of *Masons!* and Brother *Payne* having invested his *Grace's* WORSHIP with the Ensigns and Badges of his Office and Authority, install'd him in *Solomon's* Chair and sat down on his Right Hand; while the Assembly own'd the Duke's Authority with due Homage and joyful Congratulations, upon this Revival of the *Prosperity* of *Masonry*.

"MONTAGU, G. Master, immediately call'd forth (without naming him before) as it were carelesly, **John Beal**, M.D. as his *Deputy Grand Master*, whom Brother *Payne* invested, and install'd him in *Hiram Abbiff's* Chair on the *Grand Master's Left Hand*.

"In like Manner his *Worship* call'd forth and appointed { Mr *Josiah Villeneau*, } *Grand* / { Mr *Thomas Morrice*, } *Wardens*, who were invested and install'd[2] by the last *Grand* Wardens.

"Upon which the *Deputy* and *Wardens* were saluted and congratulated as usual.

"Then MONTAGU, G. *Master*, with his *Officers* and the *old Officers*, having made the 2d *procession* round the *Hall*, Brother **Desaguliers** made an eloquent Oration about *Masons* and *Masonry:* And after Great Harmony, the Effect of brotherly Love, the *Grand Master* thank'd Brother *Villeneau* for his Care of the *Feast*, and order'd him as *Warden* to close the *Lodge* in good Time.

"The **Grand Lodge** in *ample* Form on 29 Sept. 1721, at *King's-Arms* foresaid, with the former *Grand* Officers and those of 16 *Lodges*.

again *before* 1723? But as the Grand Lodge met at the former house up to Lady-day 1721, this will only leave three months within which the senior lodge could have changed its *locale*, unless we abandon the supposition of the Goose and Gridiron having been the common meeting-place of the private lodge and the governing body from 1717 to 1721. To the possible objection, that these apparently trivial matters are beneath the dignity of history, I reply, that inasmuch as we have Preston's sole authority for much that is *alleged* to have occurred between 1717 and 1723, his accuracy in *all* matters, where there are opportunities of testing it, cannot be too patiently, or too minutely considered.

[1] As the famous "General Regulations" of the Society were "approv'd" at this meeting, the *proviso* that apprentices, unless by dispensation, were to "be admitted *Masters* and *Fellow-Craft* only here"—*i.e.*, at the Grand Lodge—which occurs in Article XIII., *may* date from June 24, 1721, though in the process of "digesting" these rules into a "new method," of which we have the result, in the code of laws enacted in 1723, Dr. Anderson, with equal probability, *may* have borrowed the *proviso* from the "immemorial *Usages* of the Fraternity," with which it is expressly stated that he "compar'd them." See the 9th and 12th Orders of the Alnwick Lodge (*ante*, p. 15; Chaps. III., pp. 130 (LXIV.), 150; VIII., p. 71; and XIV., p. 275. It is somewhat singular, that in Anderson's account of the proceedings on the day of St. John the Baptist, 1721, we have the only evidence that the ceremony of Initiation, Passing, or Raising, was ever *actually* performed in the Grand Lodge.

[2] "Installation—the act of giving visible possession of a rank or office by placing in the proper seat" (Johnson's Dictionary).

There is no reason to believe that anything more than this was implied by the term "install'd," which, as will be seen above, was used in 1721 to describe the ceremonial in vogue at the investment of *all* Grand Officers.

"His Grace's *Worship* and the *Lodge* finding Fault with all the Copies of the *old Gothic Constitutions*, order'd Brother *James Anderson*, A.M., to digest the same in a new and better Method.

"The **Grand Lodge** in *ample* Form on St JOHN's Day 27 *Dec.* 1721, at the said *King's Arms*, with former *Grand* Officers and those of 20 Lodges.

"MONTAGU, *Grand Master*, at the Desire of the *Lodge*, appointed 14 learned Brothers to examine Brother *Anderson's*[1] Manuscript, and to make Report. This *Communication* was made very entertaining by the Lectures of some *old Masons.*"

At this point, and before proceeding with the narrative of Dr. Anderson, some additional evidence from other sources will be presented.

Between 1717 and 1720—both dates inclusive—there are no allusions in the newspaper files at the British Museum,[2] or in contemporary writings, which possess any bearing on Masonic history. In 1721, however, the Society, owing, it may well have been, to the acceptance by the Duke of Montagu of the office of Grand Master, rose at one bound into notice and esteem.

If we rely upon the evidence of a contemporary witness, Masonry must have languished under the rule of Sayer, Payne, and Desaguliers. An entry in the diary of Dr. Stukeley[3] reads:—

"Jan. 6, 1721. I was made a Freemason at the Salutation Tavern, Tavistock Street [London], with M^r^ Collins and Capt. Rowe, who made the famous diving engine."

The Doctor adds—"I was the first person made a Freemason in London for many years. We had great difficulty to find members enough to perform the ceremony. Immediately upon that it took a run, and ran itself out of breath thro' the folly of the members."[4]

Stukeley, who appears to have dined at Stationers' Hall on the occasion of the Duke of Montagu's installation, mentions that Lord Herbert and Sir Andrew Fountaine—names

[1] It is highly probable that Anderson was admitted into Masonry before he crossed the border, but it is unlikely that he became a member of an *English* lodge prior to 1721. Had he been initiated or affiliated in London at any period anterior to June 24, 1720, I think that, instead of electing Payne for a second term, the Grand Lodge would have chosen Anderson to preside over it for the year ensuing. See the extracts from the Diary of Dr. Stukeley, which follow in the text, and particularly the first.

[2] *Ante*, vol. II., p. 134.

[3] Dr. William Stukeley was born at Holbeach in Lincolnshire, November 7, 1687, and having taken the degree of M.B. at Cambridge, 1709, commenced practice as a physician at Boston in his native county; but, in 1717, removed to London, and on March 3, in the same year, he was elected F.R.S., an honor also conferred upon John, Duke of Montagu, the earliest of our "noble Grand Masters," at the same date; became one of the re-founders of the Society of Antiquaries, 1718; in 1726 removed to Grantham; and in 1729 he entered into holy orders, and was presented to the Rectory of All Saints, Stamford. In 1747 the Duke of Montagu gave him the Rectory of St. George the Martyr, Queen Square, where he died March 3, 1765, in his 78th year. Stukeley's antiquarian works are more voluminous than valuable. He was a member of the "Gentlemen's Society" of Spalding, a literary association patronized by many well-known antiquaries and Freemasons, *e.g.*, Dr. Desaguliers, the Earl of Dalkeith, and Lord Coleraine (Grand Masters of England, 1719, 1723, 1727); Joseph Ames, David Casley, Francis Drake (Grand Master of *All* England, 1761-2); Martin Folkes (Dep. G. M., 1724), Sir Richard Manningham, Dr. Thos. Manningham (Dep. G. M., 1752-56), and "Sir Andrew Michael Ramsey, Knight of St. Lazarus" (March 12, 1729).

[4] For these extracts I am indebted to Mr. T. B. Whytehead, who has favored me with the notes made by the Rev. W. C. Lukis from the actual Diary, now in the possession of the Rev. H. F. St. John, of Dinmore House, Herefordshire.

omitted by Anderson—were present at the meeting, and states that Dr. Desaguliers "pronounced an Oration," also that "Grand Master Pain produced an old MS. of the Constitutions" (Chap. II., p. 59, note 1), and "read over a new sett of Articles to be observed."

The following reasons for becoming a Freemason are given by Dr. Stukeley in his autobiography:—

"His curiosity led him to be initiated into the mysterys of Masonry, suspecting it to be the remains of the mysterys of the antients; when, with difficulty, a number sufficient was to be found in all London. After this it became a public fashion, not only spred over Brittain and Ireland, but [over] all of Europe."

The Diary proceeds:—

"Dec. 27th, 1721.—We met at the Fountain Tavern, Strand, and by the consent of the Grand Master present, Dr Beal [D.G.M.] constituted a lodge there, where I was chose Master."

Commenting on this entry, Mr. T. B. Whytehead observes: "Nothing is named about the qualification for the chair, and as Bro. Stukeley had not been twelve months a Mason, it is manifest that any brother could be chosen to preside, as also that the verbal consent of the Grand Master, or his Deputy, was sufficient to authorize the formation of a lodge."[1]

The statement in the Diary, however, is inconsistent with two passages in Dr. Anderson's narrative, but as the consideration of this discrepancy will bring us up to March 25, 1722, I shall first of all exhaust the evidence relating to the previous year.

This consists of the interesting account[2] by Lyon of the affiliation of Dr. Desaguliers as a member of the Scottish Fraternity.

"Att Maries Chapell the 24 of August 1721 years—James Wattson present deacon of the Masons of Edinr., Preses. The which day Doctor John Theophilus Desaguliers, fel low of the Royall Societie, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Grace James Duke of Chandois, late Generall Master of the Mason Lodges in England, being in town and desirous to have a *conference* with the Deacon, Warden, and Master Masons of Edinr., which was accordingly granted, and finding him duly qualified *in all points of Masonry*,[3] they received him as a Brother into their Societie."

"Likeas, upon the 25th day of the sd moneth, the Deacons, Warden, Masters, and several other members of the Societie, together with the sd Doctor Desaguliers, haveing mett att Maries Chapell, there was a supplication presented to them by John Campbell, Esq^{r}, Lord Provost of Edinbr., George Preston, and Hugh Hathorn, Baillies; James Nimo, Thesaurer; William Livingston, Deacon-convener of the Trades thereof; and George Irving, Clerk to the Dean of Guild Court,—and humbly craving to be admitted members of the sd Societie; which being considered by them, they granted the desire thereof, and the saids honourable persons were admitted and receaved Entered Apprentices and Fellow-Crafts accordingly."[4]

[1] Freemason, July 31, 1880. [2] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 151

[3] This may either mean that Desaguliers passed a satisfactory examination in all the Masonic Secrets then known in the Scottish metropolis, or the word italicized may simply import—*in Masonic phrase*—that the *two* parties to the *conference* were mutually satisfied with the result.

[4] Neither in this, or in the following entry, is there anything to indicate that the persons admitted "Entered Apprentices and Fellow Crafts" were entrusted with further secrets than those communicated to the "Fellow Crafts and Masters" of the seventeenth century. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 27, 28, 55.

"And sicklike upon the 28th day of the said moneth there was another petition given in by Sr Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, Barronet; Robert Wightman, Esq^r., present Dean of Gild of Edr.; George Drummond, Esq., late Theasurer therof; Archibald M'Aulay, late Bailly there; and Patrick Lindsay, merchant there, craveing the like benefit, which was also granted, and they receaved as members of the Societie as the other persons above mentioned. The same day James Key and Thomas Aikman, servants to James Wattson, deacon of the masons, were admitted and receaved entered apprentices, and payed to James Mack, warden, the ordinary dues as such. Ro. Alison, Clerk."

Dr. Desaguliers' visit to Edinburgh appears to have taken place at the wish of the magistrates there, who, when they first brought water into that city by leaden pipes, applied to him for information concerning the quantity of water they could obtain by means of a given diameter.[1]

At this time, says Lyon, "a revision of the English Masonic Constitutions was in contemplation;[2] and the better to facilitate this, Desaguliers, along with Dr. James Anderson, was engaged in the examination of such ancient Masonic records as could be consulted. Embracing the opportunity which his sojourn in the Scottish capital offered, for comparing what he knew of the pre-symbolic constitutions and customs of English Masons, with those that obtained in Scotch Lodges, and animated, no doubt, by a desire for the spread of the new system,[3] he held a conference with the office-bearers and members of the Lodge of Edinburgh. That he and his brethren in Mary's Chapel should have so thoroughly understood each other on all the points of Masonry, shows either that in their main features the secrets of the old Operative Lodges of the two countries were somewhat similar, or that an inkling of the novelty had already been conveyed into Scotland. The fact that English versions of the Masonic Legend and Charges were in circulation among the Scotch in the middle of the seventeenth century favors the former supposition;[4] and if this be correct, there is strong ground for the presumption that the conference in question had relation to Speculative Masonry and its introduction into Scotland."[5]

The same distinguished writer then expresses his opinion that on both the 25th and the 28th of August, 1721, "the ceremony of entering and passing would, as far as the circumstances of the Lodge would permit, be conducted by Desaguliers himself in accordance with the ritual he was anxious to introduce," and goes on to account for the Doctor's having confined himself to the two lesser degrees, by remarking that "it was not till 1722-23 that the English regulation restricting the conferring of the Third Degree to Grand Lodge

[1] Dr. T. Thomson, History of the Royal Society, 1812, bk. iii., p. 406.

[2] There is no *evidence* to show that a revision of the "Constitutions" was in contemplation before September 29, 1721.

[3] This is conjecture, pure and simple, and it might with far greater probability be inferred, that Desaguliers, whose tendency to conviviality is well known, thought that a little innocent mirth in the society of his Masonic brethren would form an agreeable interlude between the duties he was required to perform in a professional capacity, and his homeward journey?

[4] It is difficult to reconcile the above remarks with some others by the same writer, which appear on the next page of his admirable work, viz.: "Some years ago, and when unaware of Desagulier's visit to Mary's Chapel, we publicly expressed our opinion that the system of Masonic Degrees, which, for nearly a century and a half, has been known in Scotland as Freemasonry, was an *importation* from England, seeing that in the processes of initiation and advancement, conformity to the new ceremonial required the adoption of genuflections, postures, etc., which, in the manner of their use —the country being then purely presbyterian—were regarded by our forefathers with abhorrence as relics of Popery and Prelacy" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 153). [5] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

was repealed."[1] Lyon adds that he "has no hesitation in ascribing Scotland's acquaintance with, and subsequent adoption of, English Symbolical Masonry, to the conference which the co-fabricator and pioneer of the system held with the Lodge of Edinburgh in August 1721."

The affiliation of a former Grand Master of the English Society, as a member of the Scottish Fraternity, not only constitutes a memorable epoch in the history of the latter body, but is of especial value in our general inquiry, as affording some assured *data* by aid of which a comparison of the Masonic Systems of the two countries may be pursued with more confidence, than were we left to formulate our conclusions from the evidence of either English or Scottish records, dealing only with the details of the individual system to which they relate.

Before again placing ourselves under the guidance of Dr. Anderson, two observations are necessary. One, that the incident of Desaguliers' affiliation is recorded under the year 1721—though its full consideration will occur later—because, in investigations like the present, *dates* are our most material facts, yet unless arranged with some approach to chronological exactitude, they are calculated to hinder rather than facilitate our research, by introducing a new element of confusion.

The other, that nowhere do the errors of the "Sheep-walking School" of Masonic writers stand out in bolder relief than in their annals of the year 1717, where the leading *rôle* in the movement, which culminated in the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England, is assigned to Desaguliers.

Laurence Dermott (of whom more hereafter), in the third edition of his "Ahiman Rezon,"[2] published in 1778, observes:—

"Brother Thomas Grinsell, a man of great veracity (elder brother of the celebrated James Quin, Esq.), informed his lodge No. 3 in London (in 1753) that eight persons, whose names were Desaguliers, Gofton, King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden, De Noyer, and Vraden, were the geniusses to whom the world is indebted for the memorable invention of Modern[3] Masonry."

Dermott continues—"Mr Grinsell often told the author [of the "Ahiman Rezon," *i.e.*, himself] that he (Grinsell) was a Free-mason before Modern Masonry was known. Nor is this to be doubted, when we consider that Mr Grinsell was an apprentice to a weaver in

[1] This is incorrect. The regulation in question was only *enacted* in 1722-23, *i.e.*, as far as can be positively affirmed. It *may*, of course, have formed a part of Payne's code (1721), but under either supposition there is nothing in the language of the "Constitutions" of 1723 which will justify the *conclusion*, that at the date of its publication the term "Master" signified anything but "Master of a Lodge." Indeed, further on in his History, Lyon himself observes: "The Third Degree could hardly have been present to the mind of Dr. Anderson, when in 1723 he superintended the printing of his 'Book of Constitutions,' for it is therein stated that the '*key* of a fellow-craft' is that by which the secrets communicated in the ancient Lodges could be unravelled" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 210). See in the Constitutions of 1723—The Charges of a Free-Mason, No. IV.; and the General Regulations, No. XIII.

[2] *Ante*, vol. II., p. 160.

[3] The terms "Ancients" and "Moderns" were coined by Laurence Dermott to describe the Regular and the Seceding Masons respectively. There is a great deal in a good "cry," and though the titular "Ancients" were the actual "Moderns," much of the success which attended the Great Schism was due to Dermott's unrivalled audacity, both in the choice of phrases, which placed the earlier Grand Lodge in a position of relative inferiority, and in ascribing to his own a derivation from the "Ancient Masons of York."

Dublin, when his mother was married to Mr Quin's father, and that Mr Quin himself was seventy-three years old when he died in 1766."[1]

Passing over intermediate writers, and coming down to the industrious compilation of Herr Findel, we find the establishment of the first Grand Lodge described as being due to the exertions of "several brethren who united for this purpose, among whom were King, Calvert, Lumley, Madden," etc. "At their head," says this author, "was Dr J. Theophilus Desaguliers."[2]

Now, it happens, strangely enough, that at an occasional lodge held at Kew on November 5, 1737, the eight persons named by Dermott (and no others) were present, and took part at the initiation and passing of Frederick, Prince of Wales![3]

Resuming the thread of our narrative, the "Constitutions" proceed:—

"**Grand Lodge** at the *Fountain*,[4] Strand, in *ample* Form, 25 *March* 1722, with former *Grand* officers and those of 24 *Lodges*.

"The said *Committee* of 14 reported that they had perused Brother *Anderson's* Manuscript, *viz.*, the *History, Charges, Regulations, and Master's Song*, and after some Amendments, had approv'd of it: Upon which the *Lodge* desir'd the *Grand Master* to order it to be printed. Meanwhile

"Ingenious Men of all Faculties and Stations being convinced that the *Cement* of the *Lodge* was Love and Friendship, earnestly requested to be made *Masons*, Affecting this amicable Fraternity more than other Societies, then often disturbed by warm Disputes.

"*Grand Master* MONTAGU'S good Government inclin'd the better Sort to continue him in the Chair another Year; and therefore they delay'd to prepare the *Feast.*"

At this point, and with a view to presenting the somewhat scattered evidence relating to the year 1722, with as much chronological exactitude as the nature of the materials before me will permit, I shall introduce some further extracts from Dr. Stukeley's Diary, as the next portion of Dr. Anderson's narrative runs on, without the possibility of a break, from June 24, 1722, to January 17, 1723.

"May 25th, 1722.—Met the Duke of Queensboro', Lord Dumbarton, Hinchinbroke, &c., at Fountain Tavern Lodge, to consider of [the] Feast of St John's."

"Nov. 3rd, 1722.—The Duke of Wharton and Lord Dalkeith[5] visited our lodge at the Fountain."[6]

These current notes by a Freemason of the period merit our careful attention, the more so, since the inferences they suggest awaken a suspicion, that in committing to writing a

[1] Ahiman Rezon; or, A Help to a Brother, 3d edit., 1778. [2] History of Freemasonry, p. 136.

[3] Dr. Desaguliers, *Master;* William Gofton and Erasmus King, *Wardens;* Charles Calvert Earl of Baltimore; the Hon. Colonel James Lumley; the Hon. Major Madden; Mr. de Noyer; and Mr. Vraden (The New Book of Constitutions, 1738, p. 137).

[4] This conflicts with the entry, already given (December 27, 1721), from Dr. Stukeley's Diary. According to Anderson, the Grand Lodge was held at the "King's Arms" in "*ample* Form"—*i.e.*, the Grand Master was present—on December 27, 1721—the ordinary business, together with the lectures delivered at this meeting, must have taken up some considerable time, and it is unlikely that either *before* or *after* the Quarterly Communication, the Grand Master, the Deputy and a *posse* of the brethren, paid a visit to the "Fountain."

[5] This nobleman, afterward Duke of Buccleuch, succeeded the Duke of Wharton as Grand Master.

[6] Two remarkable entries in Dr. Stukeley's Diary are: "Nov. 7th, 1722.—Order of the book instituted." "Dec. 28th, 1722.—I din'd with Lord Hertford, introduced by Lord Winchelsea. I made them both members of the Order of the Book, or Roman Knighthood."

recital of events in which he had borne a leading part, *many years after the occurrences he describes*, Dr. Anderson's memory was occasionally at fault, and therefore we should scrutinize very closely the few collateral references in newspapers or manuscripts, which antedate the actual records of Grand Lodge.

The entries in Stukeley's Diary of May 25 and November 3, 1722, are hardly reconcilable with the narrative (in the "Constitutions") which I here resume.

"But *Philip*, Duke of *Wharton*,[1] lately made a Brother, tho' not the *Master* of a *Lodge*, being ambitious of the Chair, got a Number of Others to meet him at *Stationer's-Hall* 24 *June* 1722. And having no *Grand* Officers, they put in the Chair the *oldest Master Mason* (who was not the *present* Master of a *Lodge*, also *irregular*), and without the usual decent Ceremonials, the said *old Mason* proclaim'd aloud

"*Philip Wharton*, Duke of *Wharton*, Grand Master of *Masons*, and

{ Mr *Joshua Timson*, Blacksmith, / Mr *William Hawkins*, Mason, } { *Grand Wardens*, } but his Grace appointed no *Deputy*,[2]

nor was the *Lodge* opened and closed in due Form. Therefore the *noble* Brothers[3] and all those that would not countenance Irregularities, disown'd *Wharton's* Authority, till worthy Brother MONTAGU heal'd the Breach of Harmony, by summoning

"The **Grand Lodge** to meet 17 *January* 172$\frac{2}{3}$ at the *King's-Arms* foresaid, where the *Duke* of *Wharton* promising to be *True* and *Faithful*, *Deputy Grand* Master *Beal* proclaim'd aloud the most noble Prince and our Brother.

"PHILIP WHARTON, Duke of *Wharton*, GRAND MASTER of *Masons*, who appointed Dr **Desaguliers** the *Deputy Grand* Master,

{ *Joshua Timson*, foresaid, / *James* Anderson, A.M., } { *Grand Wardens*, } for *Hawkins* demitted as always out of Town.

When former *Grand* Officers, with those of 25 *Lodges*,[4] paid their Homage.

[1] Born in 1698. Son of the Whig Marquis to whom is ascribed the authorship of *Lilliburlero*. After having, during his travels, accepted the title of Duke of Northumberland from the Old Pretender, he returned to England, and evinced the versatility of his political principles by becoming a warm champion of the Hanoverian government; created *Duke* of Wharton by George I. in 1718. Having impoverished himself by extravagance, he again changed his politics, and in 1724 quitted England never to return. Died in indigence at a Bernadine convent in Catalonia, May 31, 1731. The character of Lovelace in "Clarissa" has been supposed to be that of this nobleman; and what renders the supposition more likely, the *True Briton*, a political paper in which the Duke used to write, was printed by Mr. Richardson.

[2] At this meeting, according to the *Daily Post*, June 27, 1722, "there was a noble appearance of persons of distinction," and the Duke of Wharton was chosen Grand Master, and Dr. Desaguliers *Deputy Master*, for the year ensuing.

[3] The authority of Anderson, on all points within his own knowledge, is not to be lightly impeached. But it is a curious fact, that the journals of the day (and the Diary of Dr. Stukeley) do not corroborate his general statement,—*e.g.*, the *Daily Post*, June 20, 1722, notifies that tickets for the Feast must be taken out "before next Friday," and declares that "all those *noblemen* and gentlemen *that have took tickets*, and do not appear at the hall, will be look'd upon as false brothers;" and the *Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer*, June 30, 1722, describing the proceedings, says: "They had a most sumptuous Feast, *several of the nobility*, who are members of the Society, being present; and his Grace the Duke of Wharton was then unanimously chosen governor of the said Fraternity."

[4] Findel, following Kloss, observes: "Only twenty Lodges, ratified [the Constitutions]; five Lodges would not accede to, or sign them" (History of Freemasonry, p. 159). This criticism is based on the circumstance, that *twenty-five* Lodges were represented at the meeting of January 17, 1723, whilst the Masters and Wardens of *twenty* only, signed the APPROBATION of the "Constitutions"

"G. Warden *Anderson* produced the *new* Book of *Constitutions* now in Print, which was again approv'd, with the Addition of the *antient Manner of Constituting a Lodge.*

"Now *Masonry* flourish'd in Harmony, Reputation, and Numbers; many Noblemen and Gentlemen of the first Rank desir'd to be admitted into the *Fraternity,* besides other Learned Men, Merchants, Clergymen, and Tradesmen, who found a *Lodge* to be a safe and pleasant Relaxation from Intense Study or the Hurry of Business, without Politicks or Party. Therefore the *Grand Master* was obliged to constitute more *new Lodges,* and was very assiduous in *visiting* the *Lodges* every Week with his *Deputy* and *Wardens;* and his *Worship* was well pleas'd with their kind and respectful Manner of receiving him, as they were with his affable and clever conversation.

"Grand Lodge in *ample* Form, 25 *April* 1723, at the *White-Lion, Cornhill,* with former *Grand* Officers and those of 30 *Lodges* call'd over by G. Warden *Anderson,* for no *Secretary* was yet appointed. When

"WHARTON, *Grand Master,* proposed for his Successor the Earl of *Dalkeith* (now *Duke* of *Buckleugh*), *Master* of a *Lodge,* who was unanimously approv'd and duly saluted as *Grand Master Elect.*"

In bringing to a close these extracts from the "Constitutions" of 1738, and before proceeding to compare the Scottish system of Freemasonry with its English counterpart, a short biography of the "Father of Masonic History" becomes essential.

This will assist us, on the one hand, in estimating the weight of authority, due to a record of events, uncorroborated for the most part on any material points, and on the other hand, in arriving at a definite conclusion, with regard to the extent to which the masonic systems in the two Kingdoms borrowed from one anoth

In tracing the circumstances of Dr. Anderson's life, I have derived very little assistance from the ordinary Dictionaries of Biography.[1] Chambers has evidently copied from Chalmers, and the letter introduced an element of confusion in his notices of the worthies bearing the surname of Anderson, which has caused Mackey and other Masonic encyclopædists to give the place and date of birth of James Anderson, Advocate and Antiquary, as those of his namesake, the Doctor of Divinity, and compiler of the "Constitutions."

This has arisen from Chalmers stating in his memoir of Adam Anderson, author of the "History of Commerce," that he was the brother of James Anderson, the *Freemason,* and, in that of James Anderson, the *Antiquary,* that he was brother to Adam Anderson, the historian. *Our* Doctor, therefore, has had Edinburgh assigned as his native town, whilst the date of his birth has been fixed at August 5, 1662. In reality, however, both his age and birth-place are unknown, though, for reasons to be presently adduced, a presumption arises that he was born and educated at Aberdeen.

A short memoir of Dr. Anderson was given in the *Scots Magazine,*[2] but the circumstances of his life are more fully referred to in the *Gentleman's Magazine*[3] (1783), by a correspondent who writes under the letter B., and furnishes the following par-

of that year. It must be borne in mind, however, that the "Constitutions" submitted by Anderson in January 1723, *were in print,* and that the vicissitudes of the year 1722, must have rendered it difficult to obtain even the signatures of *twenty,* out of the *twenty-four* representatives of lodges by whom the "Constitutions" were ordered to be printed on March 25, 1722.

[1] R. Chambers, Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, vol. i.; A. Chalmers, General Biographical Dictionary, vol. ii.; and D. Irving, Lives of Scottish Writers, 2d edit., 1839.

[2] Vol. i., 1739, p. 236. [3] Vol. liii., p. 41.

ticulars respecting *Adam* Anderson, a gentleman he professes to have both *known* and esteemed.

"Adam Anderson was a native of Scotland; he was brother to the Rev. James Anderson, D.D., editor of the "Diplomata Scotiæ"[1] and "Royal Genealogies," many years since minister of the Scots Presbyterian Church in Swallow Street, Piccadilly, and well-known in those days among the people of that persuasion resident in London, by the name of Bishop Anderson, a learned but imprudent man who lost a considerable part of his property in the fatal year 1720: he married, and had issue, a son and a daughter, who was the wife of an officer in the army; his brother Adam was for 40 years a clerk in the South Sea House, and at length arrived to his *acmé* there, being appointed chief clerk of the Stock and New Annuities, which office he retained till his death in 1765. He was appointed one of the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America, by charter dated June 9, 5 Geo. II. (1732). He was also one of the court of assistants of the Scots Corporation in London. .·. .·.

"Mr Anderson died *at his house*,[2] in Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, I apprehend about the year 1764."

Although the anonymous writer of the preceding memoir falls into some slight errors,[3] in portions of his narrative where there are opportunities of testing its accuracy, this memorial of Dr. Anderson is the most trustworthy we can refer to, as being the only one in which a personal knowledge of his subject can be inferred from the expressions of the writer.

For this reason I have given it at length, and it may be observed, that the mistake in citing *Doctor* Anderson as the author of the learned treatise on the charters and coins of Scotland, has probably arisen from the coincidence of the death of the *Freemason* occurring in the same year as the publication of the posthumous work of the *Antiquary* (1739).

Dr. Anderson's *magnum opus* was his "Royal Genealogies,"[4] produced, it is said, at the cost of twenty years' close study and application.[5] At the close of his life, he was reduced to very slender circumstances, and experienced some great misfortunes,[6] but of what description we are not told. The *Pocket Companion* for 1754 points out "great defects" in the edition of the "Constitutions," published in the year before his death (1738), and attributes them either to "his want of health, or trusting [the MS.] to the management of strangers." "The work," it goes on to say, "appeared in a very mangled condition, and the Regulations, which had been revised and corrected by Grand-Master Payne, were in many cases interpolated, and in others, the sense left very obscure and uncertain."[7]

Upon the whole, it is sufficiently clear, that the "New Book of Constitutions" (1738), which contains the only connected history of the Grand Lodge of England, for the first

[1] Here we have, possibly, the *fons et origo* of the confusion that has arisen between the *Antiquary* and the *Freemason*. James Anderson, the Edinburgh advocate—born August 5, 1662, died April 3, 1729—was the author of "Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum Scotiæ Thesaurus," a splendid folio volume, published after his death in 1739.

[2] "Friday, died suddenly of an apoplectic fit, *at the South Sea House*, in his 73d year, Mr. Adam Anderson, author of the 'Historical and Chronological Deduction of Commerce,' in two volumes, folio, lately published" (Public Advertiser, Monday, January 14, 1765). [3] See the two last notes.

[4] Royal Genealogies, or The Genealogical Tables of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, from Adam to these Times, etc., folio, 1732. Second edit., 1736.

[5] Scots Magazine, vol. i., 1739, p. 236. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] Pocket Companion, and History of Free-Masons, 1754, preface, pp. vi., vii.

six years of its existence (1717-1723), was compiled by Dr. Anderson at a period when troubles crowded thickly upon him, and very shortly before his death. This of itself would tend to detract from the weight of authority with which such a publication should descend to us. Moreover, if the discrepancies between the statements in the portion of the narrative which I have reproduced, and those quoted from "Multa Paucis," Dr. Stukeley's Diary, and the journals of the day, are carefully noted, it will be impossible to arrive at any other conclusion—without, however, impeaching the good faith of the compiler—than that the history of the Grand Lodge, from 1717 to 1723, as narrated by Anderson, is, to say the least, very unsatisfactorily attested.[1] Dr. Anderson died May 28, 1739,[2] and it is a little singular that none of the journals recording his decease, or that of his brother[3] Adam (1765), give any further clue to the place of their birth, than the brief statement that they were "natives of Scotland."

There seems, however, some ground for supposing that Dr. James Anderson was born at Aberdeen or in its vicinity, and it appears to me not improbable, that the records of the Aberdeen Lodge might reveal the fact of his having been either an initiate or an affiliate of that body.

It is at least a remarkable coincidence—if nothing more—that almost the same words are used to describe James Anderson, the compiler of the Laws and Statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670), and James Anderson, the compiler of the Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of England (1723). Thus the assent of the seventeenth lodge on the English Roll, in 1723, to the Constitutions of that year, is thus shown:—

XVII. James Anderson, A.M. } Master.
The Author of *this* Book,[4] }

The assimilation into the English Masonic System of many operative terms indigenous to Scotland, is incontestable.[5] Now, although there are no means of deciding whether Anderson was *initiated* in, or *joined* the English Society,[6] there is evidence from which we may infer, either that he examined the records of the Lodge of Aberdeen, or that extracts therefrom were supplied to him.

[1] The *early* history of the Freemasons, as related in the same work, is quite unworthy of serious consideration, and Professor Robison rightly inveighs against "the heap of rubbish with which Anderson has disgraced his Constitutions of Free Masonry—the basis of Masonic History" (Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, 5th edit., 1798, p. 17).

[2] "Yesterday died, at his house in Exeter Court, Dr. James Anderson, a Dissenting teacher" (London Evening Post, from May 26 to May 29, 1739). A similar notice appears in *Read's Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer*, June 2; and the *London Daily Post* of May 29 says, "the deceased was reckoned a very facetious companion."

[3] I may observe, that the relationship between *James* and *Adam* Anderson, rests upon the authority of the anonymous contributor to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1783, vol. liii., p. 41). One allusion to the Freemasons is made, indeed, by Adam Anderson, but very little can be inferred from it. Quoting the Stat. Hen. VI., cap. i., he says—"Thus we see this Humour of *Free-masonry* is of no small antiquity in England" (History of Commerce, 1764, vol. i., p. 252).

[4] Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 74; and *cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 54, No 11.

[5] Certainly *Cowan* and *Fellow-craft*, and possibly *Master Mason*, *Entered*, *Passed*, *Raised*, etc.

[6] If Dr. Stukeley's statement is to be believed, Anderson could not have been initiated in *London* until 1721 (*ante*, p. 36. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that the latter doctor is not named in the proceedings of Grand Lodge until September 29, 1721. His admission or affiliation, therefore, into English Masonry probably occurred *after* the election as Grand Master of the Duke of Montagu. In this view of the case, the information he furnishes with regard to the Masonic events of the years 1717-1720, must have been derived from *hearsay*.

THE

NEW BOOK

OF

CONSTITUTIONS

OF THE

Antient and *Honourable* FRATERNITY

OF

FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS.

CONTAINING

Their *Hiſtory, Charges, Regulations,* &c.

COLLECTED and DIGESTED

By Order of the GRAND LODGE from their old *Records,* faithful *Traditions* and *Lodge-Books,*

For the Uſe of the LODGES.

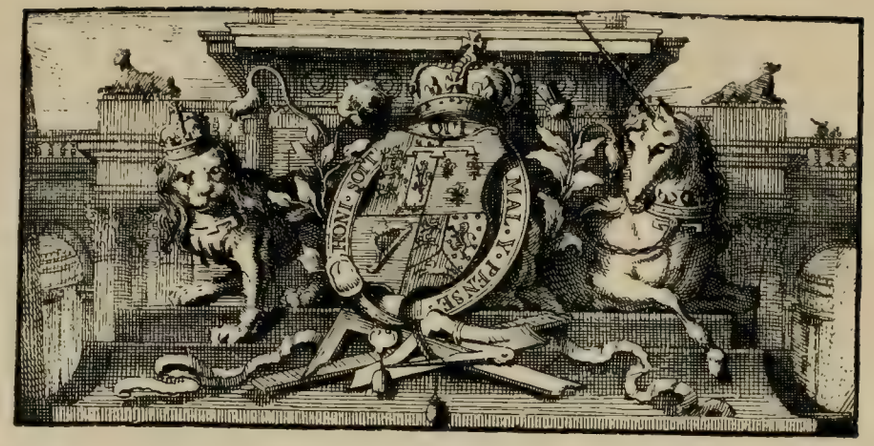
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M DCC XXXVIII.

In the *Vulgar* Year of Maſonry 5738.



TO THE

Moſt *High*, *Puiſſant* and moſt *Illuſtrious* PRINCE

FRIDERICK LEWIS,

Prince *Royal* of GREAT-BRITAIN,

Prince and Stewart of SCOTLAND,

PRINCE of *WALES*,

Electoral Prince of Brunſwick-Luneburg,

Duke of *Cornwall*, *Rothſay*, and *Edinburgh*,

Marquis of the *Iſle of Ely*,

Earl of *Cheſter* and *Flint*, *Eltham* and *Carrick*,

Viſcount *Launceſton*,

Lord of the *Iſles*, *Kyle* and *Cunningham*,

Baron of *Snaudon* and *Renfrew*,

Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter,

Fellow of the *Royal* Society,

A *Maſter* MASON, and *Maſter* of a LODGE.

GREAT SIR,

The Title Page and Dedication of the "New Book of Constitutions," by James Anderson, D. D.

Copied from the original published in 1738.

In support of this position, the *eleventh* subscription to the Aberdeen Statutes may be again referred to.

James Anderson, "Glassier and Measson," the *clerk* of the lodge in 1670, was still a member (and Master) in 1696.[1] In a list before me, of "Clerks of the Aberdeen Lodge," but which unfortunately only commences in 1709, the first name on the roll is that of *J. Anderson,* which is repeated year by year until 1725.[2] At the time, therefore, when James Anderson, the Presbyterian Minister, published the English Book of Constitutions (1723), *a* J. Anderson—presumably the *glazier* of 1670—was the lodge clerk at Aberdeen. Now, if the *author* of one Masonic book, and the *writer* of the other, were both natives of Aberdeen, the similarity of name will imply relationship, and in this view of the facts, it would seem only natural that the younger historian should have benefited by the research of his senior. Clearly, the glazier and clerk of 1670 *may* not have been the clerk of 1709-24; also, Dr. Anderson *may* have had no connection with Aberdeen. These propositions are self evident, but though I have searched for many weary hours in the library of the British Museum and elsewhere, I can find nothing which conflicts with the idea, that the brothers, Adam and James Anderson, were natives of Aberdeen.

However this may be, Dr. Anderson was certainly a Scotsman, and to this circumstance must be attributed his introduction of many operative terms from the vocabulary of the sister kingdom into his "Book of Constitutions." Of these, one of the most common is, the compound word *Fellow-craft,*[3] which is plainly of Scottish derivation. *Enter'd Prentice*[4] also occurs, and though presented as *a quotation* from an old *English* manuscript, it hardly admits of a doubt that Anderson *embellished* the text of his authority by changing the words "new men" into "enter'd Prentices."[5]

Allusions to the Freemasonry of Scotland are not infrequent. "Lodges there," with "Records and Traditions"—"kept up without interruption many hundred years"—are mentioned in one place,[6] and in another we read that "the Masons of Scotland were impower'd to have a certain and fix'd Grand Master and Grand Warden"[7]—here, no doubt the writer bad in his mind the Laird of Udaucht, or William Schaw.[8]

Again, in the "Approbation" appended to his work, Anderson expressly states that he has examined "several copies of the *History, Charges,* and *Regulations,* of the *ancient* FRATERNITY, from Scotland" and elsewhere.[9]

The word *Cowan,* however, is reserved for the second edition of the Constitutions,[10] where also the following passage occurs, relative to the Scottish custom of lodges meeting in the open air,[11] a usage probably disclosed to the compiler by the records of the Aberdeen Lodge, or by his namesake, their custodian. The words run—

"The *Fraternity* of old met in *Monasteries* in foul Weather, but in fair Weather they met early in the Morning on the Tops of Hills, especially on St JOHN *Evangelist's Day,* and from thence walk'd in due Form to the Place of Dinner, according to the Tradition of

[1] Chap. VIII., p. 54.

[2] The Constitutions, etc., of the Aberdeen Mason Lodge, 1853. Appendix, p. xxiv.

[3] Constitutions, 1723, *passim.* [4] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

[5] "That *enter'd Prentices* at their making, were charg'd not to be Thieves, or Thieves-Maintainers" (Constitutions, 1723, p. 34). "At the first beginning, *new men* .·. be charged .·. that [they] should never be thieves, nor thieves' maintainers" ("Cooke" MS., lines 912-917). *Cf.* Chap. II., pp. 106, 107. [6] Constitutions, 1723, p. 37. [7] *Ibid.* [8] Chap. VIII., pp. 45, 46.

[9] Constitutions, 1723, p. 73. [10] Preface, p. ix., and pp. 54, 74.

[11] *Ante,* Chap. VIII., pp. 48, 49.

the old *Scots Masons*, particularly of those in the antient Lodges of *Killwinning, Sterling,* Aberdeen," etc.[1]

Our next task will be, to compare the Masonic systems prevailing in Scotland and England respectively, at a date preceding the era of Grand Lodges, or, to slightly vary the expression, to contrast the usages of the Craft in the two Kingdoms, as existing at a period anterior to the epoch of transition.

The difficulties of disentangling the subject from the confusion which encircles it, are great, but I trust not insuperable. Dr. Anderson's narrative of occurrences—termed with lamentable accuracy, "The Basis of Masonic History"—has become a *damnosa hæreditas* to later historians. Even the prince of Masonic critics, Dr. George Kloss, has been misled by the positive statements in the "Constitutions."[2] It is true that this commentator did not blindly follow (as so many have done) the footsteps of Anderson. For example, he declares that Freemasonry originated in England, and was thence transplanted into other countries, but he admits, nevertheless, that it is quite possible *from Anderson's History,* to prove that it went out from France to Britain, returning thence in due season, and then again going to Britain, and finally being re-introduced into France in the manner affirmed by French writers.[3]

Sir David Brewster, in his learned compilation,[4] alludes to numerous and elegant ruins then still adorning the villages of Scotland, as having been "erected by foreign masons, who introduced into this island the customs of their order." He also mentions, as a curious fact, having often heard—in one of those towns where there is an elegant abbey, built in the twelfth century—that it was "erected by a company of industrious men, who spoke a foreign language, and lived separately from the townspeople."[5] As Brewster had previously observed, that the mysteries of the Free Masons were probably the source from which the Egyptian priests derived that knowledge, for which they have been so highly celebrated,[6] it seems to me that a good opportunity of adding to the ponderous learning which characterizes his book, was here let slip. According to the historians of the Middle Ages, the Scotch certainly came from Egypt, for they were originally the issue of Scota, who was a daughter of Pharaoh, and who bequeathed to them her name.[7] It would therefore have been a very simple matter, and quite as credible as nine-tenths of the historical essay with which his work commences, had Sir David Brewster brought Scottish Masonry directly from Egypt, instead of by the somewhat circuitous route to which he thought fit to accord the preference.

It is not a little singular, that in Lawrie's "History of Freemasonry"—to quote the title by which the work is best known—a Masonic publication, it may be observed, of undoubted merit,[8] whilst the traditions of the *English* fraternity are characterized as "silly

[1] Constitutions, 1738, p. 91. [2] *Ante*, p. 7.

[3] G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich (1725-1830), Darmstadt, 1852, pp. 13, 14.

[4] See Chap. VIII., p. 3. [5] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, pp. 90, 91. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[7] *Cf.* Buckle, History of Civilization, vol. i., p. 312; and Lingard, History of England, vol. ii., p. 187.

[8] "The first Historian of the Grand Lodge of Scotland who attempted to divest the History of Freemasonry of that jargon and mystery in which it had previously been enveloped; and to afford something like a classical view of this ancient and respectable Institution, was Bro. Alex. Laurie, *Grand Secretary*" (Hughan, Masonic Sketches and Reprints, pt. i., p. 7). *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 5, 4. Lawrie, it should be noticed, was *not* the Grand Secretary in 1804, and only became so—probably through the reputation acquired from the work bearing his name—a few years later.

and uninteresting stories," those of the Scottish Masons are treated in a very different manner. Thus, the accounts of St. Alban, King Athelstan, and Prince Edwin, which we meet with in the "Old Charges," are described as "merely assertions, not only incapable of proof from authentic history, but inconsistent, also, with several historical events which rest on indubitable evidence." In a forcible passage, which every Masonic writer should learn by heart, Brewster then adds, "those who invent and propagate such tales, do not, surely, consider that they bring discredit upon their order by the warmth of their zeal; and that, by supporting what is false, they debar thinking men from believing what is true."[1]

After such an admirable commentary upon the vagaries of Masonic historians, it is, to say the least, extremely disappointing, to find so learned a writer, when dealing with Scottish legends of the Craft, altogether ignoring the canons of criticism, which he laid down with so much care in the former instance.

Whatever may have been the real cause of this diversity of treatment, it at least brings to recollection the old adage:

> **"A little nonsense, now and then,**
> **Is relished by the wisest men."**

Or, it is possible, that the distinguished *savant* and man of letters, who was discharging what must have been a somewhat uncongenial task, in finding arguments to uphold the great antiquity of Freemasonry, was prompted by sentimental feelings, to assume for his own nation a Masonic precedency, to which it could lay no valid claim. Mentally ejaculating (we may well believe) "Scotland for ever"—he informs us, "that Free Masonry was introduced into Scotland by those architects who built the Abbey of Kilwinning, is manifest, not only from those *authentic documents*, by which the existence of the Kilwinning Lodge has been traced back as far as the end of the fifteenth century, but by other *collateral arguments, which amount almost to a demonstration.*"[2] Next, we learn, that "the Barons of Roslin, as hereditary Grand Masters of Scotland, held their principal annual meetings at Kilwinning,"[3] and are further told that the introduction of Masonry into England occurred at about the same time as in Scotland,—"but whether the English received it from the Scotch Masons at Kilwinning,"—so the words run,—"or from other brethren who had arrived from the Continent, there is no method of determining."[4]

[1] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, pp. 91, 92. Findel, following Kloss, remarks, "The inventors of Masonic Legends were so blind to what was immediately before their eyes, and so limited in their ideas, that, instead of connecting them with the period of the Introduction of Christianity, and with the monuments of Roman antiquity, which were either perfect or in ruins before them, they preferred associating the Legends of their Guilds with some tradition or other. The English had the York Legend, reaching back as far as the year 926. The German Mason answers the question touching the origin of his Art, by pointing to the building of the Cathedral of Magdeburg (876); and the Scotch Mason refers only to the erection of Kilwinning—1140" (History of Freemasonry, pp. 105, 106).

[2] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, pp. 89, 90.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 100. Lyon observes, "he [Lawrie, *i.e.* Brewster] does not seem to have been staggered in his belief by the consideration that the St. Clairs [of Roslin] had no territorial or other connection with Kilwinning or its neighbourhood, or by reflecting on the improbability of Masons from Aberdeen, Perth, St. Andrews, Dundee, Edinburgh, and other places, in an age when long journeys were attended with both difficulties and dangers, traveling to a distant obscure hamlet to adjust differences in connection with their handicraft" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 66).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

"Legends," to employ the words of one of the most accurate and diligent of Masonic writers, "are stubborn things when they have once forced themselves into a locality."[1] It is improbable that the popular belief in "Hereditary Grand Masters," with a "Grand Centre" at Kilwinning, will ever be effectually stamped out. The mythical character of both these traditions, has, indeed, been fully exposed by the latest and ablest of Scottish historians of the Craft.[2] But passing from fable to fact, it will be unnecessary to concern ourselves any further with the compilation of 1804, except so far as the vivid imagination of Sir David Brewster, has suggested a possible derivation of English from Scottish Masonry. The probability, not to put the case any higher, is, indeed, quite the other way, but "as waters take tinctures and tastes from the soils through which they run," so may the Masonic customs, though proceeding from the same source, have varied according to the regions and circumstances where they were planted. Neither the traditions nor the usages of the Craft have come down from antiquity in one clear unruffled stream. Why the *two* Masonic bodies followed in their development such different paths, it is the province of history to determine. Such a task lies, indeed, beyond my immediate purpose, and would exceed the limits of this work. Still, however, whilst leaving the problem to be dealt with by an historian of the future, it may be possible, nevertheless, in the ensuing pages, to indicate some promising lines of inquiry, which will lead, in my judgment, to the elucidation of many points of interest, if pursued with diligence.

It has been already noticed,[3] that the two legendary centres of Masonic activity—York and Kilwinning—were comprised within the ancient Kingdom of Northumbria.[4] Disraeli observes—"The casual occurrence of the ENGLES leaving their name to this land has bestowed on our country a foreign designation; and—for the contingency was nearly arising—had the Kingdom of Northumbria preserved its ascendancy in the octarchy, the seat of dominion had been altered. In that case, the lowlands of Scotland would have formed a portion of England; York would have stood forth as the metropolis of Britain, and London had been but a remote mart for her port and her commerce."[5]

A speculation might be advanced, though it rests on no shadow of proof, but is nevertheless a somewhat plausible theory, that the Italian workmen imported by Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid,[6] may have formed Guilds—in imitation of the Collegia, which perhaps still existed in some form in Italy—to perpetuate the art among the natives, and hence the legend of Athelstan and the Grand Lodge of York. But unfortunately, Northumbria was the district most completely revolutionized by the Danes, and again effectually ravaged by the Conqueror.[7]

The legend pointing to Kilwinning as the original seat of Scottish Masonry, based as it is upon the story which makes the institution of the *Lodge*, and the erection of the *Abbey* (1140) coeval, is inconsistent with the fact that the latter was neither the first nor second Gothic structure erected in Scotland.[8] Moreover, we are assured on good authority that a

[1] Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 106.

[2] See Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 65, 66. [3] Chap. XII., p. 147.

[4] "Northumbria extended from the Humber to the Forth, and from the North Sea inland to the eastern offsets of the Pennine Range. Its western limit in the country now called Scotland is more uncertain, but would probably be fairly represented by a line drawn from the Liddel through Selkirk or Peebles to the neighbourhood of Stirling" (Globe Encyclopædia, *s.v.*).

[5] Amenities of Literature, vol. i., p. 41. [6] Chap. VI., p. 272.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 273. [8] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 242.

minute inspection of its ruins proves its erection to have been antedated by some eighty or ninety years.[1] Still, whether at Kilwinning or elsewhere, it is tolerably clear that the Scottish stone-workers of the twelfth century came from England. The English were able to send them, and the Scots required them. Also, it is a fair presumption from the fact of numerous Englishmen of noble birth having, at the instance of the King, settled in Scotland at this period, that Craftsmen from the South must soon have followed them.[2] Indeed, late in the twelfth century, "the two nations, according to Fordun, seemed one people, Englishmen travelling at pleasure through all the corners of Scotland; and Scotchmen in like manner through England."[3]

When the Legend of the Craft, or in other words the Masonic traditions which we find enshrined in the "Old Charges," was or were introduced into Scotland, it is quite impossible to decide. If, indeed, a traditionary history existed at all in Britain, before the reign of Edward III., as I have ventured to contend that it must have done,[4] this, for several reasons, would seem the most likely period at which such transfusion of ideas occurred. It is true that *probability* in such decisions will often prove the most fallacious guide we can follow. *Le vraisemblable n'est pas toujours vrai,* and *le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable.* Yet it is free from doubt that *after* the war of independence in the thirteenth century, the Scottish people, in their language, their institutions, and their habits, gradually became estranged from England.[5] A closer intercourse took place with the French, and "the Saxon institutions in Scotland were gradually buried under foreign importations."[6] "The earliest ecclesiastical edifices of England and Scotland show the same style of architecture—*in many instances the same workmen.* When, *after* the devastations of the war of independence, Gothic architecture was resumed, it leaned, in its gradual development from earlier to later styles, more to the Continental than the English models; and when the English architects fell into the thin mouldings and shafts, depressed arches, and square outlines of the Tudor-Gothic, Scotland took the other direction of the rich, massive, wavy decorations and high-pointed arches of the French Flamboyant."[7]

But even if we go the length of believing that English Masons, or a least their customs, had penetrated into Scotland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the circumstances of that unfortunate kingdom from 1296 to 1400, have yet to be considered. Throughout this period, Scotland was continually ravaged by the English. In 1296, they entered Berwick, the richest town Scotland possessed, and not only destroyed all the property, but slew nearly all the inhabitants, after which they marched on to Aberdeen and Elgin, and completely

[1] "The earliest date, even were it in England, that could be fixed for the erection of a structure like Kilwinning Abbey, would be A.D. 1220" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh). *Cf. ante,* Chap. VIII.

[2] See a letter in the *Freemason* of June 19, 1869, signed "Leo." The writer—*semble,* Mr. W. P. Buchan—remarks, "In the 12th and 13th centuries, England, I should say, was the Mother of Scottish Operative *Masonry,* just as in the 18th century, she was of Speculative *Freemasonry.*"

[3] Rev. G. Ridpath, Border History of England and Scotland, 1810, p. 76. *Cf.* Sir D. Dalrymple, Annals of Scotland, vol. i., p. 158.

[4] Chap. XIII.

[5] J. H. Burton, History of Scotland, 1853, vol. i. p. 516.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 518. "In the mansions of the gentry, the influence of France was still more complete; for when the English squires were building their broad, oriel-windowed, and many-chimneyed mansions of the Tudor style, the Scottish lairds raised tall, narrow fortalices, crowned with rich clusters of gaudy, painted turrets, like the châteaux of Guienne and Berri" (*Ibid.*). *Cf. ante,* Chap. VIII., and Vol. I., pp. 264, 284-286.

desolated the country.[1] In 1298 the English again broke in, burnt Perth and St. Andrews, and ravaged the whole country, south and west.[2] In 1322, Bruce, in order to baffle an English invasion, was obliged to lay waste all the districts south of the Firth of Forth. In 1336, Edward III. destroyed everything he could find, as far as Inverness, whilst in 1355, in a still more barbarous inroad, he burnt every church, every village, and every town he approached. Nor did the country fare better at the hands of his successor, for Richard II. traversed the southern counties to Aberdeen, scattering destruction on every side, and reducing to ashes the cities of Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee.[3] It has been estimated, that the frequent wars between Scotland and England since the death of Alexander III. (1286), had occasioned to the former country the loss of more than a century in the progress of civilization.[4] We are told that, in the fifteenth century, even in the best parts of Scotland, the inhabitants could not manufacture the most necessary articles, which they imported largely from Bruges.[5] At Aberdeen, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was not a mechanic in the town capable to execute the ordinary repairs of a clock.[6]

Dunfermline, associated with so many historic reminiscences, at the end of the fourteenth century was still a poor village, composed of wooden huts.[7] At the same period, the houses in Edinburgh itself were mere huts thatched with boughs, and even as late as 1600 they were chiefly built of wood.[8] Down, or almost down, to the close of the sixteenth century, skilled labor was hardly known, and honest industry was universally despised.[9]

If it be conceded, therefore, that prior to the war of independence the architecture of Scotland, and with it the customs of the building trades, received an English impress, we must, I think, also admit the strong improbability—to say no more—of the influence thus produced, having survived the period of anarchy, which has been briefly described. Neither is it likely that French or other Continental customs became permanently engrafted on the Scottish Masonic system.[10] Indeed, it is clear almost to demonstration, that the usages wherein the Masons of Scotland differed from the other trades of that country were of English derivation. The "Old Charges" here come to our aid, and prove, if they

[1] Buckle, History of Civilization, vol. iii. pp. 13, 14. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* vol. iii., pp. 15, 16.

[4] J. Pinkerton, History of Scotland, vol. i., pp. 166, 167.

[5] Mercer, History of Dunfermline, p. 61. Lyon, in chap. xxiv. of his "History," prints the Seal of Cause, incorporating the Masons and Wrights of Edinburgh, A.D. 1475, and observes (p. 233), "The reference which is made to BRUGES in the fourth item, is significant, as indicating one of the channels through which the Scottish Crafts became acquainted with customs obtaining among their brethren in foreign countries." He adds, "the secret ceremonies observed by the representatives of the builders of the mediæval edifices of which Bruges could boast, may have to some extent been adopted by the Lodges of Scotch Operative masons in the fifteenth century" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 234).

[6] W. Kennedy, Annals of Aberdeen, 1818, vol. i., p. 99.

[7] Mercer, History of Dunfermline, p. 62.

[8] G. Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. i., p. 8[illegible]2; Buckle, History of Civilization, vol. iii., p. 30.

[9] Buckle, History of Civilization, vol. iii., p. 31. "Our manufactures were carried on by the meanest of the people, who had small stocks, and were of no reputation. These were for the most part, workmen for home consumpt, such as *Masons*, house-carpenters, armourers, blacksmiths, taylors, shoemakers, and the like" (*Ibid.*, citing "The Interest of Scotland considered," 1733, p. 82).

[10] The possible influence of the "Companionage," and the "Steinmetzen," upon *British* Freemasonry, will be considered in the next chapter.

do no more, that in one feature at least the Scottish ceremonial was based on an English prototype.[1] The date when the "Legend of the Craft" was introduced into Scotland is indeterminable. The evidence will justify an inference, that a copy of our manuscript Constitutions was in the possession of the Melrose Lodge in 1581.[2] Still, it is scarcely possible, if we accept this date, that it marks the *introduction* into Scotland of a version of the "Old Charges." From the thirteenth century, to the close of the sixteenth, the most populous Scottish cities were Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Perth, and St. Andrews.[3] English craftsmen, or English craft usages, it may be supposed, passed into Scotland by way of the great towns rather than of the smaller ones. Melrose, it is true, stands on the border line of the two countries, and its beautiful Abbey, as previously stated, is also betwixt the two in style.[4] But even were we to accept the dates of erection of the chief ecclesiastical buildings, as those of the introduction of Masonry into the various districts of Scotland, it would be found, says the historian of the Lodge of Melrose, that Kelso stood first, Edinburgh second, Melrose *third*, and Kilwinning fourth.[5] On the whole we shall, perhaps, not go far astray, if we assume that the lost exemplars of the "Old Charges" extant in both kingdoms, or to speak more correctly, those of the normal or ordinary versions, were in substance identical. This would carry back the ceremony of "reading the Charges," as a characteristic of Scottish Masonry, to the period when our manuscript Constitutions assumed the coherent and, as it were, stereotyped form, of which either the Lansdowne (3) or the Buchanan (15) MSS. affords a good illustration.[7] As against this view, however, it must not escape our recollection that the only direct evidence pointing to the existence in Scotland of versions of the Old Charges *before* the seventeenth century, consists of the memorandum or attestation, a copy of which is appended to Melrose MS., No. 2 (19).[8] It runs—

Extracted be me AM. upon the 1 2 3 and 4 dayes of December anno MDCLXXIIII.	Be it knouen to all men to whom these presents shall come that Robert Wincester hath lafuly done his dutie to the science of Masonrie in witnes whereof J. [I] John Wincester his Master frie mason have subscribit my name and sett to my mark in the Year of our Lord 1581 and in the raing of our most Soveraing Lady Elizabeth the (22) Year.

If it is considered that more has been founded on this entry than it will safely bear,[9] or in other words that it *does not* warrant the inference, with regard to MS. 19 being a copy of a sixteenth century version, a further supposition presents itself. It is this. All Scottish copies of the "Old Charges" may then date *after* the accession of James I. to the English throne (1603), and the question arises, Can the words "leidgeman to the King

[1] Chaps. II., pp. 91, 92; VIII., p. 53. *Cf.* Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 108, 421.

[2] Chap. II., pp. 66, 91.

[3] Buckle, History of Civilization, vol iii., p. 29.

[4] Chap. VI., p. 286.

[5] W. F. Vernon, in the *Masonic Magazine*, February, 1880. *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. i.; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 69.

[6] *Cf.* Chap. XV., p. 331.

[7] *Cf. Ibid.*, p. 332.

[8] This having been only partially given at Chap. II., pp. 92, note 3, is now shown above in full.

[9] *Cf.* Chaps. II., pp. 67, 92; VIII., pp. 27, 71; XIV., p. 319 (3*a*); and Hughan's description of Melrose MS., No. 2, in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. vii., 1880, p. 289.

of England" be understood as referring to this monarch? If so, some difficulties would be removed from our path, but only, alas, to give place to others.

When James at the death of Queen Elizabeth proceeded to England, the principal native nobility accompanied him.[1] Nor was this exodus restricted to the upper classes. Howell, writing in 1657, assigns as a reason for the cities of London and Westminster, which were originally far apart, having become fully joined in the early years of the seventeenth century, the great number of Scotch who came to London on the accession of James I., and settled chiefly along the Strand.[2] It may therefore be contended that *if* about the close of the sixteenth century the Mason's lodges in England had ceased to exist, the great influx of Scotsmen just alluded to, might reasonably account for the Warrington meeting of 1646,[3] before which there is no evidence of *living* Freemasonry in the South. This, of course, would imply either that the Scottish Lodges, which we know existed in the sixteenth century, *then* possessed versions of the "Old Charges," or that for some period of time at least, they were without them.

The latter supposition would, however, be weakened by the presumption of the English Lodges having died out, since it would be hardly likely that from their fossil remains the Scotch Masons extracted the manuscript Constitutions, which they certainly *used* in the seventeenth century.

My own view is that that William Schaw, the Master of Work and General Warden, had a copy of the "Old Charges" before him when he penned the Statutes of 1598 and 1599,[4] and with regard to the Warrington Lodge (1646), that it was an out-growth of something essentially distinct from the Scotch Masonry of that period.

On both these points a few final words remain to be expressed, but before doing so, it will be convenient if I resume and conclude the observations on the general history of Scotland, which I have brought down to the year 1657, and show the possibility of the legislative Union of 1707, having conduced in some measure to the (so-called) Masonic Revival of 1717.

At the accession of William III. (1689) every Scotsman of importance, who could claim alliance with the revolutionary party, proffered his guidance to the new King through the intricacies of his position. But the clustering of these gratuitous advisers became so troublesome to him, that the resort of members of the Convention to London was prohibited.[5]

After the Union of the two Kingdoms (1707), the infusion of English ideas was very rapid. Some of the most considerable persons in Scotland were obliged to pass half the year in London, and naturally came back with a certain change in their ideas.[6] The Scotch nobles looked for future fortune, not to Scotland but to England. London became the centre of their intrigues and their hopes.[7] The movement up to this period, it may be remarked, was entirely in one direction. The people of Scotland knew England much better than the people of England knew Scotland—indeed, according to Burton, the efforts

[1] Irving, History of Dumbartonshire, 1860, pp. 137, 166; Bisnop Guthry, Memoirs, 1702. pp. 127, 128.

[2] Londinopolis, Historical Discourse and Perlustration of London, p. 346.

[3] Chap. XIV., p. 264.

[4] Chap. VIII., pp. 5, 9, 17.

[5] Burton, History of Scotland, vol. i., p. 19.

[6] Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 85.

[7] Buckle, History of Civilization, vol. iii., p. 165.

of the pamphleteers to make Scotland known to the English, at the period of the Union, resemble the missionary efforts at the present day (1853) to instruct the people about the policy of the Caffres or the Japanese.[1]

A passing glance at the Freemasonry of the South in 1707—the year of the Union between the two kingdoms—has been afforded us by the essay of Sir Richard Steele.[2] Upon this evidence, it is argued with much force, that a Society known as the Freemasons, having certain *distinct* modes of recognition, must have existed in London in 1709, and for a *long time* before.[3]

This position, with the reservation that the words *signs* and *tokens*,[4] upon which Steele's commentator has relied—like the equivalent terms cited by Aubrey, Plot, Rawlinson, and Randle Holme[5]—do *not* decide the *vexata quaestio* of Masonic degrees, will, I think, be generally conceded. But I am here concerned with the date only of Steele's first essay (1709). Whether the customs he attests were new or old will be considered later. It will be sufficient for my present purpose to assume, that about the period of the Union, there was a marked difference between the ceremonial observances of the English[6] and of the Scottish Lodges. This conclusion, it is true, has yet to be reduced to actual demonstration, but the further *proofs* on which I rely—notably the lodge procedure of Scotland—will be presently cited, when every reader will be able to form an independent judgment with regard to the proposition which I have ventured to lay down.

It seems to me a very natural deduction from the evidence, that during the ten years which intervened between the Treaty of Union (1707), and the formation of the Grand Lodge of England (1717), the characteristics of the Masonic systems, which existed, so to speak, side by side, must have been frequently compared by the members of the two brotherhoods. Among the numerous Scotsmen who flocked to London, there must have been many geomatic[7] masons, far more, indeed, than, at this lapse of time, can be identified as members of the Craft. This is placed beyond doubt by the evidence that has come down to us. To retrace our steps somewhat, we find that the Earl of Eglinton, Deacon of "Mother" Kilwinning in 1677, having "espoused the principles which led to the Revolution, enjoyed the confidence of William the Third."[8] Sir Duncan Campbell, a member of the Lodge of Edinburgh, was the personal friend and one of the confidential advisers of Queen Anne.[9] Sir John Clerk, and Sir Patrick Hume, afterwards Earl of Marchmont, were also members of this lodge.[10] The former, one of the Barons of the Exchequer for Scotland, from 1707 to 1755, was also a Commissioner for the Union, a measure, the success of which was due in no small degree to the tact and address of the latter, who was one of

[1] History of Scotland, 1853, vol. i., p. 523. [2] *Ante*, p. 27, *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* Shakespeare, Taming of the Shrew, iv. 4; and Titus Andronicus, ii. 5. In the former play, Lucentio winks and laughs, and leaves a servant behind "to expound the meaning or moral of his signs and tokens." In the latter, Demetrius says of Lavinia, whose *hands* have been cut off, and tongue cut out, "See, how with signs and tokens she can scrowl."

[5] Chaps. XII., pp. 130, 141; XIV., pp. 289, 308.

[6] By this is meant, of course, the Lodges in the Southern metropolis. The English Masonic system, as a whole, will be examined with some fulness in the next chapter.

[7] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 57, note 2.

[8] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 52.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 155. See, however, *ante*, p. 37. If initiated, as Lyon states, in the time of Queen Anne, he must have *joined* the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1721?

[10] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 147. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 28.

the foremost Scottish statesmen of his era.[1] The Treaty of Union also found an energetic supporter in the Earl of Findlater, whose name appears on the roll of the Lodge of Aberdeen in 1670.[2]

Inasmuch as the names just cited, are those of persons at one end of the scale, whilst the bulk of the Scottish Craft were at the other end, it is plainly inferential, that many masons of intermediate degree in social rank, must also have found their way to the English metropolis.

Let me next endeavor, by touching lightly on the salient features of Scottish Masonry, to show what the ideas and customs were, from which the founders or early members of the Grand Lodge of England, *could* have borrowed. In so doing, however, I hasten to disclaim the notion of entering into any rivalry with the highest authority upon the subject under inquiry. But, not to say, that in the remarks which follow, I have derived great assistance from notes freely supplied by Lyon, it must be remembered, as Mackey points out, that the learned and laborious investigations of the Historian of "Mother Kilwinning" and "Mary's Chapel," refer only to the Lodges of Scotland. He adds, "There is no sufficient evidence that a more extensive system of initiation did not prevail at the same time, or even earlier, in England and Germany." "Indeed," he continues, "Findel has shown that it did in the latter country."[3] Passing over the alleged identity of the Steinmetzen with the Freemasons, which has been already disposed of,[4] the remarks of the veteran encyclopædist will be generally acquiesced in. They are cited, however, in this place, because they justify the conclusion, that some statements by Lyon, with regard to the Freemasonry of *England*, are evidently mere *obiter dicta*, and may be passed over, therefore, without detracting in the slightest degree from the value of his work as an authentic history of *Scottish* Masonry. Among these is the allusion to Desaguliers as "the pioneer and co-fabricator of symbolical Masonry," a popular delusion, the origin of which has been explained at an earlier page.[5]

Leaving, however, the Freemasonry of England for later examination, let me next, in the shortest compass that is consistent with perspicuity, summarize those features of the Scottish system which await final examination.

[1] See the numerous references to this nobleman, in Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. i.

[2] Chap. VIII., p. 54. The Earls of Marchmont, Eglinton, and Findlater, were accused by Lockhart of having sold their country for £1104, 15s. 7d. ; £200 ; and £100. respectively. "It has been related," observes Burton, "that the Earl of Marchmont had so nicely estimated the value of his conscience, as to give back 5d. in copper, on receiving £1104, 16s. The price for which the Lord Banff had agreed to dispose of himself, was £11, 2s.—an amount held to be the more singularly moderate, as he had to throw in a change of religion with his side of the bargain, and become a Protestant that he might fulfil it!" (History of Scotland, vol. i., pp. 485, 486).

[3] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* Word.

[4] See Chap. III. ; and G. W. Speth, The Steinmetz Theory Critically Examined—shortly to be published.

[5] *Ante*, p. 39. Warburton observes, "An historian who writes of past ages ought not to sit down with the reasons former writers give for things, but examine them, and prove their truth or falsehood—this distinguishes an historian from a mere compiler" (Literary Remains, edited by the Rev. F. Kilvert, 1841, p. 288), *cf. ante*, p. 3. It may be worth remarking, that the talented author of the "History of the Lodge of Edinburgh" does not profess to give more than the result of researches among the manuscripts and documents preserved in the archives of the Grand Lodge, and in those of Mother Kilwinning, the Lodge of Edinburgh, and other *Scottish* Masonic bodies, dating from the seventeenth century or earlier (Preface, pp. vii., viii.).

Turning to the Schaw Statutes, which are based, according to my belief, upon the "Old *English* Charges" or Manuscript Constitutions,[1] we find ordinances of earlier date referred to. These, if not the ancient writings with which I have ventured to identify them, must have been some regulations or orders now lost to us. However this may be, the Schaw Statutes themselves present us with an outline of the system of Masonry peculiar to Scotland in 1598-99, which, to a great extent, we are enabled to fill in by aid of the further documentary evidence supplied from that kingdom, and dating from the succeeding century.

The Schaw Statutes are given in Chapter VIII., though not in their vernacular idiom. For this reason a few literal extracts from the two *codices*, upon which some visionary speculations have been based, become essential. These, however—not to encumber the text—will appear in the notes, where they can be referred to by those of my readers, for whom the old Scottish dialect has attractions.

Many of the clauses are in close agreement with some which are to be found in the "Old Charges," whilst others exhibit a striking resemblance to the regulations of the Steinmetzen,[2] and of the craft guilds of France.[3] Schaw, there can hardly be a doubt, had ancient writings to copy from, and what they were I have already ventured to suggest. That trade regulations, all over the world, are characterized by a great family likeness may next be affirmed, and for this reason the points of similarity between the Scottish and the German codes appear to me to possess no particular significance, though with regard to the influence of French customs upon the former, it may be otherwise.

Lyon's *dictum*, that the rules ordained by William Schaw were applicable to Operative Masons alone, will be regarded by most persons as a verdict from which there is no appeal. This point is one of some importance, for although addressed ostensibly to all the Master Masons within the Scottish realm, the Statutes have special reference to the business of *Lodges*, as distinguished from the less ancient organizations of the Craft known as *Incorporations*, holding their privileges direct from the crown, or under Seals of Cause granted by burghal authorities.[4]

The purposes for which the old Scottish lodges existed, are partly disclosed by the documents of 1598 and 1599, though, as the laws then framed or codified were not always obeyed, the "items" of the Warden-General, point in more than one instance to customs that were notoriously more honored in the breach than in the observance. Of this, a good illustration is afforded by the various passages in the two codes which appear to regulate the *status* of apprentices. Thus, according to the Statutes of 1598, no apprentice was to be made *brother* and fellow craft until the period of his servitude had expired.[5] That is to say, on being made free, or attaining the position of a full craftsman, he was admitted or accepted into the fellowship,[6] or to use a more modern expression, became a member of the lodge.

[1] *Ante*, p. 52, and Chap. VIII., p. 17.

[2] *E.g.*, compare the Schaw Statutes, No. I. (1598), Articles 1-6, with §§ II., XLII., II., IV., XI., VI. of the Strassburg Code respectively (*ante*, Chaps. VIII., pp. 5, 6; and III., p, 121 *et seq.*); also Nos. 8, 9, 10, 13, and 15 of the former, with Nos. XV., XV. (and LIV., LV.), LXI., LXIV., and LXIV. of the latter.

[3] Especially is this the case with regard to the Essay or Masterpiece, named in both editions of the Schaw Statutes. *Cf.* Articles 13 of the 1st and 10 of the 2d, with the Montpellier Statutes of 1586 (*ante*, Chaps. VIII., pp. 6, 10; and IV., pp. 204-207).

[4] Lyon History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 16.

[5] § 59.

[6] *Cf.* p. 15, note 2, and Chap. XIV., p. 275.

That the apprentices in Schaw's time stood on quite a different footing from that of the Masters and fellows, is also attested by the second code,[1] and that their *status* in the lodge during the seventeenth century was still one of relative inferiority to the *members*[2] in some parts of Scotland, is as certain as that in others they labored under no disability whatever, and were frequently elected to the chair.[3] "Beyond providing for the 'orderlie buiking' of apprentices, the Schaw Statutes are silent as to the constitution of the lodge at entries. On the other hand, care is taken to fix the number and quality of brethren necessary to the reception of masters or fellows of craft, viz., six masters and two entered apprentices.[4] The presence of so many masters was doubtless intended as a barrier to the advancement of incompetent craftsmen, and not for the communication of secrets with which entered apprentices were unacquainted; for the arrangement referred to proves beyond question that whatever secrets were imparted in and by the lodge were, as a means of mutual recognition, patent to the intrant. The 'trial of skill in his craft,'[5] the production of an 'essay-piece,'[6] and the insertion of his name and mark in the lodge book, with the names of his 'six admitters' and 'intendaris' as specified in the act,[7] were merely practical tests and confirma-

[1] §§ 10-12. The subordinacy of apprentices in *England* is also abundantly proved by the language of the "Old Charges," though, as we have seen, in tracing upwards or backwards, the evidence from all other sources becomes exhaustive when the year 1646 is reached, without apparently bringing us any nearer to a purely or even partly operative *régime*. *Cf. ante*, p. 52, and Chap. XIV., p. 267.

[2] Of the Lodge of Glasgow, Lyon remarks, "unlike other pre-eighteenth century lodges, its membership was exclusively operative, and although doubtless giving the mason word to entered apprentices, none were recognized as members till they had joined the incorporation, which was composed of Mason Burgesses" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 413). By the rules, however, of the Operative Lodge of Banff (1765), a person became a member on "being Made an Entred Apprentice" (Freemason, March 20, 1869; and Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., p. 37).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 14; and Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning, Freemason's Magazine, July to December, 1863, pp. 95, 154, 236. An apprentice was elected master of the legendary parent of Scottish Freemasonry so late as 1736 (*Ibid.*, p. 237).

[4] Schaw Stat. No. 1 (1598), § 13.—"*Item*, That na maister or fallow of craft be ressauit [*received*] nor admittit wtout the numer of sex maisteris, and twa enterit prenteisses, the wardene of that ludge being [*ane*] of the said sex, and that the day of the ressauyng [*receiving*] of the said fellow of craft or maister be ordrlie buikit and his name and mark insert in the said buik wt the names of his sex admitteris and enterit prenteissis, and the names of the intendaris that salbe chosin to everie persone to be alsua insert in thair buik. Providing alwayis that na man be admittit wtout ane assay [*essay*] and sufficient tryall of his skill and worthynes in his vocatioun and craft" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 10; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 6).

[5] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 6.—"*Item*, it is ordanit be my lord warden generall, that the warden of Kilwynning, as secund in Scotland, elect and chuis sex of the maist perfyte and worthiest of memorie within [*thair boundis*], to tak tryall of the qualificatioun of the haill masonis within the boundis foirsaid, *of thair art, craft, scyance and antient memorie;* to the effect the warden deakin may be answerable heiraftir for sic personis as is committit to him, and within his boundis and jurisdictioun" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 12; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 10).

[6] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 16.—"*Item*, it is ordainit that all fallows of craft at his entrie pay to the commoun bokis of the ludge the soume of ten pundis mone [*money*], with xs. worthe of gluffis [gloves], or euir [*before*] he be admittit, and that fore the bankatt [*banquet*]; *and that he be not admitit without ane sufficient essay and purife of memorie and art of craft*, be [*by*] the warden, deacon, and quarter maisteris of the ludge, conforme to the foirmer; and quhair-throw thai may be the mair answerable to the generall warden" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 13; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 10). It will be seen that the "Essay" is referred to in both codes. *Cf.* the last note but one.

[7] Schaw Statutes No. 1. (1598), § 13. See note above, and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 6.

tions of the applicant's qualifications as an apprentice, and his fitness to undertake the duties of journeyman or master in Operative Masonry; and the apprentice's attendance at such an examination could not be otherwise than beneficial to him, because of the opportunity it afforded for increasing his professional knowledge."

No traces of an annual "tryall of the art and memorie and science thairof of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss,"[2] were found by Lyon in the recorded transactions of Mary's Chapel or in those of the Lodge of Kilwinning. But as already mentioned,[3] the custom was observed with the utmost regularity by the Lodge of Peebles,[4] and is alluded to with more or less distinctness in the proceedings of other lodges.[5] It has been shown that the presence of apprentices at the admission of fellows of craft was rendered an essential formality by the Schaw Statutes of 1598. This regulation appears to have been duly complied with by the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning,[6] and in the former at least, the custom of apprentices giving or withholding their consent to any proposed accession to their own ranks was also recognized. But whether the latter prerogative was exercised as an inherent right, or by concession of their superiors in the craft, the records do not disclose. The earliest instance of the recognition of apprentices as active members of the Lodge of Edinburgh, is furnished by a minute of June 12, 1600, whence it appears that at least four of them attested the entry of William Hastie,[7] whilst in those of slightly later date, certain

[1] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 17.

[2] Schaw Stat. No. 2 (1599), § 13.—"*Item*, it is ordainit be [by] the generall warden, that the ludge of Kilwynning, being the secoud luge in Scotland, *tak tryall of the art of memorie and science thairof, of everie fallow of craft and everie prenteiss according to ather* [*either*] *of their vocationis; and in cais that thai have lost onie point thairof*, eurie [*every*] of thame to pay the penaltie as followis, for their slewthfulness, viz., ilk fallow of craft, xxs. ; ilk prenteiss, xis. ; and that to be payit to the box for the commoun weil zeirlie; and that conforme to the common vse and pratik of thə commoun lugis of this realm" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 13; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 10).

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 41.

[4] "Dec. 27, 1718.—This being St. John's day the Honourable Society of Masons mett, and after prayer, proceeded to an examination of entered apprentices and Fellow Crafts, and which was done *hinc illæ* to the general satisfaction of the whole brethren" (Old Records of the Lodge of Peebles, Masonic Magazine, vol. vi., p. 355).

[5] *E.g.*, those at Kelso, Melrose, Dunblane, Aberdeen, and Atcheson Haven. *Cf.* Vernon History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 28; Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., p. 369; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 40, 49. The records of the last-named lodge contain the following minute: [December 27, 1722.] "The which day the Companie being convened, feinding a great loss of the Enterd Prentises not being tryed every S^{t} John's-day, thinks it fitt for the futter [*future*] that he who is Warden (or any in the Company who he shall call to assist him (shall every S^{t} John's-day, in the morning, try every Entered Prentis that was entered the S^{t} John's-day before, under the penalty of on croun [*one crown*] to the box" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 18). The following item in the Melrose records (1696)—"There was three payd for not being perfyt," shows that fines were imposed on ignorant or uninstructed members (Masonic Magazine, *loc. cit.*, note 2; and *cf.* the Aberdeen Statutes—*ante*, Chap. VIII.—*s.v.* Intender)

The second by-law of the Lodge of Brechin, enacted December 27, 1714, runs:—"It is statute and ordained that none be entered to this lodge unless either the Master of the Lodge, Warden, and Treasurer, with two free Masters and two entered prentices be present" (Masonic Magazine, vol. i., p. 110). *Cf.* the Buchanan MS., Special Charges, No. 5; Smith, English Gilds, pp. 21, 31, 267, 328; and Plot's allusion to "5 or 6 of the Ancients of the Order," *ante*. Chaps. II., p, 101; and XIV., p. 289.

[7] Blais Hamilton, Thos. Couston, Thos. Tailzefeir, and Cristill Miller, who were made fellows of craft in March 1601, November 1606, December 1607, and December 1609 respectively" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 74).

entered prentices are represented as "consenting and assenting" to the entries to which they refer. The presence of apprentices *in the lodge* during the making of fellow-crafts is also affirmed by Lyon, on the authority of minutes which he cites,[1]—a "fact," in his opinion, utterly destructive of the theory which has been advanced, "that apprentices were merely present at the constitution of the lodge for the reception of fellows of craft or masters, but were not present during the time the business was going on."[2] A minute of the year 1679 shows, however, very plainly, that whether *in* or *out of* the lodge the apprentices were in all respects fully qualified to make up a quorum for the purposes either of initation or the reception of fellows.

"December the 27, 1679: Maries Chappell. The which day Thomas Wilkie, deacon, and Thomas King, warden, and the rest of the brethren convened at that tyme, being represented unto them the great abuse and usurpation committed be John Fulltoun, mason, on [*one*] of the friemen of this place, by seducing *two entered prentises* belonging to our Lodge, to witt, Ro. Alison and John Collaer, and other omngadrums, in the moneth of august last, within the sheraffdom of Air: Has taken upon himself *to passe and enter* severall gentlemen without licence or commission from this place: Therefore for his abuse committed, the deacon and maisters hes forthwith enacted that he shall receave no benefit from this place nor no converse with any brother; and lykwayes his servants to be discharged from serving him in his imployment; and this act to stand in force, ay and whill [*until*] he give the deacon and masters satisfaction."[3]

It has been sufficiently demonstrated, though the evidence is not yet exhausted, that the apprentice, at his entry, was placed in full possession of the secrets of the lodge. But here we must be careful not to confuse the Masonic nomenclature prevailing in the two kingdoms respectively. The term "Free Mason," of which, in Scotland, except in the "Old Charges," the use first appears in the records of Mary's Chapel, under the year 1636, and does not reappear until 1725, was in that country until the eighteenth century, a mere abbreviation of "Freemen Masons."[4] Thus, David Dellap on being *made* an *entered apprentice* at Edinburgh in 1636,[5] must have had communicated to him, whatever of an esoteric character there was to reveal, precisely as we are justified in believing must have happened in Ashmole's case, when *made* a *Free Mason* at Warrington in 1646.[6] Yet, though the latter became a *Free Mason* at admission, whilst the former did not, both were clearly *made* brethren of the lodge.[7] The bond of brotherhood thus established may have been virtually one and the same thing in the two countries, or it may, on the other hand, have differed *toto cælo*. But unless each of the Masonic systems be taken as a whole, it is

[1] November 26, 1601; November 10, 1606; February 24, 1637; and June 23, 1637" (*Ibid.*).

[2] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh. This point is completely set at rest by the evidence of the Aberdeen and Kilwinning records, the laws of the former lodge (1670) having been "ordained" by the "Maister Meassones *and* Entered Prentises," whilst the minutes of the latter (1659) show that apprentices not only assisted in the transaction of business, but that they frequently presided at the meetings (*ibid.*, pp. 423-427; Freemason's Magazine, July to December 1863, pp. 95, 237).

[3] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[4] Chaps. VIII., p. 27; XIV., p. 285, note 2. "The adoption in January 1735 by the Lodge of Kilwinning, of the distinguishing title of *Freemasons*, and its reception of symbolical Masonry, were of simultaneous occurrence. The same may be said of Canongate Kilwinning" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 80). [5] Chap. VIII., p. 27. [6] Chaps. XIV., p. 264; XV., pp. 365, 370.

[7] The *free masons* of the lodges of Edinburgh (1636), Melrose (1674), and Alnwick (1701), must have occupied an analogous position to that of the *freemen* of the Gateshead Company. *Cf.* Chaps. VIII., pp. 27, 29; II., p. 91; XVI., p. 15; and XIV., p. 275.

impossible to adequately bring out the distinctions between the two. Consulted in portions, dates may be verified, and facts ascertained, but the significance of the entire body of evidence escapes us—we cannot enjoy a landscape reflected in the fragments of a broken mirror.

Proceeding, therefore, with our examination of Scottish Masonry, it may be confidently asserted, that though the admissions of *gentlemen* into the Lodge of Edinburgh, both before and after the entry of David Dellap (1636), are somewhat differently recorded, the procedure, at least so far as the communication of anything to be kept secret, was the same.

Believers in the antiquity of the present third degree, are in the habit of citing the records of the Lodge of Edinburgh, as affording evidence of gentlemen masons having, in the seventeenth century, been denominated "master masons." The entries of General Hamilton and Sir Patrick Hume are cases in point.[1] But though each of these worthies was enrolled as a "fellow *and master*," their Masonic *status* did not differ from that of Lord Alexander and his brother Henry, who were enrolled, the one as a "fellow of craft," and the other as a "fellow and brother."[2] The relative position, indeed, of the incorporation and the lodge placed the making of a master mason beyond the province of the latter.[3]

"Only in four of the minutes, between December 28, 1598, and December 27, 1700, is the word 'master' employed to denote the Masonic rank in which intrants were admitted in the Lodge of Edinburgh; and it is only so used in connection with the making of theoretical Masons, of whom three were gentlemen by birth, and two master wrights."[4] It is worthy of observation, also, as Lyon forcibly points out, "that all who attest the proceedings of the Lodge, practical and theoretical masons alike, are in the earliest of its records in general terms designated Masters—a form of expression which occurs even when one or more of those to whom it is applied happen to be apprentices."[5]

The same historian affirms—and no other view would seem possible, unless we discard evidence for conjecture—that "if the communication of Mason Lodges of secret words or signs constituted a *degree*—a term of modern application to the esoteric observances of the Masonic body—then there was, under the *purely Operative régime*, only one known to Scotch Lodges, viz., that in which, under an oath, apprentices obtained a knowledge of the Mason Word, *and all that was implied in the expression.*"[6] Two points are involved in this conclusion. One, the essentially *operative* character of the early Masonry of Scotland; the other, the comparative simplicity of the lodge ceremonial. Taking these in their order, it may be necessary to explain that a distinction must be drawn between the *character* and the *composition* of the Scottish Lodges. In the former sense all were *operative*, in the latter, all, or nearly all, were more or less *speculative*. By this must be understood that the lodges in Scotland discharged a function, of which, in England, we meet with no trace save in our manuscript Constitutions, until the eighteenth century. It is improbable that the Alnwick Lodge (1701)[7] was the first of its kind, still, all the evidence we have of an

[1] Chap. VIII., p. 28. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 27; Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 210. [3] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 210.

[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

[6] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Of the Scottish mode of initiation or Masonic reception, the same authority remarks: "*That this was the germ whence has sprung Symbolical Masonry*, is rendered more than probable by the traces which have been left upon the more ancient of our Lodge records—especially those of Mary's Chapel—of the gradual introduction, during the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth century, of that element in Lodge membership which at first modified and afterwards annihilated the original constitution of these ancient courts of Operative Masonry" (*Ibid.*). See, however, *ante*, pp. 10, 54; and the observations on *degrees* in the ensuing chapter.

[7] *Ante*, pp. 10, 12, *et seq.*

earlier date (with the exception noted) bears in quite a contrary direction. The Scottish lodges, therefore, existed, to fulfil certain operative requirements, of which the necessity may have passed away, or at least has been unrecorded in the south.[1]

In Chapter VIII. will be found some allusions to the presence, side by side, of the operative and speculative elements, in the lodges of Scotland.[2] The word *speculative* has been turned to strange uses by historians of the craft. In this respect I am no better off than my predecessors, and the reference to "Speculative Freemasonry" at Vol. II., p. 57, is at least ambiguous, if nothing more. It is there argued that the speculative ascendancy which, in 1670, prevailed in the Lodge of Aberdeen, might be termed, in other words, *Speculative Freemasonry*. This is true, no doubt, in a sense, but the horizon advances as well as recedes, and I find in some few instances, that a subject provisionally dealt with, at an earlier stage, requires some qualifying remarks. Indeed, as it has been well expressed, "The idea in the mind is not always found under the pen, any more than the artist's conception can always breathe in his pencil."

Without doubt, the Earls of Findlator and Errol, and the other noblemen and gentlemen, who formed a majority of the members of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670), were speculative or honorary, and not operative or practical masons. The same may be said of the entire bead-role of Scottish worthies whose connection with the craft has been already glanced at.[3] But the speculative element within the lodges was a mere excrescence upon the operative. From the earliest times, in the cities of Scotland, the burgesses were accustomed to purchase the protection of some powerful noble by yielding to him the little independence that they might have retained.[4] Thus, for example, the town of Dunbar naturally grew up under the shelter of the castle of the same name.[5] Few of the Scottish towns ventured to elect their chief magistrate from among their own people; but the usual course was to choose a neighboring peer as provost or bailie.[6] Indeed, it often happened that his office became hereditary, and was looked upon as the vested right of some aristocratic family.[7] In the same way the lodges eagerly courted the countenance and protection of the aristocracy. Of this, many examples might be given, if, indeed, the fact were not sufficiently established by the evidence before us.[8] But the hereditary connection of the noble house of Montgomerie with the Masonic Court of Kilwinning must not be passed over, as it shows, that to some extent at least, the "mother" lodge of Scottish tradition grew up under the shelter of Eglinton Castle.[9]

"The grafting of the non-professional element on to the stem of the operative system

[1] *Ante*, p. 10. [2] Pp. 26, 53, 57. [3] Chap. VIII., *passim*.

[4] *Cf.* Buckle, History of Civilization, vol. iii., pp. 32, 33.

[5] "Dunbar became the town, in demesn, of the successive Earls of Dunbar and March, partaking of their influences, whether, unfortunate or happy" (G. Chalmers, Caledonia, vol. ii., p. 416).

[6] P. F. Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. iv., p. 225.

[7] *Cf.* Buckle, *op. cit.*, vol. iii., p. 33, and the authorities cited.

[8] Chap. VIII., *passim*. Lyon observes, "it is worthy of remark that with singularly few exceptions, the non-operatives who were admitted to Masonic fellowship in the Lodges of Edinburgh and Kilwinning during the seventeeth century were persons of quality, the most distinguished of whom, as the natural result of its metropolitan position, being made in the former lodge" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 81).

[9] Chap. VIII., pp. 8, 15. For further proof of this connection, which extended to a comparatively recent period, see Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 11, 52, 245; and R. Wylie, History of Mother Lodge Kilwinning, 1878, *passim*.

of masonry," is said to have had its commencement in Scotland about the period of the Reformation,[1] nor are we without evidence that will justify this conclusion. According to the solemn declaration of a church court in 1652,[2] many masons having the "word" were ministers and professors in "the purest tymes of this kirke," which may mean any time after the Reformation of 1560, but must, at least, be regarded as carrying back the admission of honorary members into masonic fellowship, beyond the oft-quoted case of John Boswell, in 1600.[3] But as militating against the hypothesis, that honorary membership was then of frequent occurrence, the fact must be noted, that the records of Lodge of Edinburgh contain no entries relating to the admission of *gentlemen* between 1600 and 1634,—the latter date, moreover, being thirty-eight years before the period at which the presence of Geomatic Masons is first discernible in the Lodge of Kilwinning.[4] But whatever may have been the motives which animated the parties on either side—Operatives or Speculatives—the tie which united them was a purely honorary one.[5] In the Lodge of Edinburgh, Geomatic Masons were charged no admission fee until 1727.[6] The opinion has been expressed that a difference existed between the ceremonial at the admission of a theoretical, and that observed at the reception of a practical mason. This is based upon the inability of non-professionals to comply with tests to which operatives were subjected ere they could be passed as fellows of craft.[7] Such was probably the case, and the distinction is material, as naturally arising from the presumption that the *interests* of the latter class of intrants would alone be considered in a court of purely operative masonry.

Passing, however, to the second point—the simplicity of the lodge ceremonial—and I must here explain that I use this expression in the restricted sense of the *masonic reception* common to both classes alike—the operative tests from which gentlemen were presumably exempt are of no further interest in this inquiry. The geomatic[8] class of intrants, if we follow Lyon, were "in all likelihood initiated into a knowledge of the legendary history of the mason craft, and had the Word and *such other secrets* communicated to them, as was necessary to their recognition as brethren, in the very limited masonic circle in which they were ever likely to move—limited, because *there was nothing of a cosmopolitan character*, in the bond which [then] united the members of lodges, nor had the Lodge of Edinburgh *as yet* become acquainted with the dramatic degrees of speculative masonry."[9] Subject to the qualification, that the admission of a *joining member* from the Lodge of Linlithgow, by the brethren of the Lodge of Edinburgh, in 1653,[10] attests that the bond of fellowship was something more than a mere token of membership of a particular lodge, or of a masonic society in a single city, the proceedings at the entry or admission of candidates for the lodge are well outlined by the Scottish historian. The ceremony was doubtless the same—*i.e.*, the esoteric portion of it, with which we are alone concerned—whether the intrant was an operative apprentice, or a speculative fellow-craft, or master.[11] The legend of the craft was

[1] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 78. [2] Chap. VIII., p. 64. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 26, *q. v.*; and 27.

[4] *I.e.*, by the election of Lord Cassillis to the deaconship. [5] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 82. [6] *I bid.*

[7] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 82. [8] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 57, note 2. [9] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 82, 83.

[10] Chap. VIII., p. 29:—"Dec. 22, 1702.—William Cairncross, mason in Stockbridge, gave in his petition desiring liberty to associate himself with this lodge, which being duly considered, and *he being examined before the meeting*, they were fully satisfied *of his being a true entered apprentice and fellow-craft*, and therefore admitted him into their Society as a member thereof in all tyme coming, and upon his solemn promise in the terms of the Society, anent which he accordingly gave" (Minutes of the Haughfoot Lodge, Freemason's Magazine, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 222).

[11] The practice of the Lodge of Kilwinning shows that gentlemen became *apprentices* at their entry, and not fellows of craft or masters, as was commonly the case in the Lodge of Edinburgh.

read, and "the benefit of the MASON WORD" conferred. The Schaw Statutes throw no light on the ceremony of masonic initiation, beyond justifying the inference, that extreme simplicity must have been its leading characteristic. The WORD is the only secret referred to throughout the seventeenth century in any Scottish records of that period.[1] The expression "Benefit of the Mason Word" occurs in several statutes of the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670).[2] The Atcheson-Haven records (1700) mention certain "disorders of the lodge" which it was feared would "bring all law and order, and consequently the mason word, to contempt."[3] The Haughfoot minutes (1702) mention a grip, though I may here interpolate the remark, that my belief in a plurality of secrets being appurtenant to the WORD,[4] that is to say, before their introduction from England, at some period now indeterminable, but not before the last quarter of the seventeenth century—has been somewhat disturbed by a further study of the subject since the publication of the eighth chapter of this history.

The same records detail the admission of two members in 1710, who "received the word in common form,"[5] an expression which is made clearer by the laws of the Brechin Lodge (1714), the third of which runs—"It is statute and ordained that when any person that is entered to this lodge shall be receaved by the Warden in the common form," etc.[6] Liberty to give the "Mason Word" was the principal point in dispute between Mary's Chapel and the Journeymen, which was settled by "Decreet Arbitral" in 1715, empowering the latter "to meet together as a society for giving the MasonWord."[7]

The *secrets* of the Mason Word are referred to, as already stated, in the minutes of the Lodge of Dunblane,[8] and what makes this entry the more remarkable is, that the "secrets" in question were revealed, after due examination, by two "*entered apprentices*" from the Lodge of Kilwinning—in which latter body the ceremony of initiation was of so simple a character, down at least to 1735,[9] as to be altogether destructive, in my opinion, of the construction which has been placed upon the report of the examiner deputed by the former lodge, to ascertain the masonic qualifications of the two applicants for membership. In the last-named year (1735,) as I have already shown,[10] two persons who had been severally received into masonry by individual operators at a distance from the lodge, being found "in lawful possession of the *word*," were recognized as members of Mother Kilwinning "in the station of apprentices."

The custom of entering persons *to* the lodge—in the observance of which one mason could unaided make another—has been already cited as suggesting a total indifference to uniformity in imparting to novitiates the secrets of the craft.[11] The masonic ceremonial,

[1] *Ante*, pp. 29, 30.

[2] §§ 1, 4, and 5. Stat. I. runs:—"Wee, Master Masons *and Entered Prentises*, all of us under subscryuers, doe here protest and vowe as hitherto *wee* have done at *our* entrie when *we* received the benefit of the Mason Word," etc. (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 423. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 48).

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 67. [4] See *ante*, 10, 29; and Chap. VIII., p. 68,

[5] Freemason's Magazine, Oct. 2, 1869, p. 306. "Jan. 24, 1711.—Mr. John Mitchelson admitted Apprentice and Fellow-Craft in common form" (*Ibid.*)

[6] Masonic Magazine, vol. i., 1873-74, p. 110. [7] Chap. VIII., p. 38; Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[8] *Ante*, p. 29; and Chap. VIII., p. 40.

[9] Chap. VIII., p. 16; Freemasons' Magazine, August 29, 1863, p. 154. [10] *Ibid.*

[11] Chap. VIII., p. 74. Mr. W. P. Buchan says:—"Seeing how difficult it is even now, with all the aids to help and oft-recurring meetings, to get office-bearers and brethren to work one ceremony properly, how did the old lodges get on before 1717, who only met once a year? Oh! how elaborate

therefore, of a lodge addicted to this practice, will not carry much weight as a faithful register of contemporary usage. For this reason, as well as for others already expressed,[1] the evidence of the Dunblane records seems to me wholly insufficient to sustain the theory for which they have served as a foundation.

In this view of the case, there will only remain the minutes of the Lodge of Haughfoot as differing in any material respect from those of other lodges of earlier date than 1736. From these we learn that in *one* Scottish lodge, in the year 1702, both *grip* and *word* were included in the ceremony. Unfortunately "the minutes commence abruptly, at page 11, in continuation of other pages now missing, which, for an evident purpose, viz., *secrecy*, have been torn out."[2] The evidence from this source is capable, as observed at an earlier page, of more than one interpretation, and to the gloss already put upon it[3] I shall add another, premising, however, that it has been suggested to me by an ingenious friend[4] rather with the view of stimulating inquiry than of attempting to definitely settle a point of so much importance. The passage then—"*of entrie as the apprentice did*"—(it is urged) implies that the candidate was *not* an apprentice, but doubtless a fellow-craft. "*Leaving out* (*the common judge*)[5]*—they then whisper the word as before, and the Master Mason*[6] *grips his hand in the ordinary way.*" But as the candidate (it is contended) already possessed the apprentice or mason word, this word must have been a new one. "*As before*" could hardly apply to the identity of the word, but to the manner of imparting it, *i.e.*, whispered, as in the former degree. So also the *ordinary way* must mean in the manner usual in that degree.

Of the two conjectures with regard to the singular entries in the Haughfoot minutes—which my readers now have before them—either may possibly be true; but as they stand without sufficient proof it must be granted likewise that they may both possibly be false. At least they cannot preclude any other opinion, which, advanced in like manner, will possess the same claim to credit, and may perhaps be shown by resistless evidence to be better founded.

Under any view of the facts, however, the procedure of the Lodge of Haughfoot (1702) must be regarded as being of a most abnormal type, and as it derives no corroboration whatever from that of other lodges of corresponding date, we must admit, if we do no more, the impossibility of positively determining whether both *grip* and *word* were communicated to Scottish brethren in the *seventeenth* century.[7]

must the ceremony have been, when one mason could make another!" (Freemasons' Magazine, July to Dec. 1869, p. 409).

[1] *Ante*, pp. 29, 30.

[2] Letter from Mr. R. Sanderson, Prov. G. Sec., Peebles and Selkirk, dated April 21, 1884.

[3] Chap. VIII., pp. 67, 68.

[4] Mr. G. W. Speth.

[5] Mr. Sanderson expresses his inability to throw any light on this phrase, except that it may refer to *Cowans* or outsiders. A better solution, however, has been suggested in a recent letter from Lyon, who directs attention to the "St. Clair Charters," printed in his well-known work (pp. 58-62; and see also p. 426), wherein the Laird of Roslin and his heirs are named as Patrons, Protectors, and Overseers of the Craft, owing to the dilatory procedure of the ordinary (*ordiner*) or Common Judges." *Query*, "A prince and ruler in Israel?"

[6] In Chapter VIII., at p. 67, I have given "Master" *simpliciter*, but, as will appear from the following excerpt, the true meaning of the term was not obscured:—"Haughfoot, 14th Jan., 1704 years.—The meeting also continued John Hoppringle of yt. ilk *Master* Mason, till St. John's Day next" (Freemasons' Magazine, Sept. 18, 1869, p. 222).

[7] See *ante*, pp. 10, 29; and Chap. VIII., p. 68; and compare with Chap. III., p. 148.

The old Scottish MASON WORD is unknown.[1] It has not as yet been discovered, either what it was, or to what extent it was in general use. Neither can it be determined whether at any given date prior to 1736, it was the same in Scotland as it was in England. Each nation, and indeed each different locality (it has been urged), *may* have had a word (or words) of its own.[2] On this point, alas, like so many others, which confront the students of our antiquities—"ingenious men may readily advance plausible arguments to support whatever theory they shall choose to maintain; but then the misfortune is, every one's hypothesis is each as good as another's, since they are all founded on conjecture."

If the use of any one word was universal, or to speak with precision, if the word in Scotland was included among the *words*, which we are justified in believing, formed a *portion* of the secrets disclosed in the early English lodges, it was something quite distinct from the familiar expressions, which at the *introduction* of *degrees*, were *imported* into Scotland.

Mr. Officer writes,[3] "I have read many old Minute-Books of a date prior to 1736. The expression in them all is the WORD, or sometimes the '*Mason's Word.*' Singularly, in none of the Minute-Books is there the slightest reference to any change in the form of admission or ritual. *The change was made*, but it is dealt with as if the old system continued."[4] The same correspondent further records his belief, and herein he is in exact agreement with Lyon, that the *alteration* of the Scottish ritual was due primarily to the influence of Desaguliers. Indeed, the latter authority emphatically declares[5] that "the reorganization and creation of offices in the old Scottish Lodges *after* 1721, show that a NEW system had been introduced."

The minutes of "Canongate Kilwinning" contain the earliest Scottish record extant, of the admission of a master mason under the modern Masonic Constitution. This occurred on March 31, 1735.[6] But it is believed by Lyon that the degree in question was first practised north of the Tweed by the "Edinburgh Kilwinning Scots Arms." This, the first speculative Scotch lodge, was established February 14, 1729, and with its erection came, so he conjectures—though I must confess that I cannot quite bring myself into the same way of thinking—"the formal introduction of the third degree, with its Jewish Legend and dramatic ceremonial."[7]

This degree is for the first time referred to in the minutes of "Mother Kilwinning" in 1736, and in those of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1738. The Lodges of Atcheson's Haven, Dunblane, Haughfoot, and Peebles were unacquainted with it in 1760, and the degree was not generally worked in Scottish lodges until the seventh decade of the last century.[8]

But as I have already had occasion to observe, the love of mystery being implanted in human nature never wholly dies out. A few believers in the great antiquity of Masonic degrees still linger in our midst. Some cherish the singular fancy that the obsolete

[1] I take the opportunity of gratefully acknowledging the assistance freely rendered by the Grand Secretary of Scotland (D. M. Lyon), Mr. William Officer, and Mr. Robert Sanderson, throughout this inquiry.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 61. Vogel observes:—"A worthy old Salute-mason assures me that the masons are divided into three classes. The Letter-masons, the Salute-masons, and the Freemasons. The Freemasons are truly the richest, but, he added, they work by our word and we by theirs" (Briefe die Freimaurerei breffetend, 1785).

[3] In a Letter dated June 6, 1884.

[4] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 51, 52; and *post*, pp. 65, 66.

[5] In a Letter dated June 16, 1884.

[6] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 213. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 31.

[7] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 175, 213.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

phraseology of the Schaw Statutes,[1] reveals evidence confirmatory of their hopes, whilst others, relying on the axiom—"that in no sense is it possible to say, that a conclusion drawn from circumstantial evidence can amount to absolute certainty,"[2] find in the *alleged* silence of the Scottish records, with regard to any *alteration* of ritual—a like consolation. Both theories or speculations have been considered with some fulness,—the latter in an earlier chapter,[3] and the former in the present one. Some rays of light, however, remain to be shed on the general subject These, I think, my readers will discern in the following extracts from the minutes of the Lodge of Kelso, which seem to me to reduce to actual demonstration, what the collateral facts or circumstances satisfactorily proved, have already warranted us in believing, viz., that the system of three degrees was gradually introduced into Scotland in the eighteenth century.

"Kelso, 18th June 1754.—The Lodge being ocationaly met and opened, a petition was presented from Brother Walter Ker, Esq. of Litledean, and the Rev. Mr Robert Monteith, minister of the Gospel at Longformacus, praying to be passed fellow-crafts, which was unanimously agreed to, and the Right Worshipful Master, *deputed Brother Samuel Brown, a visiting Brother, from Canongate, from Leith,*[4] *to officiate as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus, from same Lodge, to act as wardens on this occation, in order yt wee might see the method practiced in passing fellow crafts in their and the other Lodges in and about Edr.* [*Edinburgh*], and they accordingly passed the above Brothers Ker and Monteith, Fellow Crafts, who gave their obligation and pay'd their fees in due form. Thereafter the Lodge was regularly closed."

"*Eodem Die.*—The former brethren met as above, continued sitting, when upon conversing about Business relating to the Craft, and the forms and Practice of this Lodge in particular, *a most essential defect of our Constitution was discovered, viz.,—that this lodge had attained only to the two Degrees of Apprentices and Fellow Crafts, and knowing nothing of the Master's part, whereas all Regular Lodges over the World are composed of at least the three Regular Degrees of Master, Fellow Craft, and Prentice. In order, therefor, to remedy this defect in our Constitution,* Brothers Samuel Brown, Alexander Palmer, John Fergus, John Henderson, Andrew Bell, and Francis Pringle, *being all Master Masons, did form themselves into a Lodge of Masters—Brother Brown to act as Master, and Brothers Palmer and Fergus as Wardens, when they proceeded to raise Brothers James Lidderdale, William Ormiston, Robert Pringle, David Robertson, and Thomas Walker, to the rank of Masters, who qualificd and were receiv'd accordingly.*"

"In the above minute," says the historian[5] of the Lodge, "*we have clearly the origin of a Master Mason's Lodge in Kelso.*" Indeed, it might be possible to go further, and to contend, that the second *degree* was also introduced at the same meeting? But without laboring this point, which the evidence adduced will enable every reader to determine in his own mind, there is one further quotation, with which I shall terminate my extracts from these records.

December 21, 1741.—"Resolved that annually att said meeting [on St John's day, in the Councill house of Kellso], there should be a *public examination* by the Master, Warden, and other members, *of the last entered apprenttces and oyrs* [others], that it thereby

[1] *Ante*, pp. 55, 57, and see particularly p. 57, note 2. [2] Taylor, Law of Evidence, 1858, p. 76.
[3] VIII., pp. 51, 52.
[4] Doubtless the "Canongate *and* Leith and Canongate" lodge, of which a sketch has been given in Chap. VIII., p. 35, *et seq.* [5] W. F. Vernon, The History of the Lodge of Kelso, pp. 47, 48.

may appear what progress they have made under their respective Intenders, that they may be thanked or censured conform[able] to their respective Demeritts."[1]

The cumulative value of the evidence just presented, is greater than would at first sight appear. Quoting the traditionary belief of the Melrose Masons, who claim for their lodge an antiquity coeval with the Abbey there, which was founded in 1136, Vernon considers he has at least as good authority—in the absence of documents—for dating the institution of masonry in Kelso, at the time when David I. brought over to Scotland a number of foreign operatives to assist in the building of the Abbey of Kelso (1128). "The very fact," he urges, "that the Abbey was dedicated to *St. John the Evangelist* and the Virgin Mary, and that the Kelso lodge was dedicated to the same saint, would seem to bear out this idea."[2] But whatever the measure of antiquity to which St. John's Lodge, Kelso, can justly lay claim, its existence is carried back by the evidence of its own records, to 1701, from which we also learn that it preserved its independence—*i.e.*, did not join the Grand Lodge of Scotland—until 1753.[3] We find, therefore, an old operative lodge, one, moreover, working by inherent right—in which rather than in those subordinate to a *new* organization, we might naturally expect that *old* customs would remain for the longest time unmodified—testing, in 1741, the craftsmen and apprentices "according to their vocations," in strict conformity with the Schaw Statutes of 1599.[4] The continuance of this practice up to so late a period, coupled with the circumstance that the third degree—if we go no further—was *introduced* into the procedure of the lodge, *after* its acceptance of a charter, prove therefore, to demonstration, that the tests and "tryalls" enjoined by William Schaw, were *not* the preliminaries to any such ceremony (or ceremonies), as the brethren of St. John's Lodge were *made acquainted with*, in 1754.[5] Thus, two facts are established. One, that the examinations which took place periodically in the old lodges of Scotland were entirely of an operative character. The other, that the *alleged* silence of the Scottish records with regard to the *introduction* of degrees, is *not* uniform and unbroken.[6]

The Kelso minutes, which have been strangely overlooked—by myself as well as others—indicate very clearly, the manner in which the English novelties must frequently have become engrafted on the masonry of Scotland, *viz.*, by radiation from the northern metropolis. No other records are equally explicit, and those of the Lodge of Edinburgh, especially, leave much to be desired. The office of clerk to this body, during the transition period of the lodge's history, was held by Mr. Robert Alison, an Edinburgh writer, who,

[1] Vernon, The History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 28.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5. *Cf. ante*, p. 51.

[3] It was agreed on December 28, 1753, that the Treasurer was to pay the expense of a charter from the Grand Lodge. The charter is dated February 6, 1754 (Vernon, *op cit.*, p. 38).

[4] §§ 6, 10, 13. *Cf. ante*, pp. 56, 57.

[5] *If* we may believe "a Right Worshipful Master, S. C." [Scotch Constitution], the Lodge of Melrose, in 1871, "was carrying on the same system that it did nearly 200 years before." He states, "I entered into conversation with an old Mason, whose father belonged to the lodge, and he *told me*, that his father *told him*, his grandfather was a member of the Melrose lodge, and their style of working was the same as at present. I made a calculation from this, and it took me back nearly 200 years"! (Freemason, Dec. 30, 1871). Without, indeed, accepting for an instant, the fanciful conjecture above quoted, is is highly probable, that the Lodge of Melrose, which has never surrendered its independence, was longer in becoming indoctrinated with the English novelties, than the other lodges—whose acceptance of the speculative system, as they successively joined the Grand Lodge, may be inferred from the example of the Lodge of Kelso.

[6] *Cf. ante*, 64; and Chap. VIII., pp. 51, 52.

by the guarded style in which he recorded its transactions, has contributed to veil in a hitherto impenetrable secrecy, details of the most important epoch in the history of Scottish Freemasonry, of which from his position he must have been cognizant.[1] But, as I have already ventured to contend,[2] the silence—or, after the evidence last presented, it will be best to say, *comparative silence*—of these early records with respect to degrees, will satisfy most minds that they could have been known, if at all, but a short while before being mentioned in the minutes which have come down to us. The "Lodge of Journeymen," then composed exclusively of fellow-crafts, took part in the erection of the Grand Lodge in 1736, by which body it was recognized as a *lawful* lodge, dating from 1709. The historian of the lodge—who, by the way, expresses a well-grounded doubt, whether the *grades* of apprentice and fellow-craft, were identical with the *degrees* of the same name—informs us, that it contented itself for forty years with the two *grades* or *degrees* referred to, as no indication of its connection with the Master's degree is found until the year 1750. On St. John's Day of that year, it made application to the Lodge of Edinburgh, to raise three of its members to the dignity of Master Masons. The application was cordially received, and the three journeymen were admitted to that degree "without any payment of composition, but only as a brotherly favor." For the same privilege, a fee of fourpence was imposed on two brothers in the following year; but on August 16, 1754, the Master announced, that their Mother Lodge of Mary's Chapel had made an offer to raise every member of the Journeymen Lodge at the rate of twopence per head![3]

Whether the two *grades*, into which the members of "Journeymen" and the "Kelso" Lodges were divided, were identical with the *degrees* of the same name, is quite immaterial to the actual point we are considering. *If* the *degree* of fellow-craft was incorporated with the procedure of the Kelso Lodge prior to June 18, 1754, the minute of that date sufficiently attests how imperfectly it had taken root. The secrets communicated in the "Journeymen" Lodge—at least during that portion of its history which is alone interesting to the student of our antiquities—can be gauged with even greater precision.

The "Decreet Arbitral" of 1715 has been happily termed the "Charter" of the Journeymen Lodge. By this instrument, the Incorporation of Masons are absolved from accounting to the Journeymen, "for the moneys received for giveing the *Masson Word* (as it is called), either to freemen or Journeymen," as well before the date of the Decreet Arbitral as in all time to come. Next, "for putting ane end to the contraversaries aryseing betwixt the said ffreemen and Journeymen of the said Incorporation of Massons, anent the giveing of the *Masson Word* and the dues paid therefore," the arbiters decide that the *Incorporation* are to record in their books an Act and Allowance, allowing the Journeymen "to meet togeither by themselves as a Society for giveing the *Masson Word*, and to receive dues therefor." But "the whole meetings, actings, and writeings" of the latter, were to be confined to the collecting and distributing of their funds obtained from voluntary offerings, or from "giveing the *Masson* Word." Also, it was laid down, that all the money received by the Journeymen, either by voluntary donations or "for giveing the *Masson Word*," was to be put into a common purse, and to be employed in no other way than in relieving the poor and in burying the dead. In the third place the Journeymen were to keep a book, and to strictly account for "all moneys received for giveing the *Masson*

[1] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 43. [2] Chap. VIII., 51, 52.

[3] William Hunter, History of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, No. 8, Edinburgh, 1884, pp. 68, 69.

Word" or otherwise.[1] The Deed of Submission and the Decreet Arbitral, together with the Letters of Horning, which complete the series of these interesting, though not euphonious documents, are printed by Provost Hunter in the work already referred to, and with the exception of the last named and most mysterious of the three—which is rather suggestive of a popular superstition—also by Lyon in his admirable history.

It is a singular fact, that the differences thus settled by arbitration, were between the Journeymen and the *Incorporation*, not the *Lodge* of Mary's Chapel. Nor is the Lodge ever referred to in the proceedings. If, therefore, the idea is tenable that incorporations and guilds were custodians of the *Mason* Word, with the privilege or prerogative of conferring it, or of *controlling* its communication, quite a new line of thought is opened up to the masonic antiquary. The practice at Edinburgh, in 1715, may have been a survival of one more general in times still further remote from our own. The Scottish lodges may, at some period, have resembled agencies or deputations, with vicarious authority, derived in their case from the incorporations and guilds. The suggestions which have prompted these observations come unhappily too late for me to linger over them. Documentary evidence[2] that might put the whole matter in a clear light, will not reach me until these pages have passed through the press, so the further information—if such it should prove to be—must of necessity be relegated to the Appendix.

Leaving, therefore, this point an open one, we learn from the "Decreet Arbitral" of 1715, in which it is *six* times mentioned, that there was only *one* word.

The same conclusion is brought home to us by a Scottish law case reported in 1730, but I believe heard in 1725. In this, the lodge at Lanark sought to interdict the masons at Lesmahagow from giving the *"Mason Word"* to persons resident there.[3]

In each of these instances, only one word—the *Mason Word*—is alluded to. "Had there been more words than one," as the friend[4] points out, to whom I am indebted for the reference above, "that fact would have appeared on the face of the proceedings, and there being only *one word*, it necessarily follows that there was only *one degree.*"

It is sufficiently apparent that the ancient formulary of the Scottish lodges consisted of the communication of the WORD, and—as already observed[5]—*all that was implied in the expression.*

Here, with one final quotation, I shall take leave of this branch of our subject, but the form of oath, and some portions of the catechism given in Sloane MS., 3329—a writing which in the opinion of some high authorities, is decisive as to the antiquity and indepen-

[1] William Hunter, History of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, chap. iv., and Appendix No. ii. See also Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-143; *ante*, p. 62; and Chap. VIII., p. 38.

[2] Now being searched for by Mr. Melville, the Registrar of Court Records, Edinburgh, at the instance of Mr. W. Officer, who has obliged me with notes which have suggested the remarks in the text.

[3] June 11, 1730.—Masons of the Lodge of Lanark, *contra* Hamilton (Lord Kames, Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session, Edinburgh, vol. ii., p. 4). This case is evidently referred to in a publication of the year 1747, entitled, "Magistracy settled upon its only true and scriptural basis. An inquiry into the Associate Presbytery's answers to Mr. Nairn's reasons of dissent. Published in name, and subscribed by several of those who adhere to the Rutherglen, Sanquar, and *Lanark* declarations, etc. With a protestation against the *mason-word*, by five masons, 8d." (Scots' Magazine, vol. ix., 1747, p. 404). *Cf. Ibid.*, vols. xvii., 1755, p. 132; xix., 1757, pp. 432, 583; Lawrie, *op. cit.*, p. 132, *et seq.*; and Burton, History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 343.

[4] Mr. W. Officer, in a letter dated Oct. 7, 1884.

[5] *Ante*, p. 29.

dence of the three degrees'—savor so much of the Scottish idiom, that I shall introduce them. The italics are mine.

"THE OATH.

"*The mason word and every thing therein contained* you shall keep secrett you shall never put it in writing directly or Indirectly you shall keep all that we or your *attend*rs [2] shall bid you keep secret *from Man Woman or Child Stock or Stone*[3] and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons and truly observe the Charges in a ye Constitucion all this you promise and swere faithfully to keep and observe without any manner of Equivocation or mentall resarvation directly or Indirectly so help you god and by the Contents of this book.

"So he kisses the book," etc.

The following are extracts from the catechism:—

(Q.) "What is a just and perfect or just and Lawfull Lodge?

(A.) "A just and perfect Lodge is *two Interprintices*,[4] two fellow Craftes, and two Mastrs, more or fewer, the more the merrier, the fewer the bettr chear, but if need require five will serve, that is *two Interprintices*,[5] two fellow Craftes, and one Mastr *on the highest hill or Lowest Valley*[6] of the World without the crow of a Cock or the bark of a Dogg.

(Q.) "What were you sworne by?

(A.) "By God and the square."[7]

Although it is tolerably clear that degrees—as we now have them—were grafted upon *Scottish* Masonry in the eighteenth century, a puzzle in connection with their *English* derivation still awaits solution. It is this. The degrees in question—or to vary the expression, *the only degrees* comprised within the "old landmarks"[8] of Freemasonry—viz., those of Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice, bear titles which are evidently borrowed from the vocabulary of Scotland. Master Mason, it is true, was a term common in both kingdoms, but viewed in conjunction with the others, the *three* expressions may be regarded as having been taken *en bloc*, from the operative terminology of the northern kingdom. Thus, we find England furnishing Scotland with Masonic degrees, which, how-

[1] Notably the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford in his reprint of this MS., 1873, p. 21—*q.v.*

[2] "ATTENDER—companion, associate" (Johnson's Dictionary). *Cf. ante*, pp. 56, note 4; and 57 note 5.

[3] The oath of a freischöffen, *i.e.*, vehmic judge—as given by Grimm—begins, "to keep, hele and hold the vehm from man from wife, from turf from branch, from stick and stone, from grass and herb," etc. (Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, 1828, p. 51). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XV., pp. 355, 363, 365, note 3.

[4] *Cf. ante*, p. 56, note 4.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Cf.* Vol. II., p. 356, *ante*, 45; and Chap. VIII., pp. 48, 49. According to Grimm, "The old gericht was always held in the open; under the sky, in the forest, under wide spreading trees, *on a hill*, by a spring—anciently, at some spot sacred in pagan times, later, at the same spot from the force of tradition. It was also held in *hollows or valleys*, and near large stones" (*op. cit.*, pp. 793, 800, 802). *Cf.* Fort, The Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, pp. 264, 265.

[7] "There ought no frie mason, neither Mr nor fellow, yt taketh his work by great to take any Loses [*cowans*], if he can have any frie masons or lawfull taken prentices, and if he can have none of them, he may take so many as will serve his turne, and he ought not *to let yms know ye privilege of ye compass, Square, levell and ye plum-rule*, but to sett out their plumming to them, ∴ ∴ and if there come any frie mason, he ought to displace one of ye Loses" (Melrose MS., No 19, Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1880, p. 294). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. I., p. 23; III., pp. 137, 153, 167.

[8] See No. xxxix. of the "General Regulations" of 1723 (Appendix, *post*).

ever, bear titles exactly corresponding with those of the *grades* of Operative Masonry in the latter country. This is of itself somewhat confusing, but more remains behind.

If the degrees so imported into Scotland, had a much earlier existence than the date of their transplantation, which is fixed by Lyon at the year 1721, but may, with greater probability, be put down at 1723 or 1724, then this difficulty occurs. Either the degrees in question existed, though without distinctive titles, or they were *re-named* during the epoch of transition, and under each of these suppositions we must suppose that the English (Free) Masons, who *were* familiar with symbolical degrees, borrowed the words to describe them from the Scottish Masons *who were not?* It is true, evidence may yet be forthcoming, showing that *degrees* under their present appellations, are referred to before the publication of the Constitutions of 1723. But we must base our conclusions upon the only evidence we possess, and the silence of all extant Masonic records of earlier date, with regard to the three symbolical grades of Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Apprentice, will be conclusive to some minds that they had then no existence. By this, however, I do not wish it to be implied, that in my own belief, degrees or grades in Speculative Masonry had their first beginning in 1723.

It is almost demonstrably certain that they did not. But they are first *referred to* in unequivocal terms in the Constitutions of that year, and the *titles* with which they were then labelled, cannot be traced (in conjunction) any higher, as speculative or non-operative terms.

The subject of *degrees*, in connection with the *Free*-masonry of the south, will be presently considered, but this phase of our inquiry will be preceded by some final references to the documentary evidence of the north, which will conclude this chapter.

In the Schaw Statutes (1598) will be found *all* the operative terms, which, so far as the evidence extends, were first turned to speculative uses by the Freemasons of the south. "Master Mason, Fellow Craft, and Entered Apprentice," *as grades of symbolical Masonry*, are not alluded to in any book or manuscript of earlier date than 1723. Indeed, with the exception of the first named, the expressions themselves do not occur—at least I have not met with them in the course of my reading—in the printed or manuscript literature preceding the publication of Dr. Anderson's "Book of Constitutions" (1723). The title, "Master Mason," appears, it is true, in the Halliwell Poem,[1] and though not used in the MS. next in seniority,[2] will also be found in several versions of the "Old Charges."[3] The term or expression is also a very common one in the records of the building trades, and is occasionally met with in the Statutes of the Realm,[4] where its earliest use—in the Statute of Labourers[5] (1350)—has somewhat perplexed our historians. The words *mestre mason de franche pere* were cited by Mr. Papworth as supporting his theory—"that the term *Freemason*, is clearly derived from a mason who worked free-stone, in contradistinction to the mason who was employed in rough work."[6] Upon this, and the commentary of Dr. Kloss,

[1] "Mayster (or Maystur) Mason" (lines 88, 206). [2] The "Cooke," No. 2.

[3] *E.g.*, the Lansdowne (3) and the Antiquity (23) MSS. *Cf.* Hughan, The Old Charges of British Freemasons, pp. 35, 68; and *ante*, Chap. XV., p. 337.

[4] *Cf.* Chaps. VI., pp. 302, 303, 306, 307, 318; VII., pp. 337, 367; XIV., p. 270; and Mr. Wyatt Papworth's Papers "On the Superintendents of English Buildings in the Middle Ages" (cited in Chap. VI., p. 301, note 2), *passim*.

[5] 25 Edward III., Stat. ii., c. 3; *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 337.

[6] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861–62, pp. 37–60. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VI., pp. 307, 308.



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Findel founds a conclusion that "the word Free-Mason occurs for the first time in the Statute 25 Edward III. (1350),"[1]—which is next taken up, and again amplified by Steinbrenner, who, although he leaves out the word *mason*, in his quotation from the statute, attaches to "*mestre de franche-pere*" a most arbitrary and illusory signification. "Here," he says, "*Free-mason*"—how he gets at the second half of the compound word is not explained—"evidently signifies a *Free-stone-mason*—one who works in *Free-stone*, as distinguished from the *rough* mason, who merely built walls of rough unhewn stone."[2] "This latter sort of workmen," observes Mackey—who, after quoting the passages just given, in turn takes up the parable, and, it may be remarked, accords to Steinbrenner the entire merit of the research, out of which it arises—"was that class called by the Scotch Masons *Cowans*, whom the Freemasons were forbidden to work with, whence we get the modern use of that word."[3] But nowhere, except in the documents of the Scottish Craft, do we meet with the names, which have been employed from the year 1723, to describe the Freemasons of the two lower *degrees*. "Fellows" and "Apprentices"—or more commonly "Prentices"[4]—are constantly referred to, but not "Fellow-*Crafts*," or *Entered* Apprentices—titles apparently unknown, or at least not in use, in the south. "Cowans" are also alluded to by the Warden General, but English Masons were not familiarized with this expression until it was substituted by Anderson in the Constitutions of 1738,[5] for the terms *layer*,[6] *lyer*, *lowen*, *loses*, etc.,[7] where they are used in the "Old Charges" to distinguish the ordinary workman from the sworn brother.

The terms or expressions, Master Mason, Fellow Craft, Entered Apprentice, and Cowan, appear, from documentary evidence, to have been in common use in Scotland, from the year 1598 down to our own times. These operative *titles*—now conferred on the recipients of *degrees*—are named in the Schaw Statutes (1598), the records of Mary's Chapel (1601), and the laws of the Aberdeen Lodge (1670).[8] There, so to speak, they are presented *en bloc*, which make the references the more comprehensive and significant, but all three titles occur very frequently in the early minutes of Scottish lodges, though that of "Master Mason" is often curtailed to "Master."[9]

The word "Cowan" has been previously referred to,[10] but in support of my argument,

[1] History of Freemasonry, p. 79. See *ante*, Chap. VII., p. 337, note 2.

[2] The Origin and Early History of Masonry, 1864, p. 111.

[3] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, 1874, *s.v.* Freemason.

[4] The Halliwell MS. (1) has, *Prentysse*, *prentys*, and *prentes;* the Cooke (2), *prentis*, *prentes*, and *prentishode;* the Lansdowne (3) gives *Prentice*, which, however, in the Antiquity Roll (23) is modernized into *apprintice*. [5] Pp. ix., 54, 74.

[6] The use of the word *layer*—the commonest of these terms—in preference to *cowan*, in the Kilwinning (16) and Atcheson Haven (17) MSS., furnishes another argument in support of the thesis,—that "all Scottish versions of the 'Old Charges' are of English origin." *Cf. ante*, pp. 15, 51, 52, 55; and Chaps. II., p. 93; VIII., p. 53.

[7] From a collation of thirty-five versions of the "Old Charges," I find that *layer*—under varied spellings, which, however, are *idem sonantia*—occurs in Nos. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 22a, 24, 25a, 26, 27, 32, 36, 37, 39; *lyer* in Nos. 13, 14, 14a, 15, 28; *lowen*, in Nos. 3 and 23; *loses*, in No. 19; *strangers*, in No. 11; *rough mason* in No. 25; *rough hewer* in No. 45; and *lewis* in No. 31a. Nos. 18, 31, and 44 contain no equivalent term. See the references to *ligier* in Chaps. VI., p. 307; XIV., p. 281, note 1; and compare with note 6 above.

[8] Chap. VIII., pp. 6, 48, 49; Lyon *op. cit.*, pp. 73, 423, 425. The words in the preamble of Schaw Stat., No. 1 (1598), that they were "to be obseruit [*observed*] be all the maister maissounis [*Master Masons*] within this realm," were omitted in my summary of these regulations at Chapter VIII., *loc. cit.* [9] *Cf. ante*, p. 63; and Chap. VIII., *passim*. [10] Chap. VIII., p. 10.

that the operative vocabulary of the sister kingdom furnished many of the expressions of which we find the earliest southern use in the publications of Dr. Anderson, a few additional remarks will be offered.

According to Lyon—"of all the technicalities of Operative Masons that have been preserved in the nomenclature of their speculative successors, that of 'Cowan,' *which is a purely Scotch term,* has lost least of its original meaning."[1]

By Dr. Jamieson, it is described as "a word of contempt; applied to one who does the work of a mason, but has not been regularly bred"—*i.e.*, brought up in the trade.[2]

But the term is best defined in the Kilwinning Records, viz., *a mason without the word* —or, to vary the expression—an irregular or uninitiated operative mason.[3]

That it was commonly used in this sense, in the early documents of the Scottish Craft, is placed beyond doubt.

We find it so employed in the Minutes of the Lodge of Edinburgh—1599—of the Glasgow Incorporation of Masons—1600, 1623—of "Mother" Kilwinning—1645, 1647, 1705—and of the Lodge of Haddington—1697.[4]

Possibly, however, from the fact, that so simple and natural an explanation affords no scope for the exercise of learned credulity, there is hardly any other word, except, perhaps, "Essenes"[5] and "Mason,"[6] which has been traced to so many sources by our etymologists.

Thus, its origin has been found in the "chouans" of the French Revolution, "of which the *h* was omitted by the English, who failed to aspirate it conformably to cockney pronunciation."[7] Again, in Egypt, we are informed *cohen* was the title of a priest or prince, and a term of honor. Bryant, speaking of the harpies, says, they were priests of the Sun, and as *cohen* was the name of a dog as well as a priest, they are termed by Apollonius, "the dogs of Jove."[8] "Now, St. John cautions the Christian brethren that 'without are dogs' (κύνες), cowans or listeners (Rev. xxii. 15); and St. Paul exhorts the Christians to 'beware of *dogs*, because they are evil workers' (Phil. iii. 2). Now, κύων, a dog, or evil worker, is the Masonic *Cowan.* The above priests or metaphorical dogs, were also called Cercyonians, or Cer-*cowans*, because they were lawless in their behavior towards strangers."[9] So far Dr. Oliver, whose remarks I quote, although his conclusions are diametrically opposed to my own, because they re-appear in the arguments of very learned

[1] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 24. [2] Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language, 1808—25, *s. v.*

[3] Jan. 28, 1647.—"Quhilk day Robert Quhyt, massoune in Air [*Ayr*], vpoune oath declyned all working with the cowains at any tyme heirefter." Dec. 20, 1705.—"By consent of the meeting, it was agreed that no measson shall employ no cowan, *which is to say without the word*, to work" (Minutes, Lodge of Kilwinning—Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 412; and of "Mother" Kilwinning, part iii.—Freemasons' Magazine, Aug. 29, 1863).

[4] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 25, 411. *Cf. ante*, Chap VIII., pp. 10, 14. [5] See Chap. I., p. 31.

[6] Of this word Heckethorne observes, "Though some etymologists pretend the name to be derived from *massa*, a club, with which the door keeper was armed to drive away uninitiated intruders, we can only grant this etymology on the principle enunciated by Voltaire, that in etymology vowels go for very little, and consonants for nothing at all!" (Secret Societies of All Ages and Countries, 1875, vol. i., p. 251). See *ante*, Chap. I., p. 6; Mackey, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Mason; and for a curious reference to the word *Mase*, in connection with *Mason*, the *Grub Street Journal*, February 2, 1732; also the Rawlinson MS. (Bodleian Library), fol. 233.

[7] Oliver, Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. i., p. 142. Citing [Webb] Ritual of Freemasonry, 1835, p. 69.

[8] Oliver, *ut supra*, vol. i. p. 349. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

men, by whom the derivation of *cowan* has been more recently considered.[1] Dr. Carpenter, who examines and rejects the reasoning of Dr. Oliver, thinks the meaning of the word may be found in the Anglo-Saxon *cowen*, which signifies a herd, as of kine, but which we use metaphorically, to denote a company of thoughtless people, or a rabble.[2]

By an earlier writer,[3] it has been traced to the Greek word ἀκούω, to hear, hearken, or listen to, of which the past participle ακουων, would—so thinks Dr. Viner Bedolfe—signify a "listening person." In a good sense, a "disciple"—in a bad sense, an "eavesdropper." κύων, a dog, in the opinion of this writer, is also doubtless from the same root, in the sense of one who listens—as dogs do—and the two ideas combined, he believes, would probably give us the true meaning of the word.[4]

I have quoted from the three doctors at some length, and by way of justification, subjoin the following remarks, wherein, after the subject had been debated for nearly seven months in the columns of the Masonic press, Dr. Carpenter[5] thus sums up the whole matter. "I think," he says, "we have got pretty well at the meaning of the word *cowen*, as it is used in the Craft. Bro. D. Murray Lyon will not take offence at my saying, that I much prefer Bro. Dr. Bedolfe's conjecture to his, although the phrase 'cowans *and* eavesdroppers,' in the old Scottish ritual, shows that *cowan* was not synonymous with *listener* or *eavesdropper* there. *We* have cowans and intruders, however,—the intruder being a person who might attempt to gain admission without the 'word,' and the cowan something else. I got *listener* through the Anglo-Saxon; Bro. Dr. Bedolfe, through the Greek; but we agree in the import of the word, and in its use amongst Masons."[6]

The preceding observations, in conjunction with others from the pen of the same writer, indicate, that without questioning the *use* of the word *cowan* by the Operative Fraternity in the sense of a clandestine or irregular mason, the doctor demurs to this having anything whatever to do with the *origin* and use of the word by the Speculative Society. "The *Operatives*," he says, "sometimes admitted a *Cowan*—the *Speculatives* never."[7]

In the original edition of Jamieson's Dictionary, *two* meanings only of the word are given. One I have cited on the last page, and the other is a *dry-diker*, or a person who builds dry walls. After these, and as a *third* meaning or acceptation, we find in the edition of 1879, "Cowan—one unacquainted with the secrets of Freemasonry."[8] Its derivation is thus given:—"Suio-Gothic[9]—*kujon, kughjon*, a silly fellow: hominem imbellem, et cujus capiti omnes tuto illudunt, *kujon*, appellare moris est.[10] French—*coion, coyon*, a coward, a base fellow:[11] qui fait profession de lacheté, *ignavus*,—Dict. Trev.[12] The editors of this dictionary deduce it from Latin *quietus*. But the term is evidently Gothic. It has been imported by the Franks; and is derived from *kufw-a*, supprimere, insultare." But the

[1] See the observations of Dr. W. Carpenter, Messrs. E. J. Walford, W. de St. Croix, and C. G. Forsyth, and Dr. Viner Bedolfe, at pp. 43, 73, 121, and 441 respectively, of the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871.

[2] Freemason, *loc. cit.*

[3] "R. L.," in the Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1835, p. 428.

[4] Freemason, *loc. cit.*

[5] Author of "Freemasonry and Israelitism," of which twenty-six chapters or sections were published in the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871; "The Israelites Found in the Anglo-Saxons," etc.

[6] Freemason, vol. iv., 1871, p. 457. The italics are the doctor's.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

[8] First given in the Supplement (1825) to the original edition. In this *cowaner* is also mentioned, a word which has been allowed to "drop out" by whoever is responsible for the reprint of 1879.

[9] Or ancient language of Sweden.

[10] Ihre, Lexicon Lapponicum, Holmiæ, 1780.

[11] Cotgrave, French and English Dictionary, 1650.

[12] Trevoux, Dictionnaire Universelle François et Latin, 1752.

same etymology was given in the first edition of the work,[1] and in connection with the two purely operative (and only) explanations of the word. For this reason my quotations from the original dictionary, and its modern representatives have been separately presented, as it seems to me, that the etymological subtleties for which the term under examination has served as a target, may be appropriately brought to a close, by citing the new uses to which the old derivation has been applied.

It is true that *Cowans* were sometimes licensed to perform mason's work, but always under certain restrictions. Their employment by Master Masons, when no regular Craftsmen could be found within fifteen miles, was allowed by the Lodge of Kilwinning in the early part of the last century. It was also the custom of Scotch Incorporations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to license *cowans*—Masters and Journeymen[2]—who were at once thatchers, wrights, and masons. Liberty to execute *hewn work*, was, however, invariably withheld. Maister Cowands were, under restrictions, admitted to membership in some Masonic Incorporations, but their reception in Lodges was strictly prohibited.[3]

Among the regulations enjoined by the Warden General, there are some upon which I must briefly dilate. The customs to which these gave rise, or assisted in perpetuating, partly re-appear in the *Free*-masonry of the South. But inasmuch as there are no *English* minutes or lodge records of earlier date than the eighteenth century, the clue, if one there be, to usages which, with slight modifications, have lasted, in some instances, to our own times, must be looked for *ex necessitate rei* in the Statutes, promulgated by William Schaw, after—we may suppose, as in the somewhat parallel case of Etienne Boileau[4]—satisfying himself by the testimony of representative craftsmen, that they were usual and customary in the trade.

A general or head meeting day was named by the "Master of Work," upon which the election of Warden was to be conducted. This, in the case of Kilwinning, and its tributary lodges,[5] was to take place on December 20, but in all other instances on the day of St. John the Evangelist. The latter fact, it is true, is not attested by the actual Statutes, but that both dates of election were fixed by William Schaw, may nevertheless be regarded as having been satisfactorily proved by evidence *aliunde*.

The order of the Warden General for the election of Lodge Wardens, or what at all events is believed by the highest authority[6] to be his—except within the bounds of Kilwinning, the Nether Ward of Clydesdale, Glasgow, Ayr, and Carrick—is as follows:—"xvij Novembris, 1599. *First*, it is ordanit that the haill Wardenis salbe chosen ilk yeir preciselie at Sanct Jhoneis day, to wit the xxvij day of december.'

This minute, assumed to be a memorandum of an order emanating from the Warden General, is followed by another, which I shall also quote:—

"xviij Decembris, 1599. The qlk day the dekin & maisteris of the ludge of Edr. [*Edinburgh*] electit & chesit Jhone Broun in thair Warden be monyest of thair voitis for ane zeir [*year*] to cum."[7]

[1] *I.e.*, the original text, *not* the Supplement.

[2] Some extracts from the minutes of the Ayr Squaremen Incorporation (1593, 1671, 1677, and 1688), referring to Fellow-Craft and Master Cowans, will be found in the *Freemason*, vol. iv., 1871, p. 409.

[3] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 24. *Cf. ante*, Chap. III., pp. 129, § LIV.; 141, § 81; and §§ G and H of the Strassburg Ordinances (*Ibid.*, p. 119, note 5). In parting with the term, I may remark that some interesting notes, entitled "The Meaning of Cowan," appeared in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. viii., 1880, pp. 113, 114.

[4] Chap. IV., p. 188. [5] Chap. VIII., p. 10. [6] *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

It may be observed, that elections frequently took place on the *twenty-eighth* instead of the *twenty-seventh* of December. The minutes of the Melrose (1674) and other early Scottish Lodges, afford examples of this apparent irregularity, though its explanation—if, indeed, not simply arising in each case from the festival of St. John the Evangelist falling upon a Sunday[1]—may be found in an old guild-custom. Every guild had its appointed day or days of meeting. At these, called morn-speeches (in the various forms of the word), or "dayes of Spekyngges tokedere [*together*] for here [*their*] comune profyte," much business was done, such as the choice of officers, admittance of new brethren, making up accounts, reading over the ordinances, and the like. One day, where several were held in the year, being fixed as the "general day."[2]

The word "morning-speech" (*morgen-spæc*) is as old as Anglo-Saxon times. "Morgen" signified both "morning" and "morrow;" and the origin of the term would seem to be that the meeting was held either in the morning of the same day, or on the morning (the morrow) of the day *after* that on which the guild held its feast and accompanying ceremonies.[3]

However this may have been, the custom of meeting annually upon the day of St. John the Evangelist, in conformity with the order of the Warden General, with the exception of Mother Kilwinning (December 20) appears to have been observed with commendable fidelity by such of the early lodges whose minutes have come down to us. It was the case at Edinburgh—1599; Aberdeen—1670; Melrose—1674; Dunblane—1696; and Atcheson Haven—1700. In each instance I quote the earliest reference to the practice, afforded by the documents of the lodge.[4] The usage continued, and survives at this day, but of the celebration of *St. John the Baptist's* day—or St. John's day "in Harvest,"[5] as distinguished from St. John's day "in Christmas"—by any fraternity exclusively masonic, we have the earliest evidence in the York minute of June 24, 1713.[6] Both days, it is true, were observed by the Gateshead sodality of 1671;[7] but though the Freemasons were the leading craft of this somewhat mixed corporation, there is nothing to show, or from which we might infer, that the custom of meeting on Midsummer day, had its origin in a usage of the *lodge*, rather than in one of the *guild*. Indeed, the reverse of this supposition is the more credible of the two.

[1] January 29, 1675.—"We .·. consent .·. to meit yeirly on Saint John's Day, which is ye 27 of December (if it be not on ye Sabbath Day) *in y*^{t} *case we ar to keipe ye next day following* .·. and also yt no prentises shal be entered recivit in but on ye forsd day" (Mutuall Agriement Betwixt the Maisones of the Lodge of Melros;—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., p. 365). It is singular that both sets of the Schaw Statutes are dated December 28.

[2] Lucy Toulmin Smith, *ut supra*, Introduction to Smith, English Gilds, p. xxxiii. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] See, however, Fort, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 195; and compare with *ante*, Chap. VIII., pp. 69, 70.

[5] The following is from the regulations of the "fraternite of Taillors of *Seint John de baptist* in the Citee of Exceter:—"Also hyt ys ordened, that alle the ffeleshyppe of the Bachelerys schall hollen ther feste at *Synte John-ys day in harwaste*" (Smith, English Gilds, pp. 313, 325). The same expression will be found in the Ordinances of the Guild of St. John Baptist, West Lynn (*post*, p. 76, note 5).

[6] *Ante*, p. 23. *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 14, note 1, 16, 18. Although it is comparatively unimportant on what day the Swalwell brethren held their annual election, either in 1730, 1725, or, indeed, at any period *after* the publication of the Book of Constitutions—the fact that the General head-meeting day of the Alnwick "Company and Fellowship," from 1704 onwards, as we learn from the *earliest English Lodge Records* that have come down to us, was the festival of St. John the *Evangelist*, is worthy of our attention.

[7] *Ante*, vol. II., p. 276.

The objects of all guilds alike have been well defined by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, in one of his Capitularies.[1] He says, "in omni obsequio religionis conjungantur" —they shall unite in every exercise of religion. By this was meant, before all things, the associations for the veneration of certain religious mysteries, and in honor of saints. Such guilds were everywhere under the patronage of the Holy Trinity, or of certain saints, or of the Holy Cross, or of the Holy Sacrament, or of some other religious mystery. In honor of these patrons they placed candles on their altars, and before their images, whilst in some statutes this even appears as the only object of the guild.[2]

But the definition given above must not be restricted to the social or religious guilds. It applies equally well to the town-guilds or guilds-merchant, and the trade-guilds or guilds of crafts. None of the London trades appear to have formed fraternities without ranging themselves under the banner of some saint, and, if possible, they chose one who bore a fancied relation to their trade.[3] Thus the fishmongers adopted St. Peter; the drapers chose the Virgin Mary, mother of the "Holy Lamb" or fleece, as the emblem of that trade. The goldsmiths' patron was St. Dunstan, reputed to have been a brother artisan. The merchant tailors, another branch of the draping business, marked their connection with it by selecting *St. John the Baptist*, who was the harbinger of the Holy Lamb so adopted by the drapers. In other cases, the companies denominated themselves fraternities of the particular saint in whose church or chapel they assembled, and had their altar.[4]

Eleven or more of the guilds, whose ordinances are given us by Mr. Toulmin Smith, had John the Baptist as their patron saint, and several of these, whilst keeping June 24 as their head day, also assembled on December 27, the corresponding feast of the Evangelist.[5] Among the documents brought to light by this zealous antiquary, there are, unfortunately, none relating directly to the Masons,[6] though it is somewhat curious that he cites the records of a guild, which, it is possible, may have comprised members of that trade,[7] as affording almost a solitary instance of the absence of a patron saint. The guild referred to is that of the smiths (*ffabrorum*) of Chesterfield.[8]

[1] *Cf.* Wilda, Das Gildewesen im Mittelalter, 1831, pp. 22, 35, 41.

[2] Brentano, *ut supra*, p. 19. *Cf.* Smith, English Gilds, pp. 27, 40; and *ante*, Chap. IV., p. 194, *et seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Chap. X., pp. 102, 103; and Fort, *op. cit.*, pp. 44, 103, 176.

[4] Herbert, Companies of London, vol. i., 1837, p. 67. *Cf. ante.*, Chap. III., p. 170.

[5] "And yis gilde schal haue foure mornspeches be ye [year]. The first schal ben after ye drynkynge; the secunde schal ben vp-on ye seynt Jhon day in heruyst [*harvest*]; the thryde schal ben vp-on seynt Jon day in Cristemesse; the fourte schal ben vp-on seynt Jhon day in May" (Ordinances, Gild of St. John Baptist, West Lynn—Smith, English Gilds, p. 100). *Cf. ibid.*, pp. 27, 58, 71, 119, 122, 146, 161. 258, 310; and *ante*, p. 75, note 5.

[6] According to Mr. Coote—"At the beginning of the present century (perhaps at the end of the last, through extraneous influences, a hierarchical system was introduced into Freemasonry, and all the independent lodges (or guilds) submitted themselves to one lodge in London as their chief, at the same time surrendering to the latter their royal charters (or licences) and their ordinances. *These were probably all destroyed* by the central authority at the time of the surrender!" (Transactions, London and Middlesex Archæological Society, vol. iv., 1871, p. 2). The story of the manuscripts sacrificed by "scrupulous brethren" (1720) will here occur to the mind of the reflective reader. *Cf. ante.*, p. 33.

[7] *Cf.* Chaps. I., pp. 38, 44; III., pp. 169, 170; XIV., p. 281.

[8] Mr. Smith observes: "This gild seems to have had no patron saint. Among the records of at least six hundred early English gilds that have come under my careful review, I have very rarely found this absence, save in some of the Gilds-Merchant" (English Gilds, p. 168).

An explanation of this apparent anomaly is furnished by Brentano;[1] but leaving the point an open one, whether in the case before us Mr. Smith or his commentator has the best title to our confidence, it may be remarked that the guild of the joiners and carpenters at Worcester also appears not to have been under any saintly patronage; yet, on the other hand, we find the carpenters' guild of Norwich dedicated to the Holy Trinity, whilst the "brotherhood" of barbers in the same town, and the "fraternity" of tailors at Exeter, were each under the patronage of St. John the Baptist.[2]

The general head-meeting day of the Alnwick Lodge, in 1701, was the "Feast of St. Michael," but this, however, we find shortly afterwards changed to that of St. John the Evangelist.[3]

The records of Mary's Chapel and Kilwinning are sufficiently conclusive of the fact, that the holding of lodge assemblies on the day of St. John the Baptist was never a custom of the Scottish fraternity until after the erection of their Grand Lodge. By the original regulations of this body, the election of a Grand Master was to take place on St. Andrew's Day *for the first time*, and "ever thereafter" upon that of St. John the Baptist. In accordance therewith, William St. Clair of Roslin was elected the first Grand Master on November 30, 1736, which day, in preference to December 27, was fixed for the annual election of officers by resolution of the Grand Lodge, April 13, 1737, as being the birthday of St. Andrew, the tutelar saint of Scotland.[4]

Of all the meetings of the Lodge of Edinburgh that were held between the years 1599 and 1756, only some half-a-dozen happened to fall on June 24; and the first mention of the lodge celebrating the festival of St. John the Baptist, is in 1757.[5]

It will be quite unnecessary, in these days, to lay stress on the circumstance, that the connection of the Saints John with the Masonic Institution, is of a symbolic and not of an historical character. The custom of assembling on the days of these saints is, apparently, a relic of sun-worship, combined with other features of the heathen Paganalia. The Pagan rites of the festival at the summer Solstice may be regarded as a counterpart of those used at the winter Solstice at Yule-tide. There is one thing which proves this beyond the possibility of a doubt. In the old Runic Fasti a wheel was used to denote the festival of Christmas. This wheel is common to both festivities.[7]

[1] On the History and Development of Gilds, p. 19. As the edition I quote from is the *reprint* of 1870, it will be necessary to add lxiv. to this pagination to arrive at corresponding portions of the "essay" originally prefixed to Smith's "English Gilds." Thus xix. + lxiv. = lxxxiii., which is identical with p. 19 of the *reprint*. [2] Smith, English Gilds, pp. 27, 40, 209, 310. [3] *Ante*, p. 16.

[4] Lyon observes: "In the minute in which this is recorded, it is taken for granted that the 24th of June was originally fixed as the date of the grand Annual Communication and Election; 'because it had long been customary among the fraternity to hold their principal assemblies on St John the Baptist's Day,' and upon this assumption the fabulous story of the craft's ancient connection with St John the Baptist has ever since been perpetuated" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 170. See, however, pp. 235, 236).

[5] *Ibid.* See further, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 15; and *post*, p. 84, note 5.

[6] Dr. Oliver, however, in what is one of the least valuable, though withal the most pretentious of his numerous works, after stating that these saints "were perfect parallels in Christianity as well as Masonry," observes: "We are challenged by our opponents to prove that St. John [the Evangelist] was a Freemason. The thing is incapable of *direct* proof. Calmet positively asserts that he was an Essene, which was the secret society of the day, that conveyed moral truths under symbolical figures, *and may therefore be termed Freemasonry*, retaining the same form, *but practised under another name!*" (Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. i., p. 167).

[7] Brand, Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, edit. by W. C. Hazlitt, 1870, vol. i., p. 169.

In the words of a recent authority, "the great prehistoric midsummer festival to the sun-god has diverged into the two Church feasts, Eucharist and St. John's Day;" whilst "the term *Yule* was the name given to the festival of the winter Solstice by our northern invaders, and means *the Festival of the sun.*"[1]

Sir Isaac Newton tells us, that the heathens were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those ceremonies; therefore Gregory, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the saints and martyrs. Hence the keeping of Christmas with ivy, feasting, plays, and sports came in the room of the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia; the celebrating May Day with flowers, in the room of the Floralia; and the festivals to the Virgin Mary, *John the Baptist*, and divers of the Apostles, in the room of the solemnities at the entrance of the Sun into the Signs of the Zodiac in the old Julian Calendar.[2]

In the same way, at the conversion of the Saxons by Austin the monk, the heathen Paganalia were continued among the converts, with some regulations, by an order of Gregory I. to Mellitus the Abbot, who accompanied Austin in his mission to this island. His words are to this effect: On the Day of Dedication, or the Birth Day of the Holy Martyrs, whose relics are there placed,[3] let the people make to themselves booths of the boughs of trees, round about those very churches which had been the temples of idols, and in a religious way to observe a feast. "Such," remarks Brand,[4] after quoting from Bede,[5] as above, "are the foundations of the Country Wake." But I cite his observations, not so much to record this curious circumstance, as to point out that the festival enjoined by the Pope may have become, for a time at least, associated with the memory of the Quatuor Coronati or Four Crowned Martyrs—the earliest legendary saints of the Masons.

This will depend upon the meaning which should be attached to the word "martyrium." Dr. Giles, in his edition of Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," gives us under the year 619—"The *Church* of the Four Crowned Martyrs (*martyrium* beatorum quatuor coronati) was in the place where the fire raged most."

The fire alluded to, laid waste a great part of the city of Canterbury, and was suddenly arrested on its reaching the "martyrium" of the Crowned Martyrs, owing, we are led to suppose, partly to the influence of their relics, and in a greater measure to the prayers of Bishop Mellitus. Now, Bede's account of the circumstance has been held by a learned writer to demonstrate one of two facts—either the "martyrium" contained the bodies of the saints, or the martyrdoms had taken place upon the spot where the church was afterwards built.[6] In a certain sense, the former of these suppositions will exactly meet the

[1] James Napier, Folk Lore; or, Superstitious Beliefs in the West of Scotland within this Century, 1879, pp. 149, 175.

[2] Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John, 1733, pt. i., chap. xiv., pp. 204, 205. *Cf.* Chap. XV., pp. 358, 361.

[3] Mrs. Jamieson, describing "the passion for relics" which prevailed from the third to the fourteenth centuries, says: "The remains of those who had perished nobly for an oppressed faith were first buried with reverential tears, and then guarded with reverential care. Periodical feasts were celebrated on their tombs—the love-feasts (*agapœ*) of the ancient Christians: subsequently, their remains were transferred to places of worship, and deposited under the table or altar from which the sacrament was distributed. Such places of worship were supposed, of course, to derive an especial sanctity, and thence an especial celebrity, from the possession of the relics of martyrs highly and universally honoured" (Sacred and Legendary Art, 7th edit., 1874, vol. ii., p. 655).

[4] Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 2. [5] Ecclesiastical History, chap. xxx.

[6] H. C. Coote, The Romans of Britain, 1878, p. 420. See *ante.*, Chap. X., p. 104, note 2.

case. According to canon xiv. of the 19th Council of Carthage, no church could be built for martyrs except there were on the spot either the body *or some certain relics,*[1] or where the origin of some habitation or possession, or passion of the martyr had been transmitted from a most trustworthy source.[2]

Martyrium, which is derived from the Greek *μαρτύριον,* as used in the context, would seem to mean *a church where some martyr's relics are;* and if we adopt this signification, the instructions given by Pope Gregory I. to Mellitus, and the words in which the latter is associated by Bede, with the miraculous stoppage of the fire at Canterbury, A.D. 619, are more easily comprehended.

"The chief festivals of the Stone-masons," says Findel, "were on St. John the Baptist's Day, and the one designated the Day of the Four Crowned Martyrs—the principal patron saints of the Stone-masons."[3] Yet although the "Quatuor Coronati" are specially invoked in the Strassburg[4] (1459) and Torgau (1462) Ordinances,[5] in neither of these, or in the later code—the Brother-Book of 1563[6]—do we meet with any reference to St. John.

On the other hand, there existed in 1430, at Cologne, a guild of stonemasons *and carpenters,* called the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist; but although the records from which this fact is gleaned, extend from 1396 to the seventeenth century, the Four Martyrs are not once named.[7]

The claims of John the Baptist to be considered the earliest patron saint of the German masons are minutely set forth by Krause in his "Kunsturkunden,"[8] to which learned work, I must refer such of my readers, as are desirous of pursuing the subject at greater length than the limit of these pages will allow.

Before, however, parting with the Saints John, there is one further aspect under which their assumed patronage of guilds and fraternities may be regarded. This we find in the heathen practice of "Minne-drinking," that is, of honoring an absent or deceased one, by making mention of him at the assembly or banquet, and draining a goblet to his memory. Among the names applied to the goblet was *minnisveig*—hence *swig* or *draught.* The usage survived the conversion—and is far from being extinct under Christianity—but instead of Thor, Odin, and the rest, the *minne* was drank of Christ, Mary, and the saints.[9] During the Middle Ages the two saints most often toasted were John the Evangelist and Gertrude. *Both* St. Johns were however, frequently complimented in this way. Luitprand, by the words "potas in a more beati *Johannis* præcursoris," evidently referring to

[1] According to Dr. Dyer, "during the reign of Paul [I., 757-767], many cartloads of corpses were disinterred from the Catacombs, and escorted into the city by processions of monks, and amid the singing of hymns, in order to be again buried under the churches; while ambassadors were constantly arriving from the *Anglo-Saxons,* Franks, and Germans, to beg the gift of some of these highly prized relics." The same author adds—"It seems to have been assumed, as a matter of course, that all the bones found in the Catacombs belonged not only to Christians, but to martyred Christians" (History of the City of Rome; Its Structures and Monuments, 1865, p. 365).

[2] Sir Isaac Newton, *op. cit.,* pt. i., p. 230; Coote, The Romans of Britain, 1878, p. 419.

[3] History of Freemasonry, p. 63. [4] Chap. III., p. 119, note 5.

[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 135, 136. It is noteworthy that by these regulations four special masses are to be said on certain saint's days, viz., on the days of St. Peter, of the Holy Trinity, of the Virgin Mary, and of the Four Crowned Martyrs. The St. Johns—Baptist and Evangelist—are not included in the list. See, however, p. 142, § 89.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 121. The laws known under the above title were enacted at two meetings held on St. Bartholomew's and St. Michael's days respectively. [7] *Ibid.,* pp. 169, 170.

[8] Die drei Aeltesten Kunsturkunden, pp. 295-305. [9] *Cf.* Fort, *op. cit.,* chap. xxxiii.

the Baptist, whilst in numerous other cases cited by Grimm—from whom I quote—the allusion is as distinctly to the Evangelist. "Minne-drinking," even as a religious rite, apparently exists at this day in some parts of Germany. At Othergen, a village of Hildesheim, on December 27 every year, a chalice of wine is hallowed by the priest, and handed to the congregation in the church to drink as *Johannis segen* (blessing).[1]

Among the remaining customs, the observance of which was strictly enjoined by the Schaw Statutes, there are some that must not be passed over without further notice. These I shall proceed to examine, and for the same reason as in the parallel case of the celebration of *a* Saint John's day by the Scottish craft, it being evident, that usages which we first meet with in the Masonic system of one country, will be more satisfactorily considered in connection therewith, than by postponing their examination until they reappear in that of another country.

It is, indeed, in the highest degree probable, that most of the regulations ordained by the Warden General were based on English originals, though not exclusively of a Masonic character. Clauses 20 and 21 of the earlier code (1598) are clearly based on corresponding passages in the "Old Charges."[2] The examination of journeymen before their "admission" as masters, *may* have been suggested by a custom with which we are made familiar by the Cooke MS. (2);[3] and clause 10 of the same code is, strange to say, almost identical in phraseology with the *tenth* ordinance of the Guild of Joiners and Carpenters, Worcester, enacted in 1692, but doubtless a survival of a more ancient law. It imposes "a penalty of £5 for takeing an apprentice, to sell him again to ano^r of the same trade."[4]

But the task immediately before us is, not so much to speculate upon the supposed origin of customs, which we first meet with in Masonry in the sixteenth century, as to realize with sufficient distinctness the actual circumstances of the early Scottish craft, before proceeding with the comparison for which we have been preparing.

The Schaw Statutes mention two classes of office-bearers, which were wholly unknown, or at least are not mentioned, in any Masonic records of the South. These are quarter-masters and intenders.[5] The latter were represented in the majority of Scottish lodges, but the former, though for a century holding a place among the Kilwinning fraternity, were never introduced into the Lodge of Edinburgh, nor have I any recollection of their being alluded to (at first-hand)[6] elsewhere than in the "Items" of the Warden General and the minutes of "Mother Kilwinning." Whether either or both were survivals of *English* terms, which lapsed into desuetude, I shall not attempt to decide, though it, at least, merits our passing attention, that "Attendant," "Attender," and "Intendant," though shown as *English* words by Dr. Johnson, do not occur in the etymological dictionary of the

[1] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, translated from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. i. 1880, pp. 59-62.

[2] *Cf.* The Buchanan MS. (15), §§ xiv., xvi. (*ante*, Chap. II., p. 98).

[3] Lines 711-719. "And . . . at such congregations, they that be made masters, should be *examined* of the articles after written, and be ransacked whether they be able and cunning to the profit of the lords, [having] them to serve, and to the honour of the aforesaid art" (Cooke, History and Articles of Masonry, pp. 103, 104). See *ante*, pp. 56, note 6; 57, note 2.

[4] An editorial note says: "Of course this does not mean, as its literal sense would imply, to sell the body of the apprentice, but to sell the master's interest in the Articles of Apprenticeship" (Smith, English Gilds, p. 209).

[5] Stats. II., § 8. I., § 13. *Cf. ante*, pp. 56, 57, 65; and Chap. VIII., pp. 20, 40, 49.

[6] *Cf.* Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

Scottish language by Dr. Jamieson. *Intender* is not given by either of these lexicographers.[1] From the same source—the Schaw *codices*—we learn that oaths were administered; one, the "great oath,"[2] apparently at *entry*—and the other, the "oath of fidelity,"[3] at yearly intervals. The administration of an oath, the reception of fellows, the presentation of gloves, the custom of banqueting, and the election of *a* warden,[4] as features of the Scottish system, demand our attention, because, with the exception of the one referring to the choice of a warden—which officer, however, was present, *teste* Ashmole at the Warrington Lodge in 1646[5]—all of them reappear in the Masonic customs of the Staffordshire "moorelands," so graphically depicted by Dr. Plot.[6]

The references in the Schaw Statutes to gloves, banquets, and the election of wardens, invite a few observations, with which I shall bring to a close my review of the early Masonry of Scotland.

A high authority has laid down that the use of gloves in Masonry is a symbolical idea, borrowed from the ancient and universal language of symbolism, and was intended, like the apron, to denote the necessity of purity of life.[7]

"The builders," says Mackey, "who associated in companies, who traversed Europe, and were engaged in the construction of palaces and cathedrals,[8] have left to us, as their descendants, their name, their technical language, and the apron, that distinctive piece of clothing by which they protected their garments from the pollutions of their laborious employment." He adds, "did they also bequeath to us their gloves?"[9]

This is a question which the following extracts and references—culled from many sources—may enable us to solve. Gloves are spoken of by Homer as worn by Laertes, and from a remark in the "Cyropædia" of Xenophon, that on one occasion Cyrus went without them, there is reason to believe that they used by the ancient Persians. According to Favyn, the custom of throwing down the glove or gauntlet was derived from the Oriental mode of sealing a contract or the like, by giving the purchaser a glove by way of delivery or investiture, and to this effect he quotes Ruth iv. 7, and Psalms cviii. 9—passages where the word commonly translated "shoe" is by some rendered "glove."[10] In the life of St. Columbanus, written in the seventh century,[11] gloves, as a protection during manual

[1] *Cf.* The form of oath cited, *ante*, p. 69.

[2] Stat. No. I., § 21. "And wee command all our successores in this meason trade, be [*by*] the oath that they make at ther *entrie*," etc. (8th Statute of the Lodge of Aberdeen, 1670—Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 426; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 50. See also Chap. II., p. 98, § xiv.).

[3] Stat. No. II., § 12.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 56, 57; Chap. VIII., pp. 5, 9—Schaw Stats. I., §§ 1, 13; II., §§ 1, 9, 10, 11.

[5] Chap. XIV., p. 264. [6] Chap. XIV., p. 289.

[7] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* gloves.

[8] In one of the papers to which I have frequently referred (Chap. VI., p. 301, note), Mr. Wyatt Papworth observes: "Probably some will have expected an account of those 'travelling bodies of Freemasons,' who are said to have erected all the great buildings of Europe; nothing more, however, is to be here noted than that *I believe they never existed?*"

Mr. Street also remarks: "The common belief in a race of clerical architects and in ubiquitous bodies of Freemasons, seems to me to be altogether erroneous." (Gothic Architecture in Spain, 1865, p. 464). *Cf. ante*, Chaps. VI., p. 256, *et seq.*; XII., pp. 156, 158; but see Fort, A Critical Inquiry into the Condition of the Conventual Builders, 1884, *passim.*

[9] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 314. [10] Le Théâtre d'honneur, Paris, 1623.

[11] By the abbot of Bobbio. In this, gloves are described as "tegumenta manuum quæ Galli *wantos* vocant." One of the articles in Ducange is headed "Chirotheca seu *Wanti*." Another

labor, are alluded to, and A.D. 749 (*circa*), Felix, in his Anglo-Saxon "Life of St. Guthlac, Hermit of Crowland" (chap. xi.), mentions their use as a covering for the hand.

According to Brand, the giving of gloves at marriages is a custom of remote antiquity; but it was not less common, so we are told by his latest editor, at funerals than at weddings.[1] A pair of gloves are mentioned in the will of Bishop Riculfus, who died A.D. 915; and Matthew Paris relates that Henry II. (1189) was buried with gloves on his hands.

A.D. 1302.—In the Year Book of Edward I. it is laid down, that in cases of acquittal of a charge of manslaughter, the prisoner was obliged to pay a fee to the justices' clerk in the form of *a pair of gloves*, besides the fee to the marshal.

1321.—The Bishop of Bath and Wells received from the dean and chapter a pair of gloves with a gold knot.[2]

In the Middle Ages, gloves of white linen—or of silk beautifully embroidered and jewelled—were worn by bishops or priests when in the performance of ecclesiastical functions.[3]

1557.—Tusser, in his "Five Hundred Good Points of Husbandry," informs us, that it was customary to give the reapers gloves when the wheat was thistly,[4] and Hilman in his "Tusser Redevivus," 1710, observes, that the largess, which seems to have been usual in the old writer's time, was still a matter of course, of which the reapers did not require to be reminded.[5]

1598.—A passage in Hall's Virgidemarium" seems to imply that a Hen was a usual present at Shrove-tide; also a *pair of gloves* at Easter.[6]

According to Dr. Pegge, the Monastery of Bury allowed its servants two pence a piece for *glove-silver* in Autumn, but though he duly quotes his authority, the date of its publication is not given.

The allusions, so far, bear but indirectly upon our immediate subject, but I shall now adduce some others of a purely Masonic character, which, for convenience sake, are grouped together in a chronological series of their own.

18th Century.—An engraving copied from the painted glass of a window in the Cathedral of Chartres is given by M. Didron in his "Annales Archéologiques." It represents a

word—obviously of Teutonic derivation—used for a glove in mediæval Latin is *gantus*. It is remarkable that no gloves are visible in the Bayeux Tapestry. In the Liber Albus of the City of London (Rolls Series, pp. 600, 737), the trade of glover is thus referred to:—1338–53, "combustio falsarum ciroticarum," and "articuli ciroticariorum;" 1376–99, "ordinacio ciroticariorum."

[1] Vol. ii., p. 77. In Arnold's Chronicle (1502), among "the artycles vpon whiche is to inquyre in the visitacyons of ordynaryes of chyrches," we read: "Item, whether the curat refuse to do the solemnysacyon of lawfull matrymonye before he have gyfte of money, hoses, or *gloves*" (*Ibid.*, p. 76).

[2] H. E. Reynolds, Statutes of Wells Cathedral, p. 147.

[3] Planché, Cyclopædia of Costume, *s.v.*

[4] Reprinted in the British Bibliographer, 1810–14, vol. iii.

[5] Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 12.

[6] er gloves, or for a Shroft-tide Hen,
Which bought to give, he takes to sell again."
—*Book* iv., Sat. 5, p. 42.

Curalia Miscellanea, 1818, citing History of Hawsted, p. 190. For a quantity of curious information relating to the use and presentation of gloves, the reader is referred to Dr. Pegge's work, pp. 305–331; the "Venetian History," 1860, chap xxv.; and Ducange, Glossarium, *s.v.* Chirotheca.

number of operative masons at work. All of them wear gloves.[1] Further evidence of this custom will be found in the "Life of King Offa," written by Matthew Paris, where a similar scene is depicted.[2]

1355.—According to the records of York Cathedral, it was usual to find tunics (gowns), aprons, gloves, and clogs, and to give occasional potation and remuneration for extra work. Gloves were also given to the carpenters.[3] From the same source of information we learn that aprons and gloves were given to the masons in 1371; and the latter, in the same year, to the carpenters, and in 1403 to the setters. The last-named workmen received both aprons and gloves (*naprons et cirotecis*) in 1404. Further entries elucidatory of the same custom appear under the years 1421-22, 1432-33, and 1498-99,[4] ending with the following in 1507:—For approns and glovys for settyng to the masons, 16*d.*[5]

1372.—The Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral inform us that in this year six pairs of gloves were bought for the carpenters for raising the timber, 12*d.*[6]

1381.—The châtelain of Villaines en Duemois, bought a considerable quantity of gloves to be given to the workmen, in order, as it is said, "to shield their hands from the stone and lime."[7]

1383.—Three dozen pairs of gloves were bought and distributed to the masons when they commenced the buildings at the Chartreuse of Dijon.[8]

1432.—A lavatory was erected in the cloisters at Durham, and the accounts show that three pairs of gloves at 1½d. each, were given to the workmen.[9]

1486, 7.—Twenty-two pairs of gloves were given to the masons and stone-cutters who were engaged in work at the city of Amiens.[10]

The custom existed as late as 1629, under which year, we find in the accounts of Nicoll Udwart, the treasurer of Heriot's Hospital,—"Item, for sex pair of gloves to the Maissones at the founding of the Eist Quarter, xx*s.*"[11]

Gloves are mentioned by William Schaw in 1599,[12] and here we enter upon a new phase of the inquiry. Hitherto, as will be seen above, they were given *to* and not *by* the masons, or any one or more of their number. The practice, of which we see the earliest account in the code of 1599, became—if it did not previously exist—a customary one in the old court of operative masonry, the proceedings of which, perhaps more than those of any other body of the same kind, the statutes in question were designed to regulate. Early in the seventeenth century it was a rule of the Lodge of Kilwinning that *intrants* should present so many pairs of gloves on their admission, but as the *membership*[13] increased there

[1] Journal, British Archæological Association, vol. i., 1845, p. 23.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. VI., p. 318, note 2. [3] *Ibid.*, pp. 302, 303.

[4] 1499.—"Pro ij *limatibus* et ij paribus cirothecarum pro cementariis pro les settyng." The *limas* was a kind of apron used by masons.

[5] The Fabric Rolls of York Minster (Publications of the Surtees Society, vol. xxxv.).

[6] G. Oliver. Lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and a History of the Cathedral, 1861, p. 385.

[7] Journal, British Archæological Association, *loc. cit.* [8] *Ibid.*

[9] J. Raine, A Brief Account of Durham Cathedral, 1833, p. 91.

[10] Journal, British Archæological Association, *loc. cit.*

[11] Transactions, Archæological Institute of Scotland, vol. ii., 1852, pp. 34-40.

[12] Statutes No. II., § 10; *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 10.

[13] *Cf. ante*, pp. 55, *et seq.*—Probably the glove tax was imposed on the apprentices (or intrants) when the Lodge of Kilwinning departed from the strict letter of the Schaw Statutes and admitted them to full membership?

was such an inconvenient accumulation of this article of dress that "glove-money" came to be accepted in its stead.[2]

Gloves were required from fellow-crafts at their passing, and from apprentices at their entry, in the Scoon and Perth (1658) and the Aberdeen (1670) Lodges respectively; but whether the custom extended to those who were *entered* in the former lodge or *passed* in the latter it is difficult to decide.[2] The largess expected was, however, more liberal in one case than in the other, for, according to the Aberdeen Statutes, intrants—except the eldest sons and those married to the eldest daughters of the fellow-crafts and masters by whom they were framed—were obliged to present not only a "pair of good gloves," but an apron also to every member of the lodge.

A regulation not unlike the above was enacted by the Melrose fraternity in 1675 requiring a "prentice" at his "entrie," and also when "mad frie masson,"[3] to pay a certain number of "pund Scots & suficient gloves." In the former case, as we learn from a subsequent minute (1695), the gloves were valued at four shillings, and in the latter at five shillings a pair.[4] A similar usage prevailed in the Lodge of Kelso, as we learn by the minute for St. John's Day,[5] 1701.

This codifies the existing laws, and we find that the brethren, who as entered apprentices were mulct in the sum of "eight pound Scots with their gloves," were further required, in the higher station of "master *and* fellow of the craft," to pay five shillings sterling to the company's stock, and "neu gloves to the members."[6]

The obligation imposed upon intrants of "clothing the lodge"—a phrase by which the custom of exacting from them gloves, and in some instances aprons, was commonly described, was not abolished in the Lodge of Kelso until about 1755. The material point, however, for our consideration is, that the practice, in Scottish lodges, overlapped that portion of English masonic history termed by me the "epoch of transition," since, from the point of view we are surveying these ancient customs, it matters very little how common they became *after* they were "digested" by Dr. Anderson in his "Book of Constitutions."

[1] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 47. The same inconvenience was experienced at Kelso in 1745, when the Lodge found that, owing to members who were deficient in their entry and passing money not being entitled to gloves, there was a great number left on hand. So it was resolved that "whoever next enters apprentice or passes Fellow, shall be obliged to take out those gloves at the Lodge's Price of Sevenpence per pair, and, till the gloves of the Lodge be disposed of, such Intrants or Passers shall not be allowed to buy elsewhere" (Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 31).

[2] "ffourthlie, That all ffelow crafts that are past in this Lodge pay to the Master Warden and ffelow crafts of the samene, the sowme of Sixteine Pund Scottis money, besyde the Gloves and dews therof ∴ ∴ And yt everie entered prenties shall pay twentie merkis money, with ffourtie shilling, as their first incomeing to the Lodge, *besyde the dews thereof*" (Charter of Scoon and Perth Lodge, A.D. 1658—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1879-80, p. 134). *Cf.* the 5th Statute of the Lodge of Aberdeen (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 425).

[3] *Cf. ante*, pp. 58; 69, note 7.

[4] W. F. Vernon, The Records of an Ancient Lodge (Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1880, pp. 366, 367).

[5] Vernon remarks—"While the lodge was most particular about the observance of 'Holy Saint John's day' on the 27th of December, their 'Summer Saint John's' was held near, *but never upon*, the day dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. *At a later date*, however, this Saint's day was also held" (*Op. cit.*, p. 15). *Cf. ante*, pp. 75, 77.

[6] Vernon, History of the Lodge of Kelso, p. 16.

In this we find, as No. VII. of the "General Regulations"—"Every *new* Brother at his making is decently to cloath the *Lodge*—that is, all the Brethren present," etc.[1]

Here, it would seem, as in so many other instances, the Doctor must have had in his mind the masonic usages of his native country, though we should not lose sight of the fact that the presentation of gloves by "candidates" to Freemasons and their wives was a custom which prevailed in the Staffordshire lodges in 1686.[2]

But whatever were the authorities upon which Anderson relied—and by the suggestion that the leading features of Scottish Masonry were not absent from his thoughts whilst fulfilling the mandate he received from the Grand Lodge of England, it is not meant to imply that he closed his eyes to evidence proceeding from any other quarter—it is certain that the old masonic custom, which in 1723 had become a law, came down from antiquity in two distinct channels. This it is necessary to bear in mind, because whilst in the one case (Scotland) we must admit that the speculative masons have received from their operative predecessors the gloves as well as the apron, in the other case (England) this by no means follows as a matter of course, since among the Freemasons of 1686 were "persons of the most eminent quality,"[3] from whose speculative—not operative—predecessors the custom which Plot attests may have been derived. Indeed, passing over the circumstance that until the sixteenth century—at least so far as there is evidence to guide us—gloves were presented *to* rather than *by* the operative masons, the stream of authority tends to prove that the usage itself was one of great antiquity, and there is absolutely nothing which should induce the conviction that its origin must be looked for in a custom of the building trades.

Indeed, the probability is rather the other way. The giving of gloves at weddings was common in early times, as we have already seen.[4] Lovers also presented them to their mistresses,[5] and the very common notion that if a woman surprises a man sleeping, and can steal a kiss without waking him, she has a right to demand a pair of gloves—has come down to us with a very respectable flavor of antiquity. Thus, Gay, in the sixth pastoral of his "Shepherd's Week," published in 1714, has:—

> "*Cic'ly* brisk Maid, steps forth before the Rout,
> And kiss'd with smacking Lip the snoring Lout:
> For Custom says, *who'er this venture proves,*
> *For such a kiss demands a pair of Gloves.*"

And it might be plausibly contended, that the origin of the practice thus mentioned by Gay in 1714, must be looked for at a period of time, at least equally remote, with that of the Masonic usage, on which Dr. Anderson based the Seventh General Regulation of 1723.

Although "banquets" are not among the customs or regulations, ratified or ordained by the Warden General in 1598, they are mentioned in no less than three clauses of the Statutes of 1599.[6] This, of itself, would go far to prove, that the practice of closing the

[1] The Constitutions of the Freemasons, 1723, p. 60.

[2] Chap. XIV., p. 289. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 288. [4] *Ante*, pp. 81, 82. *Cf.* Brand, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 76.

[5] Shakespeare, Much Ado about Nothing, Act iii., sc. 4; J. O. Halliwell, Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales, 1849, p. 250.

[6] §§ 9, 10, 11.

formal proceedings of a meeting, with a feast or carousal, was then of old standing. But a minute of Mary's Chapel,[1] preceding by ten days the date of Schaw's second code,[2] shows, at all events that the banquet was a well-established institution at the time when the latter was promulgated.

In the Lodge of Aberdeen (1670)[3] both initiation (or entry) and passing, were followed by feasting and revelry, at the expense of the apprentice and fellow respectively. Nor did the exemption with regard to gloves and aprons, which, as we have seen, prevailed in the case of sons and sons-in-law of the "Authoires" and "Subscryuers" of the "Book," hold good as to banquets. From each and all a "speacking pynt," a "dinner," and a "pynt of wyne," were rigorously exacted.

The festival of St. John the Evangelist was especially set apart by the Aberdeen brethren, as a day of feasting and rejoicing. A similar usage prevailed at Melrose, from at least 1670, and in all probability from times still more remote. The records of the old lodge there, first allude to the "feast of the good Saint John," in 1685, when for "meat and drink, and making it ready," was expended £11, 0s. 10d. Entries of the same character appear under later years, of which the following will suffice: "1687—for Meat & Drink & tobacco, £7, 17*s.* 6*d.* 1698—for ale, white bread, two legs of mutton, a pound of tobacco and pipes, and a capful of salt, £11, 5*s.* 7*d.*"[4]

A dinner on St. John's day, at the expense of the box, was indulged in by the brethren of Atcheson's Haven and Peebles, at the beginning of the last century, and a like custom obtained in the Lodge of Edinburgh down to 1734, in which year, though the members resolved to meet as usual on the festival of the Evangelist, they decided that in future, those attending should pay half-a-crown toward the cost of the entertainment.[5]

It has been observed with truth, that during a great part of the eighteenth century, hard drinking and other convivial excesses were carried among the upper classes in Scotland, to an extent considerably greater than in England, and not less than in Ireland.[6] Of this evil, the case of Dr. Archibald Pitcairne,[7] affords a good illustration. He was a man of great and varied, but ill-directed ability. Burton styles him the type of a class, not numerous but influential from rank and education;[8] and we learn from Wodrow that "he got a vast income, but spent it upon drinking, *and was twice drunk every day.*"[9] Yet it is doubtful whether these habits had any real root among the poorer and middle classes. Indeed, it has been said that the general standard of external decorum was so far higher than in England, that a blind man travelling southwards would know when he passed the frontier by the increasing number of blasphemies he heard.[10]

[1] "xviij Decembris, 1599.—The qlk day the dekin & maisteris of the brut. of Edr. .·. .·. ordanis the sd Jhone Watt to be enterit prenteiss, and to mak his bancat [*banquet*] wtin xviij dayis nexttocum" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 39).

[2] December 28, 1599. The proceedings, however, were *begun* on St. John's day (Dec. 27). *Cf. ante*, p. 75; and Chap. VIII., p. 12.

[3] Chap. VIII., p. 42, *et seq.*

[4] Made up from the following items, viz., £6, 13s. 3d. ; £2, 5s. 6d. ; £2, 3s. 10d. ; and 3s. respectively—Scottish money (Records of the Melrose Lodge—Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., p. 324, 325, 369).

[5] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[6] Lecky, England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., p. 89.

[7] An eminent physician born at Edinburgh, December 25, 1652; died October 20, 1713. Author of "Disputationes Medicæ," "Elementa Medicinæ Physico-mathematica," and other works.

[8] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 559.

[9] Analecta, vol. ii., p. 255.

[10] Lecky, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 89.

Here I pass to the election of Wardens, for, though the subject of banqueting or feasting is far from being exhausted, the observations with which I shall take leave of this custom, will be more appropriately introduced in the next chapter. It forms, however, a leading feature of the early Masonry practised in North Britain, and as such has been briefly noticed in connection with other characteristics of the Scottish Craft, which reappear in the more elaborate system afterwards devised—or found to be in existence—in the South. The Schaw Statutes enjoin, as we have already seen, that a Warden—who was to be chosen annually—should "have the charge over every lodge."[1] This regulation was complied with by the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1598, but in the following year the Deacon sat as president, with the Warden as treasurer. This was in accordance with the ordinary usage which prevailed in the early Scottish lodges, that when there was a Deacon as well as a Warden, the latter acted as treasurer or box-master.[2] Frequently, however, both offices were held by the same person, who we find designated in the minutes of Mary's Chapel as "Deacon of the Masons and Warden of the Lodge."[3]

We meet with the same titles—Deacon and Warden—in the records of the Kilwinning (1643), the Atcheson Haven (1700), and the Peebles (1716) Lodges, though they are there used disjunctively and apart.[4] In each of these instances the Deacon was the chief official. Such was also the case in the Haddington Lodge in 1697, here, apparently, there was no Warden; whilst, on the other hand, the Lodge of Glasgow, in 1613, was ruled by a Warden, and there was no such officer as Deacon. The wording of the Schaw Statutes may have led to this diversity of usage, as the two codes are slightly at variance in the regulations they respectively contain with regard to the functions of Wardens and Deacons—the earlier set implying that the titles denoted separate offices,[5] while in the later one the same expressions may be understood in precisely an opposite sense.[6]

According to Herbert, the Alderman was the chief officer, whilst the trade fraternities of London were called guilds. Eschevins, Elders, and other names succeeded, and were in some instances contemporaneous. The merchant tailors were *unique* in styling their principal "Pilgrim," on account of his travelling for them. Bailiffs, Masters, Wardens, Purveyors, and other names, became usual designations when they were chartered. From Richard II. to Henry VII. their chief officers are styled Wardens of the Craft, Wardens of the said Mystery, Masters or Wardens, of such guild as they presided over, Wardens and Purveyors, Guardians or Wardens,[7] Bailiffs, and Custodes or Keepers.[8]

[1] Chap. VIII., pp. 6, 9; and see *ante*, pp. 74, 81.

[2] Hunter, History of the Lodge of Journeymen Masons, p. 67. According to Lyon, the Warden of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early part of the eighteenth century, was custodier of the *lodge* funds and the dispenser of its charities—the corresponding duties in the incorporation being discharged by the box-master (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 41). In both the Aberdeen (1670) and Melrose (1675) Lodges, however, the three principal officers were the Master (or Master Mason), the Warden, *and* Box-master.

[3] Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 41

[4] Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning—Freemasons' Magazine, Aug. 8, 1863, p. 95; and History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 179, 418.

[5] Schaw Statutes, No. I. (1598), §§ 2, 4, 8, 9, 17, 22

[6] *Ibid.*, No. II. (1599), §§ 2, 7, 8.

[7] In the speech of the Junior Grand Warden (Drake) delivered at York on December 27, 1726, the following occurs: "I would not in this be thought to derogate from the Dignity of my Office, which as the learned *Verstegan* observes, is a Title of Trust and Power, *Warden* and *Guardian* being synonymous terms."

[8] Companies of London, vol. i., p. 51. *Cf.* Smith, English Gilds, introduction, p. xxxiii.; and *ante*, Chap. II., p. 112, note 1.

In the Cooke MS. (2), we meet with the expression—Warden under a Master.[1] This takes us back to the early part of the fifteenth century,[2] and about the same date, at York, as we learn from the fabric rolls of that cathedral, viz., in 1422, John Long was Master Mason, and William Waddeswyk the guardian [Warden] or second Master Mason. The same records inform us that William Hyndeley, who became the Master Mason in 1472, had previously received, in the same year, the sum of £4 in wages, as Warden of the Lodge of Masons, for working in the office of the Master of the Masons, it being vacant by the death of Robert Spyllesby, for twenty-four weeks, at 3s. 4d. each week.[3] These examples might be multiplied, but one more will suffice, which I shall take from the oft-quoted essay of Mr. Papworth. From this, we learn that whilst the great hall at Hampton Court was in course of erection, in 1531, for King Henry VIII., John Molton was Master Mason at 1s. per day; William Reynolds, Warden at 5s. per week; the setters at 3s. 6d. per week; and *lodgemen*[4]—a somewhat suggestive term—at 3s. 4d. per week.[5]

From the preceding references, it will be seen that the employment of a Warden under a Master (or Master Mason), was a common practice in the building trades of the South, at a period anterior to the promulgation by William Schaw, of the Statutes which have been so frequently alluded to. This fact may be usefully noted, as I shall next attempt to show that to a similar usage in Scottish lodges, during the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century, we are indebted for the highest of the three operative titles used by Dr. Anderson in his classification of the Symbolic or Speculative Society of 1723.[6] The Scoon and Perth (1658), the Aberdeen (1670), the Melrose (1675), and the Dunblane (1696) Lodges, were in each case ruled by *the* Master Mason, with the assistance of a Warden.[7] The latter officer appears, in every instance, to have ranked immediately after the former, and is frequently named in the records of lodges[8] as his deputy or substitute. It is singular, however, that in those of "Mother Kilwinning" where the practice was, in the absence of the Deacon or Master, to place in the chair, with full authority, some brother present—not in any one case, for more than a hundred years, do we find the Warden, by virtue of ranking next after the Master, to have presided over the lodge.[9]

The instances are rare, where a plurality of Wardens is found to have existed in the early Lodges of Scotland, anterior to the publication of Dr. Anderson's "Book of Constitutions"

[1] Points vi. and viii.; and see the Halliwell MSS. (1)—*octavus punctus.*

[2] Vol. II., p. 341.

[3] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, 1861–62, pp. 37–60 (Wyatt Papworth); Browne, History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York, p. 252; Raine, The Fabric Rolls of York Minster, 1858, pp. 46, 77 (Publications, Surtees Soc., vol. xxxv.).

[4] *Cf. ante*, p. 71.

[5] Transactions, R. I. B. A., *loc. cit.*

[6] "*N.B.—In antient times no brother, however skilled in the craft, was called a master-mason until he had been elected into the chair of a lodge*" (Constitutions of the United Grand Lodge of England 1884, Antient Charges, No. IV.). Although the above appears for the first time in the "Constitutions" of 1815, it is a fair deduction from the language of the "Book of Constitutions," 1723.

[7] Chap. VIII., pp. 31, 39, 48, 70, 71; Masonic Magazine, vol. vii., 1879–80, pp. 133, 134, 323, 366. The following are the terms used in the several records, and except where otherwise stated, under the above dates: *Scoon and Perth*—Mr Measone, Mr Master; *Aberdeen*—Maister Measeon, Master; *Melrose*—Master Mason, Mr Massone; Mester (1679); *Dunblane*—Master Mason; and *Haughfoot*—Master Mason, 1702 (*ante*, p. 63).

[8] *E.g.*, those of Aberdeen and Dunblane.

[9] Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning—Freemasons' Magazine, Sept. 26, 1863, p. 237.

(1723).[1] Subsequently to that date, indeeed, the transition from one warden to two, was gradually but surely effected.

We find that copies of the *English* "Constitutions" referred to, were presented to the lodges of Dunblane in 1723, and of Peebles in 1725;[2] and doubtless, these were not solitary instances of the practice. That the permeation of southern ideas was very thorough in the northern capital, as early as 1727, we may infer from a minute for St. John's Day (in Christmas) of that year. In this, the initiation of several "creditable citizens" whose recognition as members of the Lodge of Edinburgh, had been objected to by the champions of operative supremacy—is justified on the broad ground that, "their admissions were regularly done, conform to the knowen lawes of this *and all other weall Governed Lodges in Brittain.*"[3]

Ashmole's description of his initiation,[4] coupled with the indorsement on No. 25 of the Old Charges,[5] point to the existence of a Warden, in two *English* Lodges at least, during the seventeenth century, who was charged with very much the same functions as those devolving upon the corresponding official under the regulations of William Schaw. It is tolerably clear, that Mr. Richard Penket in the one case (1646), and Mr. Isaac Brent in the other (1693), were the virtual presidents of their respective lodges. But this is counterbalanced by other evidence, intermediate in point of time. Sloane MS. 3323 (14)—dating from 1659—forbids a lodge being called without "the consent of Master or Wardens;"[6] and the same officers are mentioned in two manuscripts of uncertain date—the Harleian 1942 (11), and the Sloane 3329, as well as in the earliest *printed* form of the Masons' Examination[7] which has come down to us. The Gateshead (1671) and Alnwick (1701) fraternities elected four and two Wardens each respectively; and in the latter there was also a Master.[8] The existence of a plurality of Wardens *under a Master*, in the Alnwick Lodge —if its records will bear this interpretation[9]—demands our careful attention, as it tends to rebut the presumption of a Scottish derivation, which arises from the propinquity of Alnwick to the border, and the practice of affixing marks to their signatures, a custom observed—at least, so far as I am aware—by the members of no other *English* lodge whose records pre-date the epoch of transition.

Although the length of this chapter may seem to illustrate the maxim that precisely in proportion as certainty vanishes, verbosity abounds, I must freely confess that of the two evils I should prefer to be styled prolix, rather than unsatisfactorily concise. It demands both industry and patience to wade through the records of the craft, and though in such a task one's judgment is displayed, not so much by the information given, as by that which is withheld, nevertheless, in writing, or attempting to write, a popular history of Freemasonry, it is, before all things, essential to recollect that each subject will only be gener-

[1] The Lodge of Aberdeen elected *two* wardens in the last decade of the seventeenth century (Chap. VIII., p. 58). In the Lodges of Kilwinning and Edinburgh, however, a *second* warden was only introduced in 1735 and 1737 respectively (*Ibid.*, pp. 18, 26).

[2] Lyon, *op. cit.*, pp. 416, 419. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 159

[4] Chap. XIV., p. 264. [5] Chap. II., p. 69. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[7] Published in the *Flying Post*, or *Post Master*, No. 4712, from Thursday, April 11, to Saturday, April 13, 1723; and first reprinted by me in the *Freemason*, October 2, 1880. This, together with other (so-called) "exposures," will be dealt with in Chapter XVII.

[8] Vol. II., p. 275, *ante*, pp. 14-16. Compare the 12th Order of the Alnwick Lodge, with Rule 18 of MS. No. 14 (Chap. II., p. 103, note 3).

[9] *Cf. ante*, p. 16.

ally understood, to the extent that it is elucidated within the compass of reading afforded by the work itself.

I have brought up the history of English Freemasonry to the year 1723, and in the next chapter shall proceed with that of the Grand Lodge of England, basing my narrative of occurrences upon its actual minutes. The scanty evidence relating to the Masonry of the South during the pre-historic period has been given in full detail. To the possible objection that undue space has been accorded to this branch of our inquiry, I reply, the existence of a living Freemasonry in England before the time of Randle Holme (1688) rests on two sources of authority—the diary of Elias Ashmole, and the "Natural History" of Dr. Plot. If the former of these antiquaries had not kept a journal—and which, unlike most journals, was printed—and if the latter had not undertaken the task of describing the phenomena of Staffordshire, we should have known absolutely nothing of the existence of Freemasons' lodges at Warrington in 1646, at London in 1682, or in the "moorelands of Staffordshire, and, indeed, throughout England, in 1686. Now, judging by what light we have, is it credible for an instant that the attractions which drew Ashmole into the Society—and had not lost their hold upon his mind after a lapse of thirty-five years—comprised nothing more than the "benefit of the MASON WORD," which in Scotland alone distinguished the lodge-mason from the cowan? The same remark will hold good with regard to Sir William Wise and the others in 1682, as well as to the persons of distinction who, according to Plot, were members of the craft in 1686.

At the period referred to, English *Free*masonry must have been something different, if not distinct, from Scottish *Masonry*. Under the latter system, the brethren were masons, but not (in the English sense) *Free*masons. The latter title, to quote a few representative cases, was unknown—or, at least, not in use—in the lodges of Edinburgh, Kilwinning, and Kelso, until the years 1725, 1735, and 1741 respectively. It has therefore been essential to examine with minuteness, the scanty evidence that has been preserved of English Masonic customs during the seventeenth century, and although the darkness which overspreads this portion of our annals may not be wholly removed, I trust that some light at least has been shed upon it. Yet, as Dr. Johnson has finely observed:—"One generation of ignorance effaces the whole series of unwritten history. Books are faithful repositories, which may be a while neglected or forgotten, but, when they are opened again, will again impart their instruction: memory, once interrupted, is not to be recalled. Written learning is a fixed luminary, which, after the cloud that had hidden it has passed away, is again bright in its proper station. Tradition is but a meteor, which, if once it falls, cannot be rekindled."

CHAPTER XVII.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1723-60.

HAVING brought the history of English Freemasonry to a point from which our further progress will be greatly facilitated by the use of official documents, it is necessary, before commencing a summary of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England from June 24, 1723, to consider a little more closely a few important matters as yet only passed briefly in review.

The year 1723 was a memorable one in the annals of English Masonry, and it affords a convenient halting-place for the discussion of many points of interest which cannot be properly assigned either to an earlier or a later period. The great event of that year was the publication of the first "Book of Constitutions." I shall print the "General Regulations" in the Appendix, but the entire work deserves perusal, and from this, together with a glance at the names of the members of Lodges in 1724 and 1725—also appended—may be gained a very good *outside view* of the Freemasonry existing at the termination of the epoch of transition. To see it from any other aspect, I must ask my readers to give me their attention, whilst I place before them, to some extent, a retrospect of our past inquiries, and at the same time do my best to read and understand the old evidence by the light of the new.

The narrative of events in the last chapter broke off at April 25, 1723. The story of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England has been briefly told, but the history of that body would be incomplete without some further allusion to the "Four Old Lodges" by whose exertions it was called into existence. I number them in the order in which they are shown by Dr. Anderson, to have assented—through their representatives—to the Constitutions of 1723.

ORIGINAL No. 1 met at the Goose and Gridiron, in St. Paul's Churchyard, from 1717 until 1729, and removed in the latter year to the King's (or Queen's) Arms, in the same locality, where it remained for a long period. In 1760 it assumed the title of the "West India and American Lodge," which ten years later was altered to that of the "Lodge of Antiquity." In 1794 it absorbed the Harodim Lodge, No. 467,[1] a mushroom creation of

[1] Among the members were Thomas Harper, "silversmith, London," and William Preston. Harper—D.G.M. of the "*Atholl*" Grand Lodge at the time of the Union—was also a member of the Lodge of Antiquity from 1792, and served as Grand Steward in 1796. He was for some time Secretary to the "Chapter of Harodim." *Cf.* the memoir of Preston in Chap. XVIII.; Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 355; and Freemasons' Magazine, January to June, 1861, p. 449.

the year 1790. At the Union, in 1813, the first position in the new roll having devolved by lot upon No. 1 of the "Atholl" Lodges, it became, and has since remained, No. 2.

According to the Engraved List of 1729, this Lodge was originally constituted in 1691. Thomas Morris[1] and Josias Villeneau, both in their time Grand Wardens, were among the members—the former being the Master in 1723, and the latter in 1725. Benjamin Cole, the engraver, belonged to the Lodge in 1730; but with these three exceptions, the names, so far as they are given in the official records,[2] do not invite any remark until *after* Preston's election to the chair, when the members *suddenly* awoke to a sense of the dignity of the senior English Lodge, and became *gradually* impressed with the importance of its traditions.[3] The subsequent history of the Lodge has been incorporated with the memoir of William Preston, and will be found in the next chapter. But I may briefly mention that, from Preston's time down to our own, the Lodge of Antiquity has maintained a high degree of pre-eminence, as well for its seniority of constitution, as for the celebrity of the names which have graced its roll of members. The Duke of Sussex was its Master for many years; and the lamented Duke of Albany in more recent days filled the chair throughout several elections.

ORIGINAL No. 2 met at the Crown, Parker's Lane, in 1717, and was established at the Queen's Head, Turnstile, Holborn, in 1723 or earlier. Thence it moved in succession to the Green Lettice, Rose and Rummer, and Rose and Buffloe. In 1730 it met at the Bull and Gate, Holborn; and, appearing for the last time in the Engraved List for 1736, was struck off the roll at the renumbering in 1740. An application for its restoration was made in 1752, but, on the ground that none of the petitioners had ever been members of the Lodge, it was rejected.[4] According to the Engraved List for 1729, the Lodge was constituted in 1712.

ORIGINAL No. 3, which met at the Apple Tree Tavern in Charles Street, Covent Garden, in 1717, moved to the Queen's Head, Knave's Acre, in 1723 or earlier; and after several intermediate changes—including a stay of many years at the Fish and Bell, Charles Street, Soho Square—appears to have settled down, under the title of the Lodge of Fortitude, at the Roebuck, Oxford Street, from 1768 until 1793. In 1818 it amalgamated with the Old Cumberland Lodge—constituted 1753—and is now the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, No. 12.

Dr. Anderson informs us that, after the removal of this Lodge to the Queen's Head, "upon some difference, the members that met there came under a New Constitution [in 1723] *tho' they wanted it not;*"[5] and accordingly, when the Lodges were arranged in order of seniority in 1729, Original No. 3, instead of being placed as one of the Four at the head of the roll, found itself relegated by the Committee of Precedence to the eleventh number on the list. This appears to have taken the members by surprise—as well it might, considering that the last time the Four were all represented at Grand Lodge—April 19, 1727—before

[1] Received five guineas from the General Charity, December 15, 1730.

[2] I do not know, of course, what further light might be thrown upon the history of this Lodge, were the present members to lay bare its archives to public inspection. Why, indeed, there should be such a rooted objection to the publication of old Masonic documents, it is hard to conjecture, unless, as Johnson observes, "He that possesses a valuable manuscript, hopes to raise its esteem by concealment, and delights in the distinction which he imagines himself to obtain, by keeping the key of a treasure which he neither uses or imparts" (The Idler, No. 65, July 14, 1759).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XII., pp. 162, 170.

[4] G. L. Minutes, March 16, 1752.

[5] Constitutions, 1738, p. 185.

the scale of precedence was adjusted in conformity with the New Regulation enacted for that purpose, their respective Masters and Wardens answered to their names in the same order of seniority as we find to have prevailed when the "Book of Constitutions" was approved by the representatives of Lodges in 1723.[1] But although the officers of No. 11 "represented that their Lodge was misplaced in the printed book, whereby they lost their Rank, and humbly prayed that the said *mistake* might be regulated,"—"the said complaint was dismiss'd."[2] It is probable that this petition would have experienced a very different fate had the three senior Lodges been represented on the Committee of Precedence.

As Original No. 2—also so numbered in 1729—"dropt out" about 1736, the Lodges immediately below it each went up a step in 1740; and Original No. 3 moved from the *eleventh* to the *tenth* place on the list. If the minutes of the Committee of Charity covering that period were extant, we should find, I think, a renewed protest by the subject of this sketch against its supercession, for one was certainly made at the next renumbering in 1756—and not altogether without success, as will be seen by the following extract from the minute book of one of the lodges above it on the list:

July 22, 1755.—"Letter being [read] from the Grand Sec^{y}: Citing us to appear att the Committee of Charity to answer the Fish and Bell Lodge [No. 10] to their demand of being plac'd prior to us, viz. in No. 3. Whereon our R^{t} Wors^{l} Mas^{r} attended & the Question being propos'd was answer'd against [it] by him with Spirit and Resolution well worthy the Charector he assum'd, and being put to Ballot was carr^{d} in favour of us. Report being made this night of the said proceedings thanks was Return'd him & his health drank with hearty Zeal by the Lodge present."[3]

But although defeated in this instance, the officers of No. 10 appear to have satisfied the committee that their Lodge was entitled to a higher number than would fall to it in the ordinary course, from two of its seniors having "dropt out" since the revision of 1740. Instead, therefore, of becoming No. 8, we find that it passed over the heads of the two Lodges immediately above it, and appeared in the *sixth* place on the list for 1756; whilst the Lodges thus superseded by the No. 10 of 1755, themselves changed their relative positions in the list for 1756, with the result that Nos. 8, 9, and 10 in the former list severally became 8,[4] 7,[5] and 6[6] in the latter—or, to express it in another way, Nos. 8 and 10 of 1755 change places in 1756.

Elsewhere I have observed: "The supercession of Original No. 3 by *eight* junior Lodges in 1729, together with its partial restoration of rank in 1756, has introduced so much con-

[1] See *post* the proceedings of Grand Lodge under the year 1727.

[2] G. L. Minutes, July 11, 1729.

[3] Minutes of the George Lodge, No. 4—then meeting at the George and Dragon, Grafton Street. St. Ann's. In 1767, when removed to the "Sun and Punch Bowl," its warrant was "sold, or otherwise illegally disposed of," to certain brethren, who christened it the "Friendship," which name it still retains (*now* No. 6). Among the offenders were the Duke of Beaufort and Thomas French, shortly afterward Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively of the Grand Lodge of England.

[4] Constituted May 1722. In April 1823 yielded its warrant and position to the Alpha—a Lodge of Grand Officers—established shortly after the Union, which had assumed the rank of a dormant lodge, the No. 28 of 1792-1813. *Now* the Royal Alpha Lodge, No. 16.

[5] Constituted November 25, 1722; erased March 25, 1745, and January 23, 1764; restored March 7, 1747, and April 23, 1764, respectively. Absorbed the Lodge of St. Mary-la-Bonne, No. 108, March 25, 1791. *Now* the Tuscan Lodge, No. 14.

[6] Original No. 3, *now* Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, No. 12.

fusion into the history of this Lodge, that *for upwards of a century* its identity with the 'old Lodge,' which met at the Apple Tree Tavern in 1717, appears to have been wholly lost sight of."[1]

The age of this lodge cannot be even approximately determined. It occupied the *second* place in the Engraved Lists for 1723 and 1725, and probably continued to do so until 1728. The position of the lodge in 1729 must have been wholly determined by the date of its warrant, and therefore affords no clue to its actual seniority. It is quite impossible to say whether it was established earlier or later than original No. 2 (1712), nor *pace* Preston can we be altogether sure—if we assume the precedency in such matters to be regulated by dates of formation—that the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, would be justified in yielding the *pas*, even to the Lodge of Antiquity itself.

Alluding to the meeting at the Goose and Gridiron Ale-house, on St. John the Baptist's day, 1717, Findel observes, "This day is celebrated by all German Lodges as the day of the anniversary of the Society of Freemasons. It is the high-noon of the year, the day of light and roses, and it ought to be celebrated everywhere."[2]

It seems to me, however, that not only is this remarkable incident in the history of the Lodge of Antiquity worthy of annual commemoration but that the services of the Fortitude and Old Cumberland Lodge, in connection with what may be termed *the most momentous event in the history of the Craft*, are at least entitled to a similar distinction. The first Grand Master, it is true, was elected and installed at the Goose and Gridiron, under the banner of the Old Lodge there, but the first Grand Lodge was formed and constituted at the Apple Tree, under similar auspices. Also, we must not forget, that the lodge at the latter tavern supplied the Grand Master—Sayer—who was elected and installed in the former.

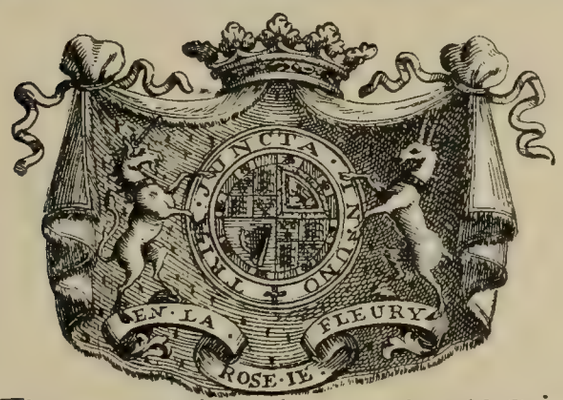
ORIGINAL No. 4 met at the Rummer and Grapes Tavern, in Channel Row, Westminster, in 1717, and its representatives—George Payne, Master, Stephen Hall and Francis Sorell, Wardens—joined with those of nineteen other lodges, in subscribing the "Approbation" of the Constitutions in January 1723. The date of its removal to the tavern with which it became so long associated, and whose name it adopted, is uncertain. It is shown at the "Horn" in the earliest of the Engraved Lists, ostensibly of the year 1723, but there are grounds for believing that this appeared towards the close of the period embraced by the Grand Mastership of the Earl of Dalkeith, which would render it of later date than the following extract from a newspaper of the period:—

There was a great Lodge of the ancient Society of the Free Masons held last week at the Horn Tavern, in Palace Yard: at which were present the Earl of Dalkeith, their Grand Master, the Deputy Grand Master, the Duke of Richmond, and several other persons of quality, at which time, the Lord Carmichael, Col. Carpenter, Sir Thomas Prendergast, Col. Paget, and Col. Saunderson, were accepted Free Masons, and went home in their Leather Aprons and Gloves."[3]

The names of these five initiates, two of whom were afterwards Grand Wardens, are shown in the earliest list of members furnished by the Lodge at the "Horn"—in conformity with the order of Grand Lodge.[4] From this we learn that in 1724 the Duke of Richmond was the Master, and George Payne the Deputy Master, whilst Alexander Hardine and

[1] The Four Old Lodges, p. 42.
[2] History of Freemasonry, p. 137.
[3] The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, March 28, 1724.
[4] February 19, 1724.





The Most High, Puissant, and Noble Prince, Charles Lenox, Duke of Richmond & Lenox, Earl of March and Darnley, Baron of Setterington, Methuin and Torbolton, Knt. of ye most Honourable Order of ye Bath.

GRAND MASTER.

A.D. 1725. *A.L. 5725.*

A List of the REGULAR LODGES as CONSTITUTED 'till MARCH 25th 1725

	St. Pauls Church-yard	*every other Mond. from ye 29th of April inclusive*
	Knaves Acre	*every other Wedn. from ye 2d of April inclusive*
Green Lettice	Brownlow Street Holborn	*First Wednesday in every Month*
	Westminster	*Third Fryday in every Month*
	Ivy lane	*every other Thurs. from ye 20th of June inclusive*
	Newgate street	*First Monday in every Month*
	Silver street	*Second & Fourth Wednesday in every Month*
	in the Strand	*First Fryday in every Month*

Printed for & Sold by I. Pine Engraver over against Little Britain end in Aldersgate Street.

The Dedication and First Page of Pine's "Engraved List of Lodges

Copied from the original published in 1725.

Alexander Choke [1] were the Wardens. The character of the lodge has been already glanced at,[2] but the names of its members during the years 1724 and 1725, will be given in full in the Appendix, to which therefore it will be unnecessary to do more than refer. Among the private members were Desaguliers and Anderson, neither of whom in the years 1724-25 held office in the lodge. Unfortunately, the page allotted to Original No. 4—or No. 3 as it became from 1729—in the Grand Lodge Register for 1730, is a blank, and after that year there is no list to consult for nearly half a century, when we again meet with one in the official records, where the names of the then members are headed by that of Thomas Dunckerley "a member from 1768."

Alexander Hardine was the Master in 1725, the office becoming vacant by the Duke of Richmond's election as Grand Master. There is little doubt, however—to use the quaint language of "Old Regulation XVII." [3]—by virtue of which the Duke was debarred from continuing in the chair of the "Horn Lodge," whilst at the head of the Craft—that "as soon as he had honourably discharg'd his *Grand Office*, he returned to that Post or Station in his particular *Lodge*, from which he was call'd to officiate above." At all events he was back there in 1729, for on July 11 of that year, the Deputy Grand Master (Blackerly) informed Grand Lodge, by desire of the "Duke of Richmond, Master of the Horn Lodge," as an excuse for the members not having brought charity, like those of the other lodges, that they "were, for the most part, persons of Quality, and Members of Parliament," and therefore out of town at that season of the year. The Duke was very attentive to his duties in the lodge. He was in the chair at the initiation of the Earl of Sunderland, on January 2, 1730, on which occasion there were present the Grand Master, Lord Kingston, the Grand Master elect, the Duke of Norfolk, together with the Duke of Montagu, Lords Dalkeith, Delvin, Inchiquin, and other persons of distinction.[4]

Later in the same year, he presided over another important meeting, when many foreign noblemen, and also William Cowper (D.G.M., 1726), were admitted members, and was supported by the Grand Master (Duke of Norfolk), the Deputy (Blackerly), Lord Mordaunt, and the Marquesses of Beaumont and Du Quesne.[5] The Duke of Richmond resigned the Mastership in April 1738, and Nathaniel Blackerly was unanimously chosen to fill his place.[6] Original No. 4 was given the *third* place in the Engraved List for 1729, and in 1740 became No. 2—which number it retained till the Union.

On April 3, 1747, it was erased from the list, for non-attendance at the Quarterly Communications, but was restored to its place September 4, 1751. According to the official records—"Bro. Lediard informed the Brethren that the Right Worshipful Bro^r. Payne,[7] L.G.M., and several other members of the Lodge lately held at the Horn, Palace Yard, Westminster, had been very successful in their endeavors to serve the said Lodge, and that they were ready to pay 2 guineas to the use of the Grand Charity, and therefore moved that out of respect to Bro. Payne and the several other L.G.M. [*late Grand Masters*] who were members thereof, the Said Lodge might be restored and have its former rank and

[1] S. G. W., 1726; D.G.M., 1727. [2] Vol. II., p. 170. For 1723, however, *read* 1724.

[3] As already stated, the "Old Regulations" will be found in the Appendix.

[4] The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, January 3, 1730.

[5] Rawlinson MS., fol. 229 (Bodl. Lib., Oxford). See, however, *post*, p. 125.

[6] The London Daily Post, April 22, 1738. At this period, the new Master of the "Horn Lodge"—who had been S.G.W., 1727; and D.G.M., 1728-30—was a justice of the peace, and chairman of the sessions of the city and liberties of Westminster. [7] Payne was present on the occasion.

Place in the Lists of Lodges—which was ordered accordingly." Earl Ferrers was master of the "Horn Lodge" when elected Grand Master of the Society in 1762.

On February 16, 1766, at an "Occasional" Lodge, held at the Horn Tavern, the Grand Master, Lord Blayney, presiding, His Royal Highness, William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, "was made an entered apprentice, passed a fellow craft, and raised to the degree of a Master Mason."[1]

This Prince, and his two brothers, the Dukes of York[2] and Cumberland, eventually became members of the "New Lodge at the Horn," No. 313, the name of which, out of compliment to them, was changed to that of the "Royal Lodge." At the period, however, of the Duke of Gloucester's admission, into the Society (1766), there were two lodges meeting at the Horn Tavern. The "Old" Lodge, the subject of the present sketch, and the "New" Lodge, No. 313,[3] constituted April 4, 1764. The Duke was initiated in neither, but in an "Occasional" Lodge, at which, for all we know to the contrary, members of *both* may have been present. But at whatever date the decadence of the "Old Horn Lodge" may be said to have first set in, whether directly after the formation of a new lodge at the same tavern, or later, it reached its culminating point about the time when the Duke of Cumberland, following the example of his two brothers, became an honorary member of No. 313. This occurred March 4, 1767, and on April 1 of the same year, the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland attended a meeting of the junior Lodge, and the latter was installed its W.M., an office he also held in later years.[4]

The Engraved List for 1767 shows the "Old Horn Lodge" to have removed from the tavern of that name, to the Fleece, Tothill Street, Westminster. Thence, in 1772, it migrated to the King's Arms, also in Westminster, and on January 10, 1774, "finding themselves in a declining state, the members agreed to incorporate with a new and flourishing lodge, entitled the Somerset House Lodge, which immediately assumed their rank."[5] So far Preston, in the editions of his famous "Illustrations," published *after* the schism was healed, of which the privileges of the Lodge of Antiquity had been the origin. But in those published whilst the schism lasted (1779-89), he tells us, that "the members of this Lodge tacitly agreed to a renunciation of their rights as one of the four original Lodges by openly avowing a declaration of their Master in Grand Lodge. They put themselves entirely under the authority of Grand Lodge; claimed no distinct privilege, by virtue of an Immemorial Constitution, but precedency of rank,[6] and considered themselves subject to every law or regulation of the Grand Lodge, over whom they could admit of no control, and to whose determination they and every Lodge were bound to submit."

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes.

[2] Initiated abroad. He was present at the Duke of Gloucester's admission, and the two brothers were elected honorary members of No. 313, on March 5, 1766 (Minutes of the Royal Lodge, No. 210, published by C. Goodwyn, in the *Freemason*, April, 8, 1871). It was numbered 210 at the Union, and died out before 1832.

[3] It became No. 251 at the change of numbers in 1770, and is thus described in the Engraved List for that year—"Royal Lodge, Thatched House, St. James Street, late the New Lodge at the Horn."

[4] The Duke of Cumberland—Grand Master of the Society, 1783-90—received the three degrees of Masonry, February 9, 1767, in an "Occasional" Lodge, held at the Thatched House Tavern (Grand Lodge Minutes). The minutes of the "Royal" Lodge, call it a "Grand" Lodge, which is incorrect.

[5] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 255.

[6] There is nothing to show—except Preston's word, which goes for very little—that the "Four Old Lodges" (until his own time) ever carried their claims any higher.

The value, indeed, of this evidence, is much impaired—and must appear so, even to those by whom Preston's veracity is regarded as beyond suspicion—by the necessity of reconciling with it the remarks of the same writer *after* 1790, when he speaks of the *two* old lodges then extant, acting by immemorial constitution.[1]

But the *status* of the junior of these lodges stood in no need of restoration at the hands of Preston, or of any other person or body. In all the official lists, published after its amalgamation[2] with a lodge lower down on the roll, from 1775 to the present year, the words "Time Immemorial" in lieu of a date, are placed opposite its printed title. Nor is there any entry in the minutes of Grand Lodge, which will bear out the assertion that at the fusion of the two lodges, there was any sacrifice of independence on the part of the senior. The junior of the parties to this alliance—in 1774, the Somerset House Lodge, No. 219—was originally constituted May 22, 1762, and is described in the Engraved List for 1763 as "On Board H.M. Ship the 'Prince,' at Plymouth;"[3] in 1764-66 as "On Board H.M. Ship the 'Guadaloupe;'" and in 1767-73 as "the Sommerset House Lodge (No. 219 on the numeration of 1770-80) at ye King's Arms, New Bond Street."

Thomas Dunckerley (of whom more hereafter), a natural son of George II., was initiated into Masonry, January 10, 1754, whilst in the naval service, in which he attained the rank of gunner; and his duties afloat seem to have come to an end at about the same date on which the old "Sea Lodge" in the "Prince" and lastly in the "Guadaloupe," was removed to London and christened the "Somerset House," most probably by way of compliment to Dunckerley himself, being the name of the place of residence where quarters were first of all assigned to him on his coming to the Metropolis. In 1767 the king ordered him a pension of £100 a year, which was afterwards increased to £800, with a suite of apartments in Hampton Court Palace.

The official records merely inform us that Dunckerley was a member of the Somerset House Lodge after the fusion, and that he *had* been a member of one or both of them from 1768,[4] beyond which year the Grand Lodge Register does not extend, except *longo intervallo*, viz., at the returns for 1730, a gap already noticed, and which it is as impossible to bridge over from one end as the other.

After Dunckerley's, we meet with the names of Lord Gormanstone, Sir Joseph Bankes, Viscount Hampden, Rowland Berkeley, James Heseltine, and Rowland Holt, and later still of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, Deputy Grand Master. In 1828 the Lodge again resorted to amalgamation, and absorbed the "Royal Inverness" Lodge, No. 648. The latter was virtually a military Lodge, having been formed by the officers of the Royal North British Volunteer Corps, of which the Duke of Sussex (Earl of Inverness) was the commander. Among the members of the "Royal Inverness" Lodge were Sir Augustus D'Este, son of the Duke of Sussex; Lord William Pitt Lennox; Charles Matthews the elder, "comedian;" Laurence Thompson, "painter," the noted preceptor: and in the Grand Lodge Register,

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, and subsequent editions.

[2] Some observations on the amalgamation of Lodges will be found in my "Four Old Lodges," pp. 44, 45.

[3] The "Sea and Field Lodges," enumerated in "Multa Paucis" (1763-64), consist of two of the former, "on board" the "Vanguard" and "Prince" respectively—and one in "Captain Bell's Troop of Dragoons"—in Lord Ancrum's Regiment, *now* the 11th Hussars.

[4] The regulation made November 19, 1773, requiring Lodges to furnish lists of their members to the Grand Secretary, only applied to persons who were initiated *after* October, 1768.

under the date of May 5, 1825, is the following entry,—"Charles James Matthews, Architect, Ivy Cottage, aged 24."

The "old Lodge at the Horn," which we have traced through so many vicissitudes—for reasons already given in the sketch of the Lodge of Antiquity—dropped from the second to the fourth place on the roll at the Union; and in 1828 assumed the title of the "Royal Somerset House and Inverness Lodge," by which it is still described in the list. It is a subject for regret that no history of this renowned Lodge has been compiled. The early minutes, I am informed, are missing, but the materials for a descriptive account of a Lodge associated with such brilliant memories still exist, although there may be some slight trouble in searching for them. Among the Masonic jottings in the early newspapers, and the waifs and strays at Freemasons' Hall, will be found a great many allusions to this ancient Lodge. Of these, examples are afforded in the sketch now brought to a close, which is mainly based on those sources of information.

Of the three Grand Officers, whose names have alone come down to us in connection with the great event of 1717, there is very little said in the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, over whose deliberations it was their lot to preside for the first year of its existence. Captain Elliot drops completely out of sight; and Jacob Lamball almost so, though he reappears on the scene in 1735, on March 31 of which year he sat as Grand Warden, in the place of Sir Edward Mansell; not having been present, so far as can be determined from the official records, at any earlier period over which they extend.[1] He subsequently attended very frequently, and in the absence of a Grand Warden, usually filled the vacant chair. Anderson includes his name among those of the "few brethren" by whom he was "kindly encouraged" whilst the Constitutions of 1738 were in the press; and if, as there seems ground for believing, the doctor was not himself present at the Grand Election of 1717, it is probable that he derived his account of it from the brother who was chosen Grand Senior Warden on that occasion. Lamball, it is sad to relate, in his latter years fell into decay and poverty, and at a Quarterly Communication, held April 8, 1756, was a petitioner for relief, when the sum of ten guineas was voted to him from the Fund of Charity, "with liberty to apply again." Even of Sayer himself there occurs but a passing mention, but from which we are justified in inferring that his influence and authority in the councils of the Craft did not long survive his term of office as Grand Master. It is probable that poverty and misfortunes so weighed him down as to forbid his associating on equal terms with the only two commoners—Payne and Desaguliers—who, besides himself, had filled the Masonic throne; but there is also evidence to show that he did not scruple to infringe the laws and regulations, which it became him, perhaps more than any other man, to set the fashion of diligently obeying. He was one of the Grand Wardens under Desaguliers in 1719, and a Warden of his private Lodge, Original No. 3, in January 1723, but held no office in the latter at the close of the same year or in 1725, though he continued a member until 1730, and possibly later;[2] but from the last-named date until some way into the second half of the eighteenth century, there is unfortunately no register of the members of Lodges. After 1730 Sayer virtually disappears from the scene. In that year we first meet with his name, as having walked last in a procession—arranged in order of

[1] *I.e.*, between June 24, 1723, and March 31, 1735.

[2] Thomas Morris and James Paggett, both members of the Mason's Company, belonged, the former to Original No. 1, and the latter to Original No. 3, in 1723 and also in 1725. From this we may infer, that such *Masons* as became *Freemasons* had no predilection for any particular Lodge.

juniority—of past Grand Masters, at the installation of the Duke of Norfolk. He next appears as a petitioner for relief, and finally in the character of an offender against the laws of the Society. Of these incidents in his career two are elsewhere recorded; but with regard to his pecuniary circumstances, the minutes of Grand Lodge show that he was a petitioner —presumably for charity—on November 21, 1724; but whether he was then relieved or not from the General Fund, the records do not disclose. A second application was attended with the following result:

April 21, 1730.—"Then the Petition of Brother Anthony Sayer, formerly Grand Master, was read, setting forth his misfortunes and great poverty, and praying Relief. The Grand Lodge took the same into their consideration, and it was proposed that he should have £20 out of the money received on acc[t] of the general charity· others proposed £10, and others £15.

The Question being put, it was agreed that he should have £15, on acc[t] of his having been Grand Master." [1]

He appears to have received a further sum of two guineas from the same source on April 17, 1741, after which date I can find no allusion in the records, or elsewhere, to the first "Grand Master of Masons."

George Payne is generally described as a "learned antiquarian," though I imagine on no other foundation of authority than the paragraph [2] into which Dr. Anderson has compressed the leading events of his Grand Mastership. It is possible that the archæological tastes of a namesake who died in 1739[3] have been ascribed to him; but however this may be, his name is not to be found among those of the fellows or members of the Society of Antiquaries, an association established, or, to speak more correctly, *revived*, at about the same date as the Grand Lodge of England.[4] Some years ago I met with a newspaper entry of 1731, to the effect that Mr. Payne, the apothecary, had presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury two Greek MSS. of great antiquity and curiosity.[5] This seemed to promise well, so I wrote to the Society of Apothecaries, but was informed that its records contained no mention of a *George* Payne during the whole of the eighteenth century. Unfortunately there is very little to be gleamed concerning Payne's private life. His will is dated December 8, 1755, and was proved March 9, 1757, by his wife, the sole executrix, the testator having died on January 23 in the same year. He is described as of the parish of St. Margaret, Westminster, and appears to have been a man of good worldly substance. Among the various bequests are legacies of £200 each to his nieces, Frances, Countess of Northampton, and Catherine, Lady Francis Seymour. Payne died at his house in New Palace Yard, Westminster, being at the time Secretary to the Tax Office.[6] How long he had resided there it is now impossible to say; but it is curious, to say the least, that when we first hear of the Lodge to which both Payne and Desaguliers belonged, it met at Channel Row, where

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes. On the same evening, Joshua Timson was voted £14 "on account of his having served as a Grand Warden."

[2] *Ante*, p. 33.

[3] "Deaths—Sept. At Ghent, George Payne, of Northumberland, Esq., F.R.S., Member of the Royal Academy at Berlin, of the Noble Institute of Bologna," etc. (Scots Magazine, vol. i., 1739, p. 423).

[4] *Cf.* Archæologia, vol. i., Introduction, p. xxxiii.; Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 3, *et seq.*

[5] Read's Journal, May 29, 1731.

[6] *Ante*, p. 31, note 3; Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxvii., 1757, p. 93.

the latter lived; also that it was afterwards removed to New Palace Yard, where the former died.

Payne, I apprehend, was the earlier member of the two, and the date of his joining the Lodge may, in my judgment, be set down at some period *after* St. John the Baptist's Day, 1717, and *before* the corresponding festival of 1718. He was greatly respected both by the brethren of the "old Lodge at the Horn," and the craft at large, and the esteem in which he was held by the latter, stood the former in good stead in 1751, when at his intercession the lodge in question, which had been erased from the list in 1747, was restored to its former rank and place.

During his second term of office as Grand Master, Payne compiled the General Regulations, which were afterwards finally arranged and published by Dr. Anderson in 1723. He continued an active member of Grand Lodge until 1754, on April 27 of which year he was appointed a member of the committee to revise the "Constitutions" (afterwards brought out by Entick in 1756). According to the Minutes of Grand Lodge, he was present there for the last time in the following November.

John Theophilus Desaguliers, the son of a French Protestant clergyman, born at Rochelle, March 12, 1683, was brought to England by his father when about two years of age, owing to the persecution which was engendered by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. He was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A., and entered into deacon's orders in 1710. The same year he succeeded Dr. Keill as lecturer on Experimental Philosophy at Hart Hall. In 1712 he married Joanna, daughter of Mr. William Pudsey, and proceeded to the degree of M.A. The following year he removed to the metropolis and settled in Channel Row, Westminster, where he continued his lectures. On July 29, 1714, he was elected F.R.S., but was excused from paying the subscription, on account of the number of experiments which he showed at the meetings. Subsequently he was elected to the office of curator, and communicated a vast number of curious and valuable papers between the years 1714 and 1743, which are printed in the *Transactions*. He also published several works of his own, particularly his large "Course of Experimental Philosophy," being the substance of his public lectures, and abounding with descriptions of the most useful machines and philosophical instruments. He acted as curator to within a year of his decease, and appears to have received no fixed salary, being remunerated according to the number of experiments and communications which he made to the Society, sometimes receiving a donation of £10, and occasionally £30, £40, or £50.

His lectures were delivered before George I. at Hampton Court in 1717, and also before George II., and other members of the Royal Family, at a later period.

There is some confusion with regard to the church preferment which fell in the doctor's way. According to Lysons, he was appointed by the Duke of Chandos to the benefice of Whitchurch—otherwise termed Stanmore Parva—in 1714,[1] but Nichols says he was presented by the same patron, in the same year, to the living of Edgeware.[2]

It is not easy to reconcile the discrepancy, and the description of a lodge—warranted April 25, 1722—in the Engraved Lists for 1723, 1725, and 1729, viz., The Duke of Chandos's Arms, at Edge*worth*, tends to increase rather than diminish the difficulty of the task.

In 1718 he accumulated the degrees of bachelor and doctor of Laws, and about the same period was presented—through the influence of the Earl of Sunderland—to a small

[1] The environs of London, 1800-11, vol. iii., p. 674. [2] Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 81.

living in Norfolk, the revenue of which, however, only amounted to £70 per annum. This benefice he afterward exchanged for a crown living in Essex, to which he was nominated by George II. He was likewise appointed chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales, an office which he had already held in the household of the Duke of Chandos, and was destined to fill still later (1738) in Bowles (now the 12th) Regiment of Dragoons.

When Channel Row, where he had lived for some years,[1] was taken down to make way for the new bridge at Westminster, Dr. Desaguliers removed to lodgings over the Great Piazza in Covent Garden, where he carried on his lectures till his death, which took place on February 29, 1744.[2] He was buried March 6 in the Chapel Royal of the Savoy. In personal attractions the doctor was singularly deficient, being short and thick-set, his figure ill-shaped, his features irregular, and extremely near-sighted. In the early part of his life he lived very abstemiously, but in his later years was censured for an indulgence in eating to excess, both in the quantity and quality of his diet. The following anecdote is recorded of his respect for the clerical character.

Being invited to an illustrious company, one of whom, an officer, addicted to swearing in his discourse, at the period of every oath asked Dr. Desaguliers' pardon; the doctor bore this levity for some time with great patience, but at length silenced the swearer with the following rebuke: "Sir, you have taken some pains to render me ridiculous, if possible, by your pointed apologies; now, sir, I am to tell you, that if God Almighty does not hear you, I assure you I will never tell him."[3]

He left three sons—Alexander, the eldest, who was bred to the Church and had a living in Norfolk, where he died in 1751; John Theophilus, to whom the doctor bequeathed all that he died possessed of; and Thomas, also named in the testator's will as "being sufficiently provided for"—for a time equerry to George III.—who attained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and died March 1, 1780, aged seventy-seven.

Lieutenant-General Desaguliers served in the Royal Artillery—in which regiment his memory is still fondly cherished as that of one of its brightest ornaments—for a period of fifty-seven years, during which he was employed on many arduous services, including the battle of Fontenoy and the sieges of Louisbourg and Belleisle.[4] The last named is the only one of Desaguliers' sons whom we know to have been a Freemason. He was probably a member of the Lodge at the "Horn," and as we learn from the "Constitutions" of 1738, was—like Jacob Lamball—among the "few brethren" by whom the author of that work "was kindly encouraged while the Book was in the Press."[5]

In the pamphlet from which I have already quoted,[6] Dr. Desaguliers is mentioned as

[1] It is given as his address in a scarce pamphlet cited by Mr. Weld in his "History of the Royal Society," 1848 (vol. i., p. 424), entitled, "A List of the Royal Society of London, with the places of Abode of most of its Members, etc., London, 1718." *Cf. ante*, p. 31, note 3.

[2] "London, March 1.—Yesterday died at his lodgings in the Bedford Coffee House in Covent Garden, Dr. Desaguliers, a gentleman universally known and esteem'd" (General Evening Post, No. 1630, from Tuesday, February 28, to Thursday, March 1, 1744).

[3] Literary Anecdotes, *loc. cit.*

[4] At the former he had the honor of supporting the gallant General Wolfe, and of the latter Captain Duncan observes: "It was suitable that the man who commanded the siege-train on this occasion, should be one eminent afterwards in the scientific as well as the military world: a Fellow of the Royal Society, as well as a practical soldier: a fit predecessor to the many who have since distinguished the Regiment by their learning—Brigadier Desaguliers" (History of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, vol. i., 1872, p. 228).

[5] Vol. II., p. 354.

[6] See note 1, *supra*.

being (in 1718) specially learned in natural philosophy, mathematics, geometry, and optics, but the bent of his genius must have been subsequently applied to the science of gunnery, for in the same work which is so eulogistic of the son, we find the father thus referred to, in connection with a visit paid to Woolwich by George III. and his consort during the peace of 1763-71. "It was on this occasion that their Majesties saw many curious firings; among the rest a large iron cannon, fired by a lock like a common gun; a heavy 12-pounder fired twenty-three times a minute, and spunged every time by a new and wonderful contrivance, said to be the invention of Dr. Desaguliers, with other astonishing improvements of the like kind."[1] It is possible that the extraordinary prevalence of Masonic lodges in the Royal Artillery, during the last half of the eighteenth century, may have been due, in some degree, to the influence and example of the younger Desaguliers, but considerations of this nature lie beyond the scope of our immediate subject, which is restricted to a brief memoir of his father.

The latter days of Dr. Desaguliers are said to have been clouded with sorrow and poverty. De Feller, in the "Biographie Universelle," says that he attired himself sometimes as a harlequin, and sometimes as a clown, and that in one of these fits of insanity he died—whilst Cawthorne, in a poem entitled "The Vanity of Human Enjoyments," laments his fate in these lines:

> "——permit the weeping muse to tell
> How poor neglected DESAGULIERS fell!
> How he who taught two gracious kings to view
> All Boyle ennobled, and all Bacon knew,
> Died in a cell, without a friend to save,
> Without a guinea, and without a grave."

But as Mackey justly observes,[2] the accounts of the French biographer and the English poet are most probably both apocryphal, or, at least, much exaggerated. Desaguliers was present in Grand Lodge on February 8, 1742, and his will—apparently dictated by himself—is dated November 29, 1743.[3] He certainly did not die "in a cell," but in the Bedford Coffee House. His interment in the Savoy also negatives the supposition that he was "without a grave," whilst the terms of his will, which express a desire to "settle what it has pleased God to bless him with, before he departs," are altogether inconsistent with the idea of his having been reduced to such a state of abject penury, as Cawthorne's poem would lead us to believe. Moreover, passing over John Theophilus, of whose circumstances we know nothing, is it conceivable that either Alexander, the eldest son, then a beneficed clergyman, or Thomas, then a captain in the artillery, would have left their father to starve in his lodgings, and have even grudged the expense of laying him in the grave?

These inaccuracies, however, are of slight consequence, as compared with those in which the historians of the Craft have freely indulged. Mackey styles Desaguliers "the Father of Modern Speculative Masonry," and expresses a belief "that to him, perhaps, more than to any other man, are we indebted for the present existence of Freemasonry as

[1] Duncan, *op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 244.

[2] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, p. 216. Mackey, however, who relies on Nichols (Literary Anecdotes, vol. vi., p. 81), is inaccurate in his statement that the latter was personally acquainted with Desaguliers, Nichols having been born in 1745, whereas Desaguliers died in 1744.

[3] Proved March 1, 1744, by his son John Theophilus, the sole executor.

a living institution." It was Desaguliers, he considers, "who, by his energy and enthusiasm, infused a spirit of zeal into his contemporaries, which culminated in the Revival of the year 1717." Findel and others express themselves in very similar terms, and to the origin of this hallucination of our *literati*, which has been already noticed, it will be unnecessary to do more than refer.[1]

The more the testimonies are multiplied, the stronger is always the conviction, though it frequently happens that the original evidence is of a very slender character, and that writers have only copied one from another, or, what is worse, have added to the original without any new authority. Thus, Dr. Oliver, in his "Revelations of a Square," which in one part of his Encyclopædia[2] Mackey describes as "a sort of Masonic romance, detailing in a fictitious form many of the usages of the last centuries, with anecdotes of the principal Masons of that period"—in another, he diligently transcribes from, as affording a description of Desaguliers' Masonic and personal character, derived from "tradition."[3]

If time brings new materials to light, if facts and dates confute the historians of the Craft, we may, indeed, lose our history; but it is impossible to adhere to our historians—that is, unless we believe that antiquity consecrates darkness, and that a lie becomes venerable from its age.

There is no evidence to justify a belief that Desaguliers took any active part in, or was even initiated into Freemasonry, prior to the year 1719, when, as the narrative of Dr. Anderson informs us, he was elected Grand Master, with Anthony Sayer as his Senior Grand Warden.

In 1723, or possibly 1722—for the events which occurred about this period are very unsatisfactorily attested—he was appointed Deputy Grand Master by the Duke of Wharton, and reappointed to the same office six months later by the Earl of Dalkeith; also again by Lord Paisley in 1725.

According to the Register of Grand Lodge, Desaguliers was a member of the Lodge at the "Horn," Westminster (Original No. 4), in 1725; but his name is not shown as a *member* of any Lodge in 1723. Still, there can hardly be a doubt that he hailed from the Lodge in question in both of these years. The earliest minute book of the Grand Lodge of England commences: "This Manuscript was begun the 25th November 1723. The R^t Hon^ble Francis, Earl of Dalkeith, Grand Ma^t; B^r John Theophilus Desaguliers, Deputy Grand Ma^t.

Francis Sorell, Esq^r., }
M^r John Senex, } Grand Wardens."

Next follows "A List of the Regular Constituted Lodges, together with the names of the Masters, Wardens, and Members of each Lodge."

Now, in January 1723, the "New Constitutions" were ratified by the Masters and Wardens, of twenty Lodges. Among the subscribers were the Earl of Dalkeith, Master, No. XI.; Francis Sorell, Warden, No. IV.; and John Senex, Warden, No. XV. In the list of Lodges given in the minute book of Grand Lodge, these *numbers*, XI., IV., and XV., are represented by the Lodges meeting at the Rummer, Charing Cross; the Horn, Westminster; and the Greyhound, Fleet Street, respectively. But though the names of the members appear in all three cases, Lord Dalkeith no longer appears on the roll of No. XI. (Rummer); and the same remark holds good with regard to the connection between

[1] *Ante*, p. 39. [2] P. 546. [3] P. 216.

Sorell and Senex with Nos. IV. (Horn) and XV. (Greyhound) respectively. Sorell's name, it may be added, as well as that of Desaguliers, appears in the Grand Lodge Register, under the year 1725, as a member of the Horn.

It would seem, therefore, that in 1723 the names of the four Grand Officers were entered in a separate list of their own, at the head of the roll. "Past rank," or membership of and precedence in Grand Lodge, by virtue of having held office therein, it must be recollected, was yet unknown, which will account for the names of Payne and Sayer—former Grand Masters—appearing in the ordinary lists.

Desaguliers, it is certain, must have belonged to some Lodge or other in 1723; and there seems no room for doubt that the entry of 1725, which shows him to have then been a member of Original No. 4, merely *replaced* his name on the roll, from which it was temporarily omitted during his tenure of office as Deputy. Happily the lists of 1725 were enrolled in the Register of Grand Lodge, from returns furnished at a Quarterly Communication, held November 27, 1725; otherwise the omission might have been repeated,—as Desaguliers, who vacated the Deputy's chair on St. John's Day (in harvest) 1724, resumed it by appointment of Lord Paisley on St. John's Day (in Christmas) 1725. Subsequently he became a member of other Lodges, whose places of meeting were at Solomon's Temple, Hemming's Row (1725-30),—James Anderson being also a member; The Bear and Harrow, in the Butcher's Row (No. 63, 1732),—the Earl of Strathmore being the Master, whilst the Grand Master (Lord Montague), the Deputy, and the Grand Wardens of the year were among the members; and of the University Lodge, No. 74 (1730-32).[1]

The following summary completes the Masonic record of the learned natural philosopher, which I am enabled to place before my readers.

In 1719, whilst Grand Master, he "reviv'd the old regular and peculiar Toasts or Healths of the *Free Masons.*" In 1721, at the annual feast, he "made an eloquent Oration about *Masons* and *Masonry;*" and in the same year visited the Lodge of Edinburgh. The preface to the Constitutions of 1723 was from his pen. On November 26, 1728, he "proposed that, in order to have the [Great Feast] conducted in the best manner, a certain number of Stewards should be chosen, who should have the intire care and direction of the said ffeast, together with the Grand Wardens," which was agreed to. Twelve brethren at once signed their names as consenting to act as Stewards in the following December;[2] and the same number, with occasional intermissions, were nominated on later occasions until the Union, when it was increased to eighteen. On the same evening, the "twelve" "propos'd Dr. Desaguliers' Health for reviving the office of Stewards (which appeared to be agreeable to the Lodge in general); and the same was drank accordingly."[3] In 1731, at the Hague, he acted as Master of the Lodge in which Francis, Duke of Lorraine—afterward Grand Duke of Tuscany[4]—was "made an *Enter'd Prentice* and *Fellow Craft.*"[5] In

[1] *Cf.* Gould, Four Old Lodges, 1879, pp. 49, 50.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes. It is somewhat curious that only one of the twelve—"Thomas Alford, of the Rose and Rummer, in Holbourn," or Original No. 2—was a member of either of the Four Old Lodges.

[3] *Ibid.* The only one of the twelve who did not act was Mr. Cæsar Collys, of the "Rose, Mary Le Bone" (No. 43 in 1729), his place being taken by Mr. Edwin Ward.

[4] He married the famous Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., at the death of whose immediate successor—Charles VII.—he himself ascended the Imperial throne, September 1745.

[5] Constitutions, 1738, p. 129.

1735 he was present with the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Waldegrave (British Ambassador), President Montesquieu, Lord Dursley, and a numerous company, at the opening of a Lodge in the Hotel Bussy, Rue de Bussy, Paris, where the Duke of Kingston, Lord Chewton, the Count de St. Florentin (Secretary of State), and others, were admitted into the Society.[1] Two years later—namely, on November 5, 1737—he again sat as Master at the initiation of a royal personage; on which occasion, Frederick, Prince of Wales,[2] received the first two degrees, which, however, were shortly afterward followed by that of Master Mason, conferred at another "Occasional" Lodge, composed of the same members as the previous one.[3] In the same year—also in 1738, and later—he was a frequent visitor at the Lodge then held at the Bear Inn, Bath—now the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41—from the minutes of which we learn that he frequently sat as Master, and discharged the ceremonial duties incidental to that office.[4] The Constitutions of 1738 were submitted in manuscript to the perusal of Desaguliers and Payne;[5] and the last entry in my notes with regard to his active participation in the duties of Masonry, records his farewell visit to the Grand Lodge, which took place, as already stated, on February 8, 1742.

It is highly probable that Desaguliers became a member of the Lodge at the RUMMER and GRAPES, in *Channel Row, Westminster,* because its meetings were held in the vicinity of his dwelling We first meet with his name, in the records of Masonry, in 1719, and there is nothing which should lead us to infer that he had then been for any long period a member of the Society. On the contrary, the evidence points in quite the opposite direction. Two meetings only of the Grand Lodge (after its "*pro tempore*" constitution in 1716) appear to have been held before the "Assembly," on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1719, at which Desaguliers was elected Grand Master, viz.: those in 1717 and 1718, whereat Anthony Sayer and George Payne were severally chosen to fill the same high office. It seems to me very unlikely that either Payne or Desaguliers were present at the "Assembly" of 1717. Had such been the case, Anderson would hardly have failed to record the circumstance; nor can I bring my mind round to the belief that, if the name of one or the other had been included in the "List of proper Candidates" for the Masonic throne, proposed by the "oldest Master Mason" on the occasion in question—as must have happened, had either of them been present—the choice of the Lodges and brethren would have fallen on Sayer.

If, again, Desaguliers was a Freemason in 1718, I think he would have been elected a Grand Warden, or at least that his name would have been mentioned by Anderson in connection with the "Assembly" of that year. Payne's election as Grand Master scarcely

[1] Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library, Oxford; St. James' Evening Post, September 20, 1735 (the latter cited by Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*, February, 1877).

[2] Frederick died in 1751. Three of his sons became members of the Craft. The Dukes of York and Gloucester were initiated in 1766—the former abroad, and the latter at the Horn Tavern. The Duke of Cumberland joined the Society in the following year. *Cf.* the sketch of Original No. 4, *ante*, and G. W. Speth, "Royal Freemasons," where the initiation of every *brother* of royal blood is carefully recorded, so far at least as it has been found possible to do so, by one of the most accurate and diligent of Masonic students.

[3] Constitutions, 1738, p. 37. *Cf. ante*, p. 40, note 3.

[4] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, 1873, p. 26. I here avail myself of the opportunity of thanking Dr. H. Hopkins for a series of extracts from the minutes of No. 41, which not only bear out the statement in the text, but have been of very great assistance to me in other ways.

[5] Constitutions, 1738, p. 199.

bears upon the point at issue, it not being unreasonable to conclude that he possessed a greater hold over the electorate than Desaguliers, otherwise the latter would have been continued as Grand Master in 1720, instead of having to give place to his predecessor of 1718.

The precise date when the lodge, Original No. 4, was removed from the RUMMER and GRAPES, in *Channel Row*, to the HORN—also in Westminster—cannot be determined. Its meetings were held at the former of these taverns in 1717, and at the latter in 1723. Beyond this the existing records are silent. Desaguliers, it may be supposed, was induced to become a Freemason, owing to the propinquity of a lodge, and his love of good fellowship. In all probability he joined the "Club of Masons" at the RUMMER and GRAPES, just as he might have joined any other club, meeting at the tavern where, following the custom of those days, he may have spent his evenings. If we compare, then, his Masonic record with those of Payne or Anderson, it will be seen that whilst the former of the two worthies with whose memories his own has been so closely linked, compiled the "General Regulations," afterwards "compar'd" and "digested" together with the "Gothic Constitutions" by the latter—the fame of Desaguliers as a member of our Society rests in the main upon his having introduced two customs, which bid fair to retain their popularity, though to some minds, their observance is only calculated to detract from the utility of Masonic labor, and to mar the enjoyment of the period devoted to refreshment.[1] These are Masonic orations and after-dinner speeches.

A short biography of Anderson has been already given,[2] to which the following information derived as this volume is passing through the press, must be regarded as supplementary.

The lists of "Artium Magistri" at Kings College, Aberdeen, exist for the years 1675-84, 1686-88, 1693-95, 1697, 1700-01, 1706, 1710-23, and it appears that a "Jacobus Anderson" graduated there:—

1°. June 21, 1694,	*promotore*	Gul. Black.
2°. May 2, 1711,	"	Gul. Black.
3°. 1717,	"	Richd. Gordon.

The entry under the year 1711 probably refers to James Anderson the Freemason, though as the records from which the above extracts are taken are merely copies, there are unfortunately no actual signatures that might assist in the identification.[3]

Anderson took no part in the deliberations of Grand Lodge, nor was he present at any of its meetings between St. John's day (in harvest), 1724, and the recurrence of that festival in 1731. On the last-named date his attendance is recorded in the minutes, and the words appended to his name—"Author of the Book of Constitutions"—show that his

[1] With regard to the oration delivered by Dr. Desaguliers in 1721, I may be permitted to quote from an article written by me four years ago. "Findel says: 'It is greatly to be regretted that this important lecture is unknown;' I am unable to agree with him. It is, of course, quite possible that Masonic orations may please some *hearers*, but I am aware of none that are calculated to afford either pleasure or instruction to *readers*. Unless the 'oration' of 1721 was very far superior to the preface or dedication which Desaguliers wrote for the Constitutions of 1723, the recovery of the missing 'discourse' would neither add to our knowledge, or justify our including its author within the category of *learned* Freemasons" (Freemason, February 26, 1881).

[2] *Ante*, p. 43.

[3] The records of both Marischal and Kings College have been diligently searched by Mr. Robert Walker, to whom I express my grateful acknowledgments, also to Dr. Beveridge, Prov. G. M. of Aberdeen City, who kindly set on foot the inquiry for me.

arduous labors in previous years had by no means faded from recollection. In 1734, as will be more fully noticed hereafter, he was ordered to prepare a second edition of the "Constitutions," and was present in Grand Lodge—supported by his old friends Payne, Desaguliers, and Lamball—on January 25, 1738, when its publication was "approved of." At the succeeding Quarterly Communication (April 6), he attended for the last time, and sat in his old place as Junior Grand Warden. Before, however, the veteran passed away to his rest, one pleasing event occurred, which has been hitherto passed over by his biographers. Four months before his death[1] he was introduced, by the Marquess of Carnarvon, Grand Master, at a private audience, to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and "in the name of the whole Fraternity, humbly presented the New Book of Constitutions, dedicated to his Royal Highness, by whom it was graciously received."[2]

Professor Robinson speaks of Anderson and Desaguliers—the one, it should be remembered, a doctor of Divinity, and the other a doctor of laws and a Fellow of the Royal Society—as "two persons of little education and of low manners, who had aimed at little more than making a pretext, not altogether contemptible, for a convivial meeting."[3]

Here we have the old story of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, being due to the combined efforts of these two men, but the imputation which is cast upon their learning is not a little remarkable, as showing the manner in which one eminent natural philosopher permits himself to speak of another.[4] Good wine needs no bush, and the attainments of Desaguliers require no eulogy at the hands of his biographers. Upon those of Anderson it is difficult to pass judgment, but perhaps we shall be safe in concluding, that without possessing the stock of learning so loosely ascribed to him by Masonic writers, he was equally far removed from the state of crass ignorance to which the verdict of Dr. Robinson would reduce him. If, indeed, he actually wrote the "Defence of Masonry," already referred to,[5]—and upon which I conceive the belief in his extensive reading and great literary ability mainly rests—then I readily admit that the view expressed by me of his talent and acquirements cannot stand. The authorship of the pamphlet alluded to is one of those subsidiary puzzles so constantly met with in Masonic investigation, and is worthy of more minute examination by the "curious reader"—if such there be—but the critical inquiry it invites would far transcend the limits of the present work.[6]

It is certain that upon Anderson, rather than either Payne and Desaguliers, devolved

[1] Anderson died May 28, 1739, and there is no copy of his will at Somerset House, up to the year 1744 inclusive; of course it may have been proved later, or out of London, but further investigation has been beyond my power, nor, indeed, do I believe that his will, if discovered, would add materially to our stock of knowledge respecting the man.

[2] Read's Weekly Journal, January 20, 1739.

[3] Proofs of a conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, etc., 3d edit. 1798, p. 71.

[4] Dr. Robison was elected to the chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh in 1773.

[5] Vol. II., pp. 359, 362.

[6] I may be permitted to refer to letters in the *Keystone* (Philadelphia), published in that Journal on July 19, September 6 and 13, 1884, in which I contend—1. That neither Anderson nor Desaguliers wrote the pamphlet in question. 2. That its real title was "A Defence of Masonry, occasioned by a Pamphlet called Masonry Dissected, *Published* A.D. 1730"—the words in italics referring to the latter and *not* to the former. And 3. That there is ground for supposing the "Defence" to have been the composition of Bishop Warburton, who was chaplain to the Prince of Wales at the time the Constitutions of 1738 were dedicated to His Royal Highness.

the leading *rôle* in the consolidation of the Grand Lodge of England. His "Book of Constitutions" has been often referred to, but I have not yet called attention to the circumstance that the General Regulations of 1723 were only designed "for the use of Lodges in and about London and Westminster."[1] The Grand Lodge, however, both in authority and reputation, soon outgrew the modest expectations of its founders. Here, I am tempted to digress, but a full consideration of the many points of interest, which crowd upon the mind, in connection with the dawn of accredited Masonic history, would require not one—but a series of dissertations. I must, therefore, hasten on with my task, which is to lay before my readers a history of Freemasonry in England, derived from official records. To summarize these, however briefly, more space will be required than originally estimated, but as the value of an historical work generally bears some sort of proportion to that of the sources of authority upon which it is based—I shall venture to hope—subject to my own shortcomings as an annalist—that a narrative of events, beginning in 1723, and brought down to the present time, founded on accredited documents, many of which have not been perused by any other living person, will be more instructive than any number of digressions or disquisitions.

A pause, however, has to be made, before the minute book of the Grand Lodge of England is placed under requisition. The history of that body was brought down to the beginning of 1723, in the last chapter, and it becomes essential to ascertain, as nearly as we can, the character of the Freemasonry existing in England at the date of publication of the first "Book of Constitutions." In the same year there appeared the earliest copy, now extant, of the "Mason's Examination" or "Catechism."[2] This—together with (if possible) Sloane MS. 3329,[3] "The Grand Mystery of Freemasons Discovered,"[4] and "A Mason's Confession,"[5]—I shall print in the Appendix, where the leading references to all

[1] Constitutions, 1723. p. 58. The work was approved by Grand Lodge, "with the Consent of the Brethren and Fellows in and about the Cities of London and Westminster" (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

[2] From the Flying Post or Post Master, No. 4712—from April 11 to April 13, 1723. A similar "Examination" must have been published about the same time in the *Post Boy*, and the two are plainly referred to in the Swordbearer's song, given by Anderson in the Constitutions, 1738, p. 212.

"The *mighty* SECRET'S gain'd, they boast,
From *Post-Boy* and from *Flying-Boy*" [*Post ?*].

Ante, pp. 31, 60. In the opinion of Mr. E. A. Bond, this MS. dates from the *beginning* of the eighteenth century; but according to Woodford, "though the character of the handwriting is probably not earlier than 1710, the matter is of a much earlier date," which he fixes—on the authority of the late Mr. Wallbran—at not later than 1640. On the other hand commentators are not wanting, who dispute the correctness of any estimate which places the age of the MS. *before* 1717, and consider that as Sir Hans Sloane only died in 1753, folio 142 of the volume numbered 3329 in the collection bearing his name, might very possibly have been written upon, after 1717. The *coryphœus* of this school, Mr. W. P. Buchan, attacked the *alleged* antiquity of the manuscript, in a series of articles, which will repay perusal (*Cf.* Freemason, vol. iv., 1871, p. 600; and Freemasons' Chronicle vol. ii. 1875, p. 132). My own opinion, in a question of handwriting, I should express with diffidence were it not confirmed by that of an expert in manuscript literature—Mr. W. H. Rylands—in whose company I examined the document. The conclusion to which I am led is, that the manuscript was written not earlier than 1707, or later than 1720.

[4] "London: Printed for T. Payne, near Stationers'-Hall, 1724 (Price Six Pence)." A second edition, which I have not seen, containing an account of the Gormogons, was published October 28 1724 (Daily Journal, No. 1177).

[5] Scots Magazine, vol. xvii., 1755, pp. 133-137. Of this Catechism—to which the date of 1727 has been *assigned*—Mr. Yarker, who apparently possesses a MS. copy, observes, "a comparison with the

the so-called "Exposures" of a similar kind will be found collected. The Constitutions of 1723, the Catechisms last referred to, the Briscoe MS.,[1] and Additional MS. 23,202,[2] constitute the stock of evidence, upon which alone we can formulate our conclusions. The first and last of these authorities are all that I can attempt to examine with any minuteness in this chapter, but the remainder can be studied at leisure by those of my readers who are interested in this branch of research. They will experience, however, two great difficulties, one to reconcile their discrepancies, the other, to approximate at all closely the period at which they were compiled. Without, therefore, concerning myself any further than may be absolutely necessary with the evidence of manuscripts of uncertain date, I shall endeavor to show what may be positively determined from those sources of authority upon which we may confidently rely. The Constitutions of 1723 inform us that the brethren of that period were divided into three classes—Apprentices, Fellow Crafts, and Masters.

The intrant, at his admission, became an apprentice[3] and brother, "then a fellow craft in due time," and if properly qualified, might "arrive to the honor of being the Warden, and then the Master of the Lodge."[4] "The third degree," says Lyon, "could hardly have been present to the mind of Dr. Anderson, when in 1723 he superintended the printing of his 'Book of Constitutions,' for it is therein stated[5] that the 'Key of a Fellow Craft,' is that by which the secrets communicated in the Ancient Lodges could be unravelled."[6] We are also told that "the most expert of the Fellow Craftsmen shall be chosen or appointed *the Master,* or Overseer of the Lord's Work, who is to be called Master by those that work under him."[7]

The references to the *status* of a Fellow Craft are equally unambiguous in the General Regulations,[8] one of which directs that when *private* wardens—*i.e.*, wardens of private Lodges—are required to act as the Grand Wardens, their places "*are to* [not *may*] be supply'd by two Fellow-Crafts of the same Lodge" (XV.). Another (XXXVII.), that "the Grand Master shall allow *any Brother,* Fellow Craft, or Apprentice, to Speak."

Also, in "the Manner of Constituting a New Lodge," the expression occurs—"The Candidates, or the new Master and Wardens, *being yet among the Fellow Craft;*[9] and a little lower down we read, "the Candidate," having signified his submission to the charges of a Master, "the Grand Master shall, by certain significant Ceremonies and ancient

Rev. Bro. Woodford's Sloane MS. 3329, is most interesting, as they confirm each other" (*Cf.* Freemasons' Chronicle, vol. i., 1875, pp. 359, 374). The resemblance is certainly great. To give one example, "Danty tassley," of which the use, as a jewel of the Lodge, is incomprehensible in the Sloane MS., reads "Dinted Ashlar" in the printed Catechism.

[1] Chap. II., pp. 77, 78.

[2] See *post,* narrative of the Proceedings of Grand Lodge—under the year 1725.

[3] The term "Enter'd Prentice" (or *Apprentice*) only occurs twice in the first "Book of Constitutions" (*ante,* pp. 20, 45, note 5.

[4] The Charges of a Freemason, No. IV. (Constitutions, 1723). The same charge (IV.) in the Constitutions of 1738, reads, that a "perfect youth .·. may become an Enter'd Prentice, or a Free-Mason of the lowest degree, and upon his due Improvements a Fellow-Craft and a Master-Mason." No such words appear in the Charges as printed in 1723, and if at that time the distinction of the three degrees had been as well defined as in 1738, it is only reasonable to suppose that Anderson would have used the same language in the first edition of his work.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[6] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 211.

[7] The Charges of a Freemason, No. V. (Constitutions, 1723).

[8] XIII., XV., XVIII., XXV., XXXVII.

[9] Constitutions, 1723, postscript.

Usages, install him." It is in the highest degree improbable—not to say impossible—that any *secrets* were communicated on such an occasion.[1]

Throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, and indeed considerably later,[2] it was a common practice in lodges to elect their officers quarterly; and, apart from the fact that the minutes of such lodges are silent on this point, it is hardly conceivable that a three months' tenure of office was preceded by a secret reception. But there is stronger evidence still to negative any such conclusion, for it was not until 1811[3] that the Masters, even of London lodges—under the Grand Lodge, whose procedure we are considering—were installed as "Rulers of the Craft" in the manner with which many readers of these pages will be familiar.

We find, therefore, that the Freemasons of England, at the period under examination, were classified by the Constitution of the Society under *three* titles, though apparently not more than *two* degrees[4] were then *recognized* by the governing body. On this point, however, the language of the General Regulations, *in one place*,[5] is not free from obscurity. Apprentices were only to be made "*Masters* and *Fellow-Craft*" *in* Grand Lodge, and the expression may be construed in no less than three different ways. It has usually been held to point to what is now the third degree in Masonry, which I deem to be incorrect, not that I am arguing against the existence in 1723 of a "Master's Part," though, I believe, *unrecognized* at that time as a degree—for were I to do so I should presently be confuted out of my own mouth—but because it would be repugnant to common sense, to believe in an interpretation of *one* out of *thirty-nine* Regulations, which would be wholly at variance with the context of the remainder.[6]

Lastly, how can we reconcile Dr. Anderson's allusion to "the key of a Fellow Craft" with the possibility of there then being a higher or superior degree? There remain, then, two solutions of the difficulty. The "Masters" mentioned in Clause XIII. may have been Masters of Lodges, or the term may have crept in through the carelessness of Dr. Anderson. It must be recollected that the General Regulations are of very uncertain date.[7] The proviso in question *may* have appeared in the code originally drawn up by George Payne in 1720, or, on the other hand, it may have formed one of the additions made by Anderson between September 29, 1721, and March 25, 1722.[8] If the earlier date be accepted,

[1] *Cf.* Vol. II., pp. 364, 367.

June 25, 1741 [the previous election having taken place on March 26].—"This being election Night, brother Barnshaw, the Senior Warden, was declared Master. Br. Ray was declared Sen. Warden, and Br. Andrews was ballotted for Jun. Warden" (Minutes of No. 163, 1729-39, now extinct). "December 15, 1757 ∴—Being Election Night, Br^o. Glazier Rec^d. the honours of the Chair as Mas^r. for the Ensuing Quar^t." (Minutes of the George Lodge, *now* Friendship, No. 6). Quarterly elections took place in the Imperial George Lodge, *now* No. 78, so late as 1761.

[3] Minutes, Lodge of Promulgation, February 4, 1811.

[4] A degree or grade is, as the word implies, a single step; but I shall distinguish the former from the latter by using *degree* in its present Masonic sense, as representing a rank secretly conferred.

[5] "Apprentices must be admitted Masters and Fellow Craft only here [*i.e.*, in the Grand Lodge] unless by a Dispensation" (Constitutions, 1723, Reg. XIII. *Cf. ante*, p. 35, note 1; and *post*, p. 134).

[6] *E.g.*, that of Regulation XXXVII., directing that the Grand Master "shall allow any *Brother*, Fellow-Craft, *or* Apprentice to speak." This clearly means, that within the scope of the Regulation, *all* brethren were permitted to express their views in the Grand Lodge—a privilege which the Masters and Wardens of Lodges would therefore derive, not alone from the *offices* they held, but also from the *degree* of Fellow Craft to which they had been admitted.

[7] *Ante*, p. 35, note 1.

[8] *Ante*, pp. 35, 40.

by "Masters" we may—with less improbability—understand "Masters of Lodges," and the clause or article (XIII.) would then be in agreement with its fellows.

But let us examine the language of the Regulation a little more closely. "Apprentices," it says, "must be *admitted* Masters and Fellow Craft"—not Fellow Craft and Masters—"only here." Now, in the first place, apprentices were not eligible for the chair; and in every other instance where their preferment is mentioned, they are taken from step to step by regular gradations.[1] But if we get over this objection, another presents itself. Neither an apprentice or a Fellow Craft would be *admitted*, but would be *installed*, a Master of a Lodge. Next, let us scan the wording of the resolution which repealed the Regulation in question. The officers of Lodges are empowered to "make Masters at their discretion." That this licence enabled them to confer the rank of Master of a Lodge *ad libitum* is a downright impossibility.

As regards the alternative solution, I have expressed my belief that Anderson only joined the *English* craft in 1721;[2] but whatever the period may have been, his opportunities of grafting the nomenclature of one Masonic system upon that of another only commenced in the latter part of that year, and lasted for barely six months, as his manuscript Constitutions were ordered to be printed March 25, 1722. He was therefore debarred from borrowing as largely as he must have wished—judging from his fuller work of 1738—from the operative phraseology of the Northern Kingdom; and it is quite possible that, subject to some trifling alterations, the first edition of the Constitutions was compiled between September 29 and December 27, 1721, as his "manuscript" was ready for examination on the latter of these dates.[3] If, then, any further explanation is sought of the two titles which appear, so to speak, in juxtaposition in Regulation XIII., it would seem most reasonable to look for it in the Masonic records of that country, to which—so placed—they were indigenous. At Aberdeen, in 1670, Fellow Craft and Master Mason were used as convertible terms,[4] and the same may be said of other Scottish towns in which there were "Mason lodges."[5] Anderson appears to have been a native of Aberdeen,[6] but whether or not this was actually the case, he was certainly a Scotsman, and the inference is irresistible that to him was due the introduction of so many Scottish words into the Masonic vocabulary of the South.[7]

It may be taken, I think, that a third degree was not *recognized* as a part of the Masonic system up to the date of publication of the "Book of Constitutions" in January 1723. Mackey says: "The division of the Masonic system into three degrees must have grown up between 1717 and 1730, but in so gradual and imperceptible a manner, that we are unable to fix the precise date of the introduction of each degree."[8] In this view I concur, with the reservation that there is no evidence from which we can arrive at any certainty with regard to the *exact* dates, either of the commencement or the close of the epoch of transition;[9] and I also agree with the same writer, that the second and third degrees were not perfected for many years. As a matter of fact, we are only made acquainted with the circumstance that there were degrees in Masonry, by a publication of 1723,[10] from which,

[1] See the Charges of a Free-mason, No. IV., "of Masters, Wardens, Fellows, and Apprentices" (Constitutions, 1723); and compare with the resolution passed November 27, 1725 (*post*, p. 134).

[2] *Ante*, p. 36, note 1. [3] *Ante*, p. 36. [4] Chap. VIII., p. 55.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28. [6] *Ante*, pp. 45, 107. [7] *Ante*, pp. 69, 85.

[8] Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s.v.* Degrees.

[9] *Ante*, pp. 10, 11. [10] The Book of Constitutions.

together with the scanty evidence yet brought to light of slightly later date, we can alone determine with precision that a system of two degrees was well established in 1723, and that a *third* ceremony, which eventually developed into a degree,[1] had come into use in 1724. Modifications continued to be made however, for some time—at least such is my reading of the evidence,[2]—and there is no absolute proof that these evolutionary changes were not in operation until about 1728-29.

That a third, or additional, ceremony was worked in 1724, there is evidence to show, for three persons were "Regularly pass'd Masters" in a London Lodge *before* February 18, 1725, and it is unreasonable to suppose that this was the first example of the kind.[3] Here we meet with the word *pass*, and it is curious to learn from the same source of authority, that before the Society was founded (February 18, 1715), the minutes of which it records, "a Lodge was held, consisting of *Masters* sufficient for that purpose, In order to *pass* Charles Cotton, Esq., Mr Papitton Ball, and Mr Thomas Marshall, Fellow Crafts."[4] It might be argued from these expressions, that Master, even then, was merely another name for Fellow Craft, or why should a lodge be formed, consisting of brethren of the higher title, to pass a candidate for the lower? But some entries in the same records, of a few months' later date, draw a clearer distinction between the two degrees. These, indeed, are not quite free from ambiguity, if taken alone, but all doubt as to their meaning is dispelled, by collating them with an earlier portion of the same manuscript.

The minutes of May 12, 1725, inform us, that two persons were "regularly passed Masters,"—one "passed Fellow Craft and Master," and another "passed Fellow Craft" only. Happily the names are given, and as Charles Cotton and Papitton Ball were the two who were "passed Masters," it is evident that, in the "Master's Part," something further must have been communicated to them than had been already imparted. It is doubtful if the "Part" in question had at that time assumed the form and dimensions of a degree. In all probability this happened later, and indeed the way may only have been paved for it at the close of the same year, by the removal of the restriction, which, as we have seen, did not altogether prevent private Lodges, from infringing upon what ought at least to have been considered the especial province of the Grand Lodge.

It is barely possible that the "Master's Part" was incorporated with those of the Apprentice and Fellow Craft,[5] and became, in the parlance of Grand Lodge, *a degree* on November 27, 1725. By a new Regulation of that date—which is given in full under its proper year[6]—the members of private lodges were empowered to "make Masters at discretion." This, Dr. Anderson expands into "Masters *and Fellows*,"[7] the terms being appar-

[1] By this I mean that the exact period of its recognition by the Grand Lodge as a part of its Masonic system, which could alone bring it within the category of degrees, cannot be positively settled.

[2] It is impossible to discuss the *ἀπόῤῥητα* of Freemasonry with the same freedom as one would the technicalities of a right of way in a law court. Any one doing so would appear in the eyes of his brother Masons like a men walking into the Mosque of Omar *with his shoes on.*

[3] Addl. MS., 23, 202. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] The three chapters into which "Masonry Dissected" (1730) is divided, are headed "Enter'd Prentice's, Fellow Craft's," and "the Master's" Degrees respectively; whilst, after each of the three catechisms, we find in the same way, "The End of the Enter'd Prentice's," "of the Fellow Craft's," and "of the Master's Parts." This mode of describing the three degrees continued in vogue for many years. *Cf. post*, p. 120, note 2.

[6] *Post*, p. 134, *q.v.* [7] *Ibid.*

ently regarded by him as possessing the same meaning. But it seems to me that there is too much ambiguity in the order of Grand Lodge, to warrant our founding upon it any definite conclusion. The Constitutions of 1738 help us very little. Still we must do our best to understand what Anderson means in one book, by comparing the passages we fail to comprehend, with his utterances on the same points in a later publication.

In general terms, it may be said that "Master-Mason" is for the most part substituted for "Fellow Craft" in the second edition of the Constitutions.[1] There is, however, one notable exception. In "The Manner of Constituting a Lodge," as printed in 1738, the "New Master and Wardens" are taken, as before, from the Fellow Crafts, but the Master, "in chusing his Wardens," was to call "forth two Fellow-Crafts (Master-Masons)." With this should be contrasted an explanation by Anderson in the body of his work, that the old term "Master Mason" represented in 1738 the Master of a Lodge.[2]

It is probable that Regulation XIII., of the code of 1723, was a survival or an imitation of the old operative custom, under which the apprentice, at a certain period, was declared free of the craft, and "admitted or accepted into the fellowship,"[3] at a general meeting.

On taking up his freedom, the English apprentice became a "fellow" and master in his trade. This usage must have prevailed from very ancient times. Gibbon observes: "The use of academical degrees, as old as the thirteenth century, is visibly borrowed from the mechanic corporations; in which an apprentice, after serving his time, obtains a testimonial of his skill, and a licence to practice his trade and mystery."[4]

So long as the governing body refrained from warranting lodges in the country, there could have been no particular hardship in requiring newly-made brethren to be passed or admitted "Fellows" in Grand Lodge. In 1724, however, no less than nine provincial lodges were constituted, and it must have become necessary, if for no other reason, to modify in part a series of regulations, drafted, in the first instance, to meet the wants of the Masons of the metropolis.

It is unlikely that the number of "Fellow Crafts"—as we must call them from 1723—was very large, that is to say, in November 1725, the date when the law relating to the advancement of apprentices was repealed. Out of twenty-seven lodges in the London district, which are shown by the Engraved List of 1729 to have been constituted up to the end of 1724, only eleven were in existence in 1723, when the restriction was imposed.[5] Sixteen lodges, therefore—and doubtless many others, if we could trace them—besides the nine country ones, must have been comparatively unfamiliar with the ceremonial of the second degree; and it becomes, indeed, rather a matter of surprise how in each case the Master and Wardens could have qualified as Fellow Crafts.

Some confusion must, I think, have been engendered at this time by the promiscuous use of the term "Master," which was alike employed to describe a Fellow Craft and a Master of a Lodge, and also gave its name—"Master's Part"—to a ceremony then growing very

[1] *Cf.* the *Old* and *New* Regulations, Nos. XIII., XV., XVIII., XXV., XXXVII.

[2] *Ante*, p. 32; Constitutions, 1738, p. 109. [3] *Ante*, p. 15, note 2.

[4] Miscellaneous Works of Edward Gibbon, edit. by Lord Sheffield, vol. i., p. 49. *Cf. ante*, p. 80, note 3. The German Guilds succeeded in getting a decree in 1821, that no one could be a Master in the building trades except he passed an examination. This seems to have been repealed at some time, for in 1882 the Union of Master Builders—numbering 4200 members—petitioned the German Government for a re-introduction of the test-examination for Masters (*Globe*, Sept. 13, 1882).

[5] Dates of Constitution are not given in the earlier lists of 1723 and 1725.

fashionable. It is probable that about this period the existing degrees were remodelled, and the titles of Fellow Craft and Master disjoined—the latter becoming the degree of Master Mason, and the former virtually denoting a new *degree*, though its essentials were merely composed of a severed portion of the ceremonial hitherto observed at the entry of an apprentice.

These alterations—if I am right in my supposition—were not effected in a day. Indeed, it is possible that a taste for "meddling with the ritual," having been acquired, lasted longer than has been commonly supposed; and the "variations made in the established forms,"[1] which was one of the articles in the heavy indictment drawn up by the Seceding against the Regular Masons, may have been but a further manifestation of the passion for innovation which was evinced by the Grand Lodge of England during the first decade of its existence.

The *Flying Post* from April 11 to April 13, 1723,[2] introduces us to a picture of the Freemasonry at that period, which, corroborated from similar sources, as well as by the "Book of Constitutions," amply warrant the belief that at that date, and for some time preceding it, Apprentice, Fellow, and Master were well established titles—though whether the two latter were distinct or convertible terms, may afford matter for argument[3]—that there was a "Master's Part,"[4] also that there were signs and tokens, and points of fellowship. I cite the printed catechism of 1723, because its date is assured, and the question we have next to consider is, how far can the reading it presents be carried back? Here the method of texual criticism, of which an outline has been given in an earlier chapter, might yield good results; but I must leave this point, like, alas, so many others, to the determination of that class of readers, fitted by nature and inclination to follow up all such promising lines of inquiry.

It will suffice for my purpose to assume, that the catechism of 1723 contains a reading which is several years older than the printed copy; or, in other words, that the customs it attests must have reached back to a more remote date. What that date was, I shall not pretend to decide, but we must carefully bear in mind that its whole tenor betrays an *operative*[5] origin, and therefore, if composed or manufactured between 1717 and 1723, its

[1] See *post*, p. 150; and the Memoir of William Preston in Chap. XVIII.

[2] *Ante*, p. 108. Isaac Taylor observes: "Facts remote from our personal observation may be as certainly proved by evidence that is fallible *in its kind*, as by that which is not open to the possibility of error;" and he goes on to explain (the italics throughout being his) that "by *certain* proof is here meant, not merely such as may be presented to the senses, or such as cannot be rendered obscure even for a moment by a perverse disputant;—but such as, when once understood, *leaves no room for doubt in a sound mind*" (History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 179).

[3] An expression in Sloane MS. 3329—"the mast[rs]. *or* fellow's grip," would suggest that they were synonymous. This view is borne out by the other catechisms, but compare *ante*, Chap. II., p. 101, lines 17, 18.

[4] "A Fellow I was sworn most rare,
And know the Astler, Diamond, and Square:
I know the *Master's Part* full well,
As honest Maughbin will you tell" (Mason's Examination, 1723).

[5] According to Seward, "John Evelyn, at the time of his death, had made collections for a very great and a very useful work, which was intended to be called 'A General History of all Trades'" (Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons, 4th edit., vol. iii., p. 219). It is probable that this would have told us more about the working Masons than we are now ever likely to know.

fabricators must not be sought for among the *speculatives* of that period; but, on the contrary, it will become essential to believe that this obsolete catechism—including the metrical dialogue, which, of itself, is suggestive of antiquity—was compiled a few years at most, before its publication in the *Flying Post*, by one or more operative Masons!

The circumstances of the case—at least in my judgment—will not admit of such a modern date being assigned to the text of this catechism. I am of opinion that, conjointly with the other evidence—and the undoubted fact of the "examination" in question having been actually printed in 1723, invests Sloane MS. 3329 with a reflected authority that dissipates many difficulties arising out of the comparative uncertainty of its date—the extract from the *Flying Post* settles many important points with regard to which much difference of opinion has hitherto existed. First of all, it lends color to the statement in the "Praise of Drunkenness,"[1] that Masonic catechisms, available to all readers, had already made their appearance in 1721 or 1722.[2] Next it establishes that there were then two degrees[3]—those of Apprentice and Fellow or Master, the latter being only honorary distinctions proper to one and the same degree. It also suggests that in England, under the purely operative *régime*, the apprentice was not a member of the lodge, and that he only became so, and also a *Freemason*,[4] on his admission—after a prescribed period of servitude—to the degree of Fellow or Master.

It is impossible to define the period of time during which these characteristics of a Masonic system endured. Two obligations, and not one only, as in the Sloane MS. and the Old Charges, are plainly to be inferred;[5] and as the latter are undoubtedly the most ancient records we possess, to the extent that the "Mason's Examination" is at variance with these documents, it must be pronounced the evolutionary product of an "epoch of transition," beginning at some unknown date, and drawing to a close about 1724. Upon the whole, if we pass over the circumstance that there were two forms of reception in vogue about 1723, and for a period of time before that year, which can only be the subject of conjecture, as there are no solid proofs to rest on, the evidence just passed in review is strikingly in accord with the inferences deducible from Steele's essay in the *Tatler*, from the wording of Harleian MS. 2054, from Dr. Plot's account of the Society, and from the diary of John Aubrey.

In the first of these references, we are told of "Signs and Tokens like Freemasons;"[6] in the second, of the "Seu'all Word & Signes of a Freemason;"[7] in the third, of "Secret

[1] *Ante*, Chap. XIII., pp. 252, 253.

[2] See the letter written to the *Flying Post*, enclosing the "Examination."

[3] According to Stock, the Smiths had two separate degrees for the journeymen—first, *junger*, then *gesell*. The latter they could only obtain after their travels (Grundzüge der Verfassung, p. 29. *Cf. ante*. Chaps. III., p. 152; and XIV., p. 326.

[4] Vol. II., p. 275, *ante*, pp. 15, 56, 58. The parallel drawn at p. 338, Vol. II., between the readings of MSS. Nos. 3 and 23, may induce some readers to examine the subject more minutely. The "Trew Mason" in the older documents gives place, as I have shown, to that of "Freemason" in the later one. See, however, Vol. II,, p. 283.

[5] According to the Mason's Confession," to which the year 1727 has been very arbitrarily assigned, though only written in 1751, and not printed until 1755, the apprentice took an oath at entry, and a year afterwards, "when admitted a degree higher," swore the oath again, or declared his approval of it (Scots Magazine, vol. xvii., 1755, p. 133). *Cf.* Vol. II., pp. 130, 290, 308, 365; *ante*, pp. 23, 69, and Chap. II., p. 103.

[6] *Ante*, p. 29.

[7] Vol. II. p. 308.

Signes;"[1] and in the last, of "Signes and Watch-words," also that "the manner of Adoption is very formall, and with an Oath of Secrecy."[2]

There is therefore nothing to induce the supposition, that the secrets of Freemasonry, as disclosed to Elias Ashmole in 1646—in aught but the manner of imparting them—differed materially, if at all, from those which passed into the guardianship of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717.[3] In all cases, I think, up to about the year 1724, and possibly later, there was a marked simplicity of ceremonial, as contrasted with the procedure of a subsequent date. Ashmole and Randle Holme, like the brethren of York, were in all probability "sworn and admitted,"[4] whilst the "manner of Adoption"—to quote the words of John Aubrey—was doubtless "very formall" in all three cases, and quite as elaborate as any ceremony known in Masonry, before the introduction of a *third* degree.

To those, indeed, who are apt to fancy that a chain is broken, because they cannot see every one of its links, it may be replied,—that facts remote from our personal knowledge are not necessarily more or less certain, in proportion to the length of time that has elapsed since they took place. Also, that the strength of evidence is not proportioned to its simplicity or perspicuity, or to the ease with which it may be apprehended by all persons.[5] The strength of our convictions, in matters of fact remote in time or place, must bear proportion to the extent and exactness of our knowledge, and to the consequent fulness and vividness of our ideas of that class of objects to which the question relates.[6]

By a clear perception of our literate, symbolical, and oral traditions,[7] and by an extensive acquaintance with the printed and manuscript literature of the Craft, the imagination of the student bears him back to distant times, with a reasonable consciousness of the reality of what is unfolded to his view.

Comparatively few persons, however, possess either the time, the opportunities, or the inclination, which are requisite for the prosecution of this study, and therefore the conclusions of Masonic "experts," so far as they harmonize with one another, must be taken in most cases—as in so many other departments of knowledge—by the generality of readers, on faith.[8] How far my own will stand this ordeal the future must decide, but I can at least assure all those under whose eyes these pages may chance to pass, that no portion of my task has imposed a heavier labor upon me, than those in which I have attempted a comparison between Scottish and English Masonry, and have sought to remove the veil from the obscure question of degrees.

There is no *proof* that more than a single degree, by which I mean a secret form of reception, was known to the Freemasons of the seventeenth century. Ashmole was "made a Freemason," according to his diary, in 1646,[9] and he speaks of six gentlemen having been "admitted into the *Fellowship* of Free Masons" in 1682, also of being on that occasion "the Senior *Fellow* among them," it having been "35 years since he was *admitted*."[10]

[1] Vol. II., p. 289. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

[3] It will be seen as we proceed, that the existence of *regular* Masons in 1691, *i.e.*, of brethren initiated according to the practice of Grand Lodge, was admitted by that body in 1732.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 23-26. See also the later entries from the York records, in Chapter XVIII., particularly the Laws of the Grand Lodge there, in 1725, and the Minutes of 1729. *Degrees* appear to have made their way very slowly into the York Masonic system.

[5] Taylor, History of the Transmission of Ancient Books to Modern Times, p. 193.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 195. [7] *Cf.* Vol. II., p. 357. [8] *Cf. ante*, Chap. I., p. 2, note 1.

[9] Chap. XIV., p. 264. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 267.

Randle Holme's statement is less precise,[1] but from the entry in Harleian MS. 2054, relating to William Wade,[2] it is unlikely that the Chester ceremonial differed from that of Warrington.

It may well have been, however, that the practice in lodges, consisting exclusively of Operative Masons, was dissimilar, but as the solution of this problem cannot be effected by inference and conjecture, I shall content myself, having spread out the evidence before my readers, with leaving them to draw their own conclusions with regard to a point which there is at present no possibility of determining.

I am inclined to believe, that when the *second* degree became the *third*, the ceremonial was re-arranged, and the traditionary history enlarged. This view will be borne out by a collation of Dr. Anderson's two editions of the Constitutions. In both, the splendor of the Temple of Solomon is much extolled, but a number of details with regard to the manner of its erection are given in 1738, which we do not meet with in the work of 1723. Thus we learn that after "the *Cape-stone* was celebrated by the *Fraternity* .·. their joy was soon interrupted by the sudden Death of their dear Master, HIRAM ABBIFF, whom they decently interr'd in the *Lodge* near the *Temple*, according to antient Usage."[3]

When the legend of Hiram's death was first incorporated with our older traditions, it is not easy to decide, but in my judgment it must have taken place between 1723 and 1729, and I should be inclined to name 1725 as the most likely year for its introduction to have taken place.

For reasons already expressed,[4] I conceive the prominence of Hiram in our traditionary history or legends, in 1723, or earlier, to be wholly inconsistent with the silence of the Old Charges, the various catechisms, and the first "Book of Constitutions," on a point of so much importance.[5] In some of these he is, indeed, mentioned, but always as a subordinate figure, and I am aware of no evidence to justify a belief, that the circumstances of his decease as narrated by Anderson, were in any shape or form, a tradition of the Craft, before the year 1723. Had they been, we should not, I think, have had occasion to complain that what I may almost venture to term, though not in strict propriety, the apotheosis of Hiram, has not been advanced by a due gradation of preparatory incidents. The legendary characters who live in our written and speak through our oral, traditions, are in a certain sense our companions. We take more kindly to them, if, occasionally looking behind, we are prepared for their approach, or looking onwards espy them on the road before us. As a learned writer has observed, "it is not well for the personages of the his-

[1] Chap. XIV., p. 306. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

[3] Constitutions, 1738, p. 14. The italics and capitals are Dr. Anderson's. As Hiram was certainly alive at the completion of the Temple (2 Chron. iv. 11) it has been contended, that the above allusion in the Constitutions is not to him, but to Adoniram (or Adoram), a tax receiver under David, Solomon, and Rehoboam, who was stoned to death by the people (1 Kings xii. 18). According to J. L. Laurens, the death of *Hiram* is mentioned in the Talmud (Essais sur la Franche Maçonnerie, 2d edit., 1806, p. 102); whilst for an account of the murder of *Adonhiram*, C. C. F. W. von Nettlebladt refers us to what is probably the same source of authority, viz., the "Gemara of the Jews, a commentary on the Mischna or Talmud" (Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, 1879—written *circa* 1826—p. 746). Both statements can hardly be true, but in default of information which I hoped to have received, I can throw light on neither. *Cf.* Mackey, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Hiram and Adonhiram.

[4] Vol. II., p. 368.

[5] It is also impossible to reconcile it with the traditionary belief that the Society had its origin in the time of Henry III. (Vol. II., pp. 130, 141, 344).

torical drama to rise on the stage through the trap-doors. They should first appear entering in between the side scenes. Their play will be better understood then. We are puzzled when a king, or count, suddenly lands upon our historical ground, like a collier winched up through a shaft."[1]

We are told by Fort, that "the traditions of the Northern Deity, Baldur, seemingly furnished the substantial foundation for the introduction of the legend of Hiram."[2]

Baldur, who is the lord of light, is slain by the wintry sun, and the incidents of the myth show that it cannot have been developed in the countries of northern Europe. "It may be rash," says Sir George Cox, "to assign them dogmatically to central Asia, but indubitably they sprung up in a country where the winter is of very short duration."[3]

Other conceptions of the myth show that in the earliest times, the year had fallen into *halves*. Summer and Winter were at war with one another, exactly like Day and Night. Day and Summer gladden, as Night and Winter vex the world. Valiant Summer is found, fetched, and wakened from his sleep. Vanquished Winter is rolled in the dust, thrown into chains, beaten with staves, blinded, and banished. In some parts Death has stept into Winter's place; we might say, because in winter nature slumbers and seems dead.[4]

Usually a *puppet*, a figure of *straw* or *wood*, was carried about, and thrown into *water*, into a *bog*, or else *burnt*. If the figure was female, it was carried by a boy; if male, by a girl.[5]

Much more remarkable is the Italian and Spanish custom of tying together at Mid Lent, on the Dominica Lætare, a puppet to represent the *oldest woman* in the village, which is carried out by the people, especially children, and *sawn through the middle*. This is called *Segare la Vecchia*.[6]

The same custom is found among the South Slavs. In Lent time the Croats tell their children, that at the hour of noon *an old woman* is *sawn in pieces*, outside the gates. In Carniola it is at Mid Lent again, that the old wife is led out of the village and sawn through the middle.[7] Now, the sawing and burning of the old wife—as of the devil[8]—seems identical with the carrying out and drowning of Death (or Winter). The Scottish Highlanders throw the "Auld wife" into the fire at Christmas.[9]

[1] Palgrave, History of Normandy and of England, vol. i., p. 351.

[2] Early History and Antiquities of Freemasonry, p. 407.

[3] The Mythology of the Aryan Nations, 1882, p. 336. Bunsen observes, "the tragedy of the Solar Year, of the murdered and risen God, is familiar to us from the days of ancient Egypt; must it not be of equally primeval origin here?" (*i.e.*, in Teutonic tradition—Baron Bunsen, God in History, 1868-70, vol. ii., p. 458).

[4] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. ii., 1883, pp. 762, 766, 767. *Cf.* Brand, Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, 1870, vol. i., pp. 120, 143; and *ante*, Vol. II., p. 349, *et seq.*

[5] "The Indian Kâlí, on the 7th day after the March new-moon, was solemnly carried about, and then thrown into the Ganges. On May 13, the Roman Vestals bore *puppets, plaited of rushes*, to the Pons Sublicius, and then dropt them in the Tiber" (Grimm, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 773; Ov. Fast., v. 620).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 781. The day for carrying Death out was the quarta dominica quadragesimæ, *i.e.*, Lætare Sunday or Mid Lent.

[7] Jacob Grimm, Teutonic Mythology, trans. from the 4th edit. by J. S. Stallybrass, vol. ii., 1883, p. 782.

[8] "In Appenzell the country children still have a game of *rubbing* a rope against a stick *till it catches fire*. This they call 'de tüfel häle,' unmanning the devil, despoiling him of his strength" (*Ibid.*, p. 600).

[9] Stewart, Popular Superstitions, p. 236.

Of the Hiramic legend—which is purely allegorical—it has been said, that it will bear a two-fold interpretation, cosmological and astronomical. Into this I shall not enter, but for the sake of those who wish to canvass the subject, I indicate below[1] some leading references that will facilitate their inquiry.

For many reasons, I am disposed to link the introduction of the legend in question, with the creation of a third degree. At the time this occurred—assuming I am right in my supposition that a degree was so added—the number of fellow-crafts could not have been very large, and consequently there must have been fewer prejudices to conciliate,[2] than would have been the case at a later date. Indeed, it is quite probable, that very much in the same manner as the Royal Arch made its way into favor, under the title of a *fourth* degree, when taken up by the officers of Grand Lodge,[3] so the amplified ceremonial of 1725, under the name of a *third* degree, was readily accepted—or perhaps it will be safer to say, was not demurred to—by brethren of that era, under similar auspices.

The progress of the degree is to a great extent veiled in obscurity, and the by-laws of a *London* Lodge of about 1730-31,[4] can be read, either as indicating that the system of two degrees had not gone out of date, or that the Apprentice was "entered" in the *old way*, which made him a fellow craft under the *new* practice, and therefore eligible for the "Superiour" or third degree. But some entries in the minutes of a *Country* Lodge, on the occasion of its being constituted as a *regular* Lodge—May 18, 1733—are even more difficult to interpret, though the particulars they afford, are as diffuse as those in the previous instance are the contrary. The presence is recorded, besides that of the Master and Wardens, of three fellow crafts, six Masters, and four "Pass'd Masters."[5] The distinction here drawn between the two sets of Masters, it is by no means easy to explain, but it appears to point to an epoch of confusion, when the old names had not yet been succeeded by the new, at least in the country Lodges. The first meeting of this Lodge, of which a

[1] Lyon observes, "the fact that this step abounds with archaisms, is also pointed to as a proof of its antiquity. But it is no breach of charity to suppose that its fabricators knew their mission too well to frame the ritual in language that would point to its modern origin; hence the antique garb in which it is marked" (History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 211); and see further, Oliver, Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, vol. ii., p. 151. Masonic Treasury, lectures xlv., xlvi.; W. Sandys, A Short View of the History of Freemasonry, 1829, pp. 14, 15; Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxxv.; Constitutions, 1738, p. 216, *et seq.*; and Gustave Schlegel, Thian ti hwui; The Hung League, a Secret Society with the Chinese in China and India, Batavia, 1866, p. xxxii.

[2] See, however, the account of the Gormogons, *post*, p. 129. The Operative Masons at about this date, showed themselves to be extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs under the Speculative *régime*. It is possible that the objections to "alterations in the established forms," had their origin in 1724-25, and subsequently lapsed into a tradition?

[3] *I.e.*, the *Regular* or *Constitutional* Grand Lodge, established in 1717.

[4] 3d. By-Law of Lodge No. 71, held at the Bricklayers' Arms, in the Barbican.—"That no Person shall be Initiated as a Mason in this Lodge, without the Unanimous consent of all then present, & for the better Regulation of this, 'tis Ordered that all Persons proposed be Ballotted for, & if one Negative appear, then the said Person to be Refused, but if all affirmatives the Person to pay two Pounds seven Shillings at his Making, & receive Double Cloathing, Also when this Lodge shall think Convenient, to confer the Superiour Degree, of masonry upon him, he shall pay five Shillings more; & 'tis further Order'd that if any Regular & worthy Brother, desires to be a Member of this Lodge, the same Order shall be observed as to the Ballot, & he shall pay half a Guinea at his Entrance & receive single Cloathing" (Rawlinson MSS., C. 126, p. 205).

[5] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, 1873, p. 22.

record is preserved, took place, December 28, 1722. Present, the Master and Wardens, and seven "members." No other titles are used. Among the "members" were George Rainsford and Johnson Robinson, the former of whom is described as "Master," and the latter as "Pass'd Master," in the minutes of May 18, 1733. It is possible, to put it no higher, that these distinctive terms were employed because some of the members had graduated under the Grand Lodge system, whilst others had been "admitted" or "passed" to their degrees, according to the more homely usage which preceded it.[1] The degree seems, however, to have become fairly well established by 1738, as the Constitutions of that year inform us that there were then eleven Masters' Lodges in the metropolis.[2] These seem to have been at that time, in London—although it may have been different in the country—part and parcel of the Lodges, to which the way they are ordinarily described, would have us to believe that they were merely attached. The use of the term *raise* in lieu of *pass*, had also then crept into use, as may be seen in the note below, though the latter was not entirely superseded by the former, until much later.[3]

The possible influence of the Companionage upon English Freemasonry must be dismissed in a few words, though I shall return to the subject if the dimensions of the Appendix are adequate to the strain which will be put upon it.

It must be freely conceded that our old manuscript Constitutions show evident traces of a Gallic influence, and also that some indications are afforded in the work of a French historian—whose writings command general respect—of a ceremony performed at the reception of a French stoneworker, strongly pointing to a ritual not unlike our own.[4] But the difficulty I experience in recognizing in the legend of Hiram the builder, a common feature of the Companionage and the Freemasonry of more early times, is two-fold.

In the case of the former, we may go the length of admitting that there is a strong presumption in favor of the legend having existed in 1717, but, unfortunately, the most material evidence to be adduced in its support—that of Perdiguier, showing that there was a Solomonic or Hiramic legend at all[5]—is more than a century later than the date of the event[6] to which it has been held to refer. In cases of this kind, to adopt the words of Voltaire, the existence of a festival, or of a monument, proves indeed the belief which men entertain, but by no means proves the reality of the occurrence concerning which the belief is held.[7]

[1] *Cf.* Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884, p. 25; and *antè*, pp. 13, 15 (note 5). According to Woodford, the "Penal" and other "Orders" of the Swalwell Lodge, were written about the year 1725 (Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875-76, p. 82). But from whatever date it speaks, 1725, 1730, or later, the 8th Penal Order (*Ibid.*, p. 84; *ante*, p. 15, note 5) shows that, *when it was enacted*, either *three* degrees, or the *two* previously known, were worked in an Operative Lodge.

[2] One of these is described by Anderson as, "Black—Posts in Maiden Lane, where there is also a Masters Lodge." This was No. 163 on the General List, constituted Sept. 21, 1737. Its minutes, which commence Feb. 9, 1737, and therefore show the Lodge to have worked by inherent right before accepting a charter, contain the following entries:—Dec. 17, 1738.—"Twas agreed thatt all Debates and Business shall be between the E.A. and F.C.s Part." Feb. 5, 1740.—The Petition of a brother was rejected, "but unanimously agreed to Raise him a Master gratis." Sept. 2, 1742.—"If a Brother entring is a fellow craft, he shall be oblidge to be raised master in 3 Months, or be fin'd 5s."

[3] A great deal of information respecting "Master Lodges," and the Third Degree generally, will be found collected in Hughan's "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," 1884; Chap. II., *q.v.*

[4] Monteil, Histoire des Français des Divers États, 1853, vol. i., p. 294; *ante*, Chap. IV., p. 192.

[5] Chap. V., pp. 216-219. See, however, p. 240. [6] *I.e.*, that a similar legend existed in 1717.

[7] Essai sur les Mœurs, Œuvres, tome xv., p. 109.



Very Fraternally
Sheridan Tegtmeyer 33°

P.·. G.·. Master of Grand Lodge A. F. and A. M. and P.·. G.·. Com.·. of K. T. of Illinois.

Here, indeed, there is not quite so much to rely on, for Perdiguier expressly disclaims his belief in the antiquity of the legend he recounts;[1] but passing this over, and assuming that in 1841 the Companions, as a body, devoutly cherished it as an article of faith, this will by no means justify *us* in regarding it as a matter of conviction.

As to the Freemasons, the legend—according to my view of the evidence—made its appearance too late to be at all traceable to the influence of the Companionage, though with regard to the tradition which renders Charles Martel a patron of our Society, it may be otherwise. Charles Martel is said, by many writers, to have sent Stonemasons to England at the request of certain Anglo-Saxon kings. This he may possibly have done, especially as he lived at a time when the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were in a most flourishing condition.[2] But he certainly was not a great church builder, inasmuch as he secularized a large portion of the Church's property to provide for the sustenance of those troops, whom he was forced to raise to defend the Frankish monarchy against the Saracens and others. For this he was severely punished in the next world, or at least it was so proclaimed at a national council held at Kiersi in 858, where a vision of St. Eucharius, Bishop of Orleans, was related, in which he saw Charles Martel in the deepest abyss of hell.[3] Though, indeed, if we concede the possibility of a person being seen in hell, it has been suggested "that Charles Martel would have had a better chance of beholding the holy bishop in that place, since his reverence died three years before him"[4]—but I shall leave the story as an interesting problem for modern psychologists.

Mr. Ellis follows Leyden, an author, he says, "of much research and information," in adopting the view of the Abbé Velley, that Charles Martel was an Armorican Chieftain, whose "four sons performed various exploits in the forest of Ardennes against the four sons of *Aymon*."[5] Here we seem to meet with an old acquaintance,[6] and it is unfortunate, to say the least, that the critical Panizzi, whilst styling the three writers "very good authorities," yet goes on to say, "we cannot implicitly rely on the judgment of these gentlemen."[7]

But at whatever period the name of Charles Martel found its way into the Legend of the Craft, there can be no doubt that it reaches back many centuries, and probably to the era of the Plantagenets[8]—1154-1399—when the greater part of France was subject to our sway, including the south, which appears to have been the cradle of the Companionage.

A friendly critic complains of my having "taken no notice of the astonishing irruption

[1] Chap. V., p. 241, *et seq.* With this should be read the allusions to Hiram and Adonhiram at p. 217, Vol. I.

[2] With regard to the habit of generalizing names, see Panizzi *op. cit.*, p. 113; and Buckle, History of Civilization in England, vol. i., p. 297. One single Charles may have been made of *Charles* Martel, *Charles* the Great, *Charles* the Bald, *Charles* the Fat, and *Charles* the Simple, especially as their surnames were conferred (I believe) in each instance after death.

[3] *Cf.* Chap. II., p. 82.

[4] Antonio Panizzi, Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians, 1830, p. 90.

[5] G. Ellis, Specimens of Early English Romances (Bohn, 1848), p. 344.

[6] Chaps. II., p. 99, § xix.; XV., p. 368.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

[8] The first member of this dynasty, Henry II., possessed, either by marriage or inheritance, besides England, at least one-third of modern France. The name of another member—Henry III.—was given by Dugdale to Aubrey, as that of the monarch in whose reign a Papal Bull was granted to the wandering Italians, from whom were derived the Freemasons (*ante*, Vol. II., pp, 130, 143, 344.)

of Dutch and German artists,—painters, architects, masons,—also of Italians, from Geneva, Florence, and other cities, not only in the time of Edward III. (1327-1377), but especially from the reign of Henry VI. (1422-1461) and later Henries, which may have greatly influenced the working of the British Masons in practice and theory and tradition."[1] It is also true that great numbers of foreign workmen settled in this country before and during the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries, bringing with them the trade traditions and usages of the German, Flemish, and Dutch provinces;[2] and Mr. Papworth, in the masterly essay to which I have so frequently referred, suggests that these workmen, joining some of the friendly societies they found existing, may have formed the foundations for the lodge-meetings recorded by Ashmole and Plot, or for those of the Four Old Lodges before 1717.[3]

With the exception of France, however, there appears to me no continental source from which it is at all probable that the English Masons borrowed either their customs or their traditions. Had they done so from Germany, our Masonic vocabulary would bear traces of it, and we must not forget how easily German words become incorporated with our language. But it is impossible to find in our ritual, or in the names of the emblems of our art, the slightest symptom of Teutonic influence.[4]

By the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and by the savage persecution which immediately preceded and followed it, France probably lost upwards of a quarter of a million of her most industrious citizens.[5] In consequence, at the early part of the eighteenth century, every considerable town in England, Holland, and Protestant Germany, contained a colony of Frenchmen who had been thus driven from their homes.[6] Now, if at the time of this phenomenal incursion of Frenchmen, the English Masonic customs received a Gallic tinge, is it not reasonable to suppose that the same process would have been at work in other Protestant countries, to say nothing of Ireland, where the influx of these refugees was so great that there were no less than three French congregations established in Dublin?[7]

On the whole, therefore, it seems to me not unreasonable to conclude, that if the English borrowed from the French Masons in any other respect than claiming Charles Martel as their patron, the debt was contracted about the same time that the name of the "Hammer-bearer" first figured in our oral or written traditions.[8]

One of the legendary characters who figures in Masonic history, and may be said to be the most remarkable of them all—Naymus Grecus[9]—deserves a few parting words. The longevity of this worthy mason is tame and insignificant when compared with what is preserved in the literature of India. The most remarkable case is that of a personage who was the first king, first anchoret, and first saint. This eminent man lived in a pure and virtuous age, and his days were indeed long in the land; since, when he was made king,

[1] Mr. Wyatt Papworth in the *Builder*, March 3, 1883.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. VII., p. 272.

[3] Transactions, Royal Institute of British Architects, *loc. cit.*

[4] If it were otherwise, *Hütte* would certainly fill the place now occupied by *Lodge*, and we might also expect to meet with *parlirer* (or *pallirer*) if Fallou and Winzer were the witnesses of truth.

[5] Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i., p. 188. The estimates vary. Voltaire put the number as high as 600,000.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[7] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 344.

[8] *Cf.* Chap. IV., pp. 201-202.

[9] Chap. VI., p. 300, note 4. See further, Chaps. II., p. 99; and V., p. 248.

he was two million years old. He then reigned 6,300,000 years, having done which, he resigned his empire, and lingered on for 100,000 years more![1]

I shall pass over, without further notice, many ancient usages, including the habit of feasting or banqueting at a common table, but there is one upon which a few words must be said. Among the Teutonic nations we find a great variety of oaths, devised for the purpose of impressing the conscience of the party, accompanied by strange and singular ceremonies, whose forms indicate the highest antiquity. In the "Lodthings" of Holstein, as among the ancient Bavarians, the Soldier swore on the edge or blade of the sword. The Alemannic widow appealed to her bosom or her hair. The pagan Danes swore by the holy bracelet.[2] In the earliest times the necessity was felt of making as conspicuous as possible, in the most varied but always telling ways, the penalties which would be incurred by a breach of oath or promise.[3] The Christian practice in the matter of oaths was founded in great measure on the Jewish. Thus the oath on the Gospels was an imitation of the Jewish practice of placing the hands on the book of the Law.[4] To raise the right hand, as though in a challenge to heaven, was so universal a custom among the Semitic nations, that in some of their languages "the right hand" is used as an equivalent to oath;[5] in others, a verb "to swear" is derived from it;[6] whilst in Hebrew "to raise one's hand" was quite a common phrase for "to swear."[7] The same practice prevailed among the Greeks and the Romans,[8] and in the customs of both these nations many of the modes of adjuration and punishment reappear, with which the pages of the Old Testament have familiarized us.

The Rev. W. Clarke, commenting on Warburton's "Divine Legation," observes: "The little prejudice of raising the Egyptian Antiquities above the Jewish has been the foible of many great men; nor is that any excuse for idle prepossession. Moses stands upon a level, at least, with any antient writer; is as good an authority for antient customs; and may justly claim a precedence when the dispute lies between him and authors many centuries after him."[9]

In forming a covenant various rites were used, and the contracting parties professed to subject themselves to such a death as that of the victim sacrificed, in case of violating their engagements.[10] It was a customary thing to take a heifer and cut it in two, and then the contracting parties passed between the pieces.[11] This is particularly referred to in the Book of Jeremiah (xxxiv. 18-20), where it is said of those who broke a covenant so made, that "their dead bodies should be for meat unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the earth."[12]

A similar punishment was decreed for theft, in England, by a law of King Edgar. "After experiencing the most frightful mutilations, the half-living carcase of the male-

[1] Asiatic Researches, vol. ix., p. 305; Buckle, History of Civilization in England, vol. i., p. 136.

[2] Palgrave, The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, 1832, vol. ii., p. cxv.

[3] Ewald, The Antiquities of Israel, trans. by H. S. Solly, 1876, p. 18.

[4] Smith, Dictionary of the Bible, *s.v.* [5] In Arabic. [6] In Syriac, and see Genesis xiv., 22.

[7] Ewald, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Kitto, Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, 3d edit., *s.v.* Oath.

[8] Dr. Potter, Archæologia Græca, edit. 1832, vol. i., p. 295; Homer, Il., viii. 412; Virgil, Æn., xii. 196. *Cf.* Gen. xiv. 22; and *ante*, Chap. VIII., p. 43.

[9] Nichols, Literary Anecdotes, vol. iv., p. 452.

[10] Clarke, Commentary on the Bible (Matt. xxvi. 28). [11] *Ibid.* (Gen. xv. 10).

[12] To be deprived of burial was in general accounted by the Israelites a dire addition to other calamities (Scott, Commentary on the Bible, Deut. xxviii. 26).

factor was cast to the beasts of prey and the fowls of heaven."[1] In Germany, the "flesh and body" of a murderer were condemned "to the beasts in the forest, the birds in the air, and the fishes in the sea."[2]

The barbarity of the mediæval penalties is very marked, and though Grimm observes that there is no historical record of their actual infliction, their retention, nevertheless, in so many local codes throughout the empire, bears witness to their high antiquity. For an infraction of the forest laws, in one district the offender was to have his stomach cut open at the navel;[3] whilst he who removed a boundary-stone was to be buried in the earth up to his belt, and a plough driven through his heart, or, according to other codes, "through his middle or his neck."[4] But perhaps the most inhuman mutilation of the kind was practised in Mexico, where the victim was cast on his back upon a pointed stone, "and the high priest"—in the quaint words of my authority—"opened his stomacke with the knife, with a strange dexteritie and nimblenes, pulling out his heart with his hands, the which he shewed smoaking vnto the Sunne."[5]

Almost all nations, in forming leagues and alliances, made their covenants or contracts in the same way. A sacrifice was provided, its throat was cut, and the carcase divided longitudinally in the most careful manner so as to make exactly two equal parts. These were placed opposite to each other, and the contracting parties passed between them, or, entering at opposite ends, met in the centre, and there took the covenant oath.[6]

When the oath was employed in making contracts or alliances, each of the two contracting parties made the other utter aloud the words of the contract which concerned him,[7] and a common meal off the sacred instruments of the treaty was regarded as indispensable.[8]

St. Cyril, in his tenth book against Julian, shows that passing between the divided parts of a victim was used also among the Chaldeans and other ancient peoples. A variation of the custom, in the form of a covenant with death,[9] is supposed to be the origin of a superstition to which the Algerine corsairs were addicted. It is related by Pitts, that when in great peril, and after vainly supplicating the intercession of some dead marabout (or saint), they were in the habit of killing a sheep, by cutting off its head, which, with the entrails, they threw overboard. Next, with all speed, they cut the body into two parts, and threw one part over the right side of the vessel, and the other over the left, into the sea as a kind of propitiation.[10]

It would be easy to show that a marked resemblance exists between many of the ceremonial observances *now* peculiar to Freemasonry, and those which we know formed a part of the judicial procedure common to our Saxon ancestors. Hence it has been contended that the former are equally indigenous and ancient, but the burden of proof rests upon

[1] Palgrave, *loc. cit.*

[2] Grimm, Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer, 1828, p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 519.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 547.

[5] The Natvrall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies, written in Spanish by Ioseph Acosta, and translated into English by E. G., 1604, p. 385.

[6] Clarke, Commentary on the Bible (Gen. vi. 18, and xv. 10; Jer. xxxiv. 18); Godwyn, Moses and Aaron, 1671, p. 257.

[7] Deut. xxvi. 17-19; Ewald, The Antiquities of Israel, trans. by H. S. Solly, 1876, p. 21.

[8] Ewald, *op. cit.* p. 68. "Festivities always accompanied the ceremonies attending oaths" (Burder, Oriental Customs, vol. i., 1802, § 294, citing Gen. xxvi. 30, and xxxi. 54).

[9] Isaiah xxviii, 15.

[10] J. Pitts, The Religion and Manners of Mahometans, 1704, p. 18.

those who maintain the affirmative of this proposition. The subject has been treated with some fulness by an abler hand,[1] and the points left untouched by Fort will, I hope, be summed up by Mr. Speth, in a disquisition he is preparing, with all the lucidity and force which characterize the emanations from his pen.

Returning to the history of the Grand Lodge of England, the following is an exact transcript of the earliest proceedings which are recorded in its minutes:

"AT THE GRAND LODGE HELD AT MERCHANT TAYLOR'S HALL, MONDAY, 24TH JUNE 1723.

PRESENT—

His Grace the Duke of Wharton, G. Master.
The Reverend J. T. Desaguliers, LL.D., F.R.S., D.G.M.
Joshua Timson,
The Reverend Mr. James Anderson, } G. Wardens.

ORDERED

That William Cowper, Esqr., a Brother of the Horn Lodge at Westminster —be Secretary to the Grand Lodge.[2]

The order of the 17th Jan: 172⅔, printed at the end of the Constitutions, page 91, for the publishing the said Constitutions was read, purporting, That they had been before Approved in Manuscript by the Grand Lodge, and were then (vizt), 17th January aforesaid, produced in Print and approved by the Society.

THEN

The Question was moved, That the said General Regulations be confirmed, so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of MASONRY.

The previous Question was moved and put, Whether the words[3] [so far as they are consistent with the Ancient Rules of MASONRY] be part of the Question.

RESOLVED in the affirmative.

But the main question was not put.

And the Question was moved,

That it is not in the Power of any person, or Body of men, to make any Alteration, or Innovation in the Body of MASONRY without the Consent first obtained of the Annual Grand Lodge.[4]

And the Question being put accordingly,
Resolved in the Affirmative.

[1] Fort, *op. cit.*, chap. xxix. See also *ante*, Chaps. XV., pp. 354-366; and XVI., p. 27.

[2] "On June 24, 1723, the G. Lodge chose William Cowper, Esq., to be their Secretary. But ever since then, the New D. G. M. upon his commencement appoints the Secretary, or continues him by returning him the Books" (Constitutions, 1738, p. 161).

[3] Square brackets in original.

[4] In the Constitutions of 1738, Dr. Anderson cites this—under the title of New Regulation XXXIX.—and incorporates with it the first of a series of "Questions" affirmatively decided in Grand Lodge on Nov. 25, 1723, and which are given *post*, p. 127.

The two Grand Wardens were sent out into the Hall to give Notice, That, if any Brother had any Appeal, or any matter to offer, for the good of the Society, he might Come in and offer the same, in this Grand Lodge, and two other Brethren were appointed by the Grand Master, to take the Grand Wardens places in the mean while.

The Grand Wardens being returned, reported they had given Notice accordingly.

Then the Grand Master being desired to name his Successor, and declining so to do, but referring the Nomination to the Lodge,

The Right Hon^ble^. The Earl of Dalkeith was proposed to be put in Nomination as GRAND MASTER for the ensuing year.

The Lodge was also acquainted *That* in case of his Election, he had nominated Dr Desaguliers for his Deputy.

And the 35th General Regulation, purporting that the Grand Master being Installed, shall next nominate and appoint his Deputy Grand Master, &c., was read.

Then

The Question was proposed and put by the Grand Master,

That the Deputy nominated by the Earl of Dalkeith be approved.

There was a Division of the Lodge, and two Brethren appointed Tellers.

Ayes, ...	43
Noes, ...	42

As the tellers reported the Numbers.

Then

The Grand Master, in the Name of the new Grand Master, proposed Brother Francis Sorrel and Brother John Senex for Grand Wardens the ensuing year.

Agreed, That they should be Ballotted for after Dinner.

ADJOURN'D TO DINNER.

After Dinner, and some of the regular Healths Drank, the Earl of Dalkeith was declared GRAND-MASTER according to the above mentioned Resolution of the Grand Lodge.

The late Grand Master, declaring he had some doubt upon the above mentioned Division in the Grand Lodge before Dinner, whether the Majority was for approving Dr Desaguliers, or whether the Tellers had truly reported the Numbers; proposed the said Question to be now put again in the General Lodge.

And accordingly insisting on the said Question being now put, and putting the same, his Worship and several Brethren withdrew out of the Hall as dividing against approving Dr Desaguliers.

And being so withdrawn,

Brother Robinson, producing a written Authority from the Earl of Dalkeith for that purpose, did declare in his Name, That his Worship had, agreeably to the Regulation in that behalf, Appointed, and did Appoint Dr Desaguliers his Deputy, and Brothers Sorrel and Senex Grand Wardens. And also Brother Robinson did, in his said Worship's Name and behalf of the whole Fraternity, protest against the above proceedings of the late Grand Master in first putting the Question of Approbation, and what followed thereon,

as unprecedented, unwarrantable, and Irregular, and tending to introduce into the Society a Breach of Harmony, with the utmost disorder and Confusion.

Then the said late Grand Master and those who withdrew with him being returned into the Hall, and acquainted with the foresaid Declaration of Brother Robinson,

The late Grand Master went away from the Hall without Ceremony.

After other regular Healths Drank,
The Lodge adjourned."

The minutes of this meeting are signed by "JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS, Deputy Grand Master."

The Earl of Dalkeith presided at the next Quarterly Communication, held November 25, and the proceedings are thus recorded:

"The following Questions were put:

1. Whether the Master and Wardens of the several Lodges have not power to regulate all things relating to Masonry at the Quarterly Meetings, one of which must be on St John Baptist's Day?

Agreed, *nem. con.*

2. Whether the Grand Master has not power to appoint his Deputy?

Agreed, *nem. con.*

Agreed, That Dr Desaguliers be Deputy Grand Master from the last Annual meeting.

Ordered; That Brother Huddleston of the King's Head in Ivy Lane be expelled the Lodge for laying several Aspersions against the Deputy Grand Master, which he could not make good, and the Grand Master appointed M^r^ Davis, Sen^r^. Warden, to be Master of the said Lodge in Ivy Lane.

Agreed, That no new Lodge, *in or near London*, without it be Regularly Constituted, be countenanced by the Grand Lodge, nor the Master or Wardens be admitted at the Grand Lodge.

3. Whether the two Grand Wardens, Brother Sorrell and Brother Senex, are confirmed in their offices?

Agreed, *nem. con.*"

The above is a literal extract from the actual minutes of Grand Lodge; but among the "alterations, improvements, and explications" of the "Old Regulations" of the Society, or in other words, the "New Regulations" enacted between the dates of publication of the first and second editions of the "Book of Constitutions" Anderson gives us the following as having been agreed to on November 25, 1723:

"That in the Master's absence, the Senior Warden of a lodge shall fill the chair, even tho' a former Master be present.[1]

No new Lodge to be owned unless it be regularly Constituted *and registered.*[2]

[1] Constitutions, 1738, N.R. (*New Regulation*) II.

[2] *Ibid.*, N.R. XII. The words in italics do not appear in the minutes of Grand Lodge, and Anderson omits the expression "*in or near London*," which occurs in the original.

That no Petitions and Appeals shall be heard on the Feast Day or Annual Grand Lodge.'[1]

That any G. Lodge duly met has a Power to amend or explain any of the printed Regulations in the Book of Constitutions, while they break not in upon the antient Rules of the Fraternity. But that no Alteration shall be made in this printed Book of Constitutions without Leave of the G. Lodge."[2]

Of the foregoing resolutions, the first and third—so Anderson informs us—were not recorded in the Grand Lodge Book. But with the exception of the latter, which must have been necessitated at an early date, in order to preserve the requisite harmony on the Assembly or Head-meeting Day, all of them seem to be merely amplifications of what really was enacted by the Grand Lodge. Anderson, moreover, it should be recollected, was not present (or at least his attendance is not recorded) at the Communication in question.

"Grand Lodge met in ample form on February 19, 1724, when the following Questions were put and agreed to:—

1. That no Brother belong to more than one Lodge at one time, within the Bills of Mortality.[3]

2. That no Brother belonging to any Lodge within the Bills of Mortality be admitted to any Lodge as a visitor, unless personally known to some Brother of that Lodge where he visits, and that no Strange Brother, however skilled in Masonry, be admitted without taking the obligacon over again, unless he be introduced or vouched for by some Brother known to, and approved by, the Majority of the Lodge. And whereas some Masons have mett and formed a Lodge without the Grand M . Leave.

AGREED; That no such persons be admitted into Regular Lodges."

At this meeting, every Master or Warden was enjoined to bring with him a list of the members belonging to his Lodge at the next Quarterly Communication.

Two further "Questions" were submitted to the Grand Lodge on April 28, and in each case it was resolved by a unanimous vote,—*firstly*, that the Grand Master had the power of appointing the two Grand Wardens, and in the *second* place, that Charles, Duke of Richmond, should "be declared Grand Master at the next Annual meeting."

According to Anderson,[4] the Duke was duly "install'd in Solomon's Chair," on June 24, and appointed Martin Folkes his Deputy, who was "invested and install'd by the last Deputy in the Chair of Hiram Abbif." No such phrases occur in the official records, and the only circumstance of a noteworthy character, associated with the Assembly of 1724, is, that the Stewards were ordered "to prepare a list for the Grand Master's perusal of twelve fit persons to serve as stewards at the next Grand Feast."[5]

[1] Constitutions, 1738, N.R. XIII., § 3. [2] *Ibid.*, N. R. XXXIX.

[3] By a resolution of March 17, 1725, the brethren of the French Lodge at the Solomon's Temple, —of which both Desaguliers and Anderson were members—were "to have the liberty to belong to any other Lodge within the Bills of Mortality." But the restriction to a single Lodge, we are told in 1738, "is neglected for several reasons, and now obsolete" (Constitutions, p. 154). It was reimposed, however, in 1742 (*post*, p. 146).

[4] Constitutions, 1738, p. 118.

[5] The minutes of this meeting are signed by the Earl of Dalkeith, Dr. Desaguliers, and Grand Wardens Sorrel and Senex. This is a little confusing, because the G. M., his Deputy—Folkes, and Wardens—Payne and Sorrel—were all present at the next Quarterly Communication (Nov. 21). It may be conveniently mentioned, that the minutes are only occasionally signed by the Grand Officers.

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Richmond, the Committee of Charity—at the present day termed the Board of Benevolence—was instituted. The scheme of raising a fund of General Charity for Distressed Masons, was proposed, November 21, by the Earl of Dalkeith, and under the same date there is a significant entry in the Grand Lodge minutes—"Brother Anthony Sayer's petition was read and recommended by the Grand Master." It does not appear, however, that the premier Grand Master received any pecuniary assistance on the occasion of his first application for relief, though sums of money were voted to him in 1730 and 1741 respectively as we have already seen.

Lord Dalkeith's proposal met with general support, and among those whose names are honorably associated with the movement in its earlier stages, may be mentioned Dr. Desaguliers, George Payne, and Martin Folkes.

At the same meeting it was resolved, that all Past Grand Masters should have the right of attending and voting in Grand Lodge, and it was "AGREED, *nem. con.*—That if any brethren shall meet Irregularly and make Masons at any place *within ten miles of London*,[1] the persons present at the making (the New Brethren Excepted) shall not be admitted, even as visitors, into any Regular Lodge whatsoever, unless they come and make such submission to the Grand Mas^{t}. and Grand Lodge as they shall think fit to impose upon them."

A few words must now be devoted to the proceedings of the Gormogons, an Order which first came under public notice in this year, though its origin is said to have been of earlier date. The following notification appeared in the *Daily Post* of September 3, 1724:—

"Whereas the truly ANTIENT NOBLE ORDER of the Gormogons, instituted by Chin-Quaw Ky-Po, the first Emperor of China (according to their account), many thousand years before Adam, and of which the great philosopher Confucius was Œcumenical Volgee, has lately been brought into England by a Mandarin, and he having admitted several Gentlemen of Honour into the Mystery of that most illustrious order, they have determined to hold a Chapter at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, at the particular Request of several persons of Quality. This is to inform the public, that there will be no drawn Sword at the Door, nor Ladder in a dark Room, nor will any Mason be receiv'd as a Member till he has renounced his Novel Order and been properly degraded. N.B.—The Grand Mogul, the Czar of Muscovy, and Prince Tochmas are enter'd into this Hon. Society; but it has been refused to the Rebel Meriweys, to his great Mortification. The Mandarin will shortly set out for Rome, having a particular Commission to make a Present of this Antient Order to his Holiness, and it is believ'd the whole Sacred College of Cardinals will commence Gormogons. Notice will be given in the Gazette the Day the Chapter will be held."

If we may believe the *Weekly Journal* or *Saturday Post*, of the 17th of October following, "many eminent Freemasons" had by that time "degraded themselves" and gone over to the Gormogons, whilst several others were rejected "for want of qualification." But the fullest account of the Order is given in the second edition of the "Grand Mystery of the Freemasons Discovered," published October 28, 1724. This has been closely dissected by Kloss, who advances three distinct theories with regard to the appearance of the Gormogons:—I. That the Œcumenical Volgi was no less than the Chevalier Ramsay, then at

[1] The words in italics are omitted by Anderson in the Constitutions of 1738, where he gives the enactment as an item of New Regulation VIII.

Rome in attendance upon the Young Pretender; II. That the movement was a deeply laid scheme on the part of the Jesuits to attain certain ends, by masquerading after the fashion of the Freemasons; and III. That in the Gormogons we meet with the precursors of the Schismatic Masons, or "Ancients." The first and last of these suppositions may be passed over, but the second is more plausible, especially if we widen its application, and for "Jesuits" read "Roman Catholics," since, curiously enough, the Order is said to have become extinct in 1738, the year in which Clement XII. published his Bull against the Freemasons.

The *Plain Dealer* of September 14, 1724, contains a letter from a Mandarin at Rome to another in London. The former congratulates the latter on the speedy progress he has made "from the Court of the *Young* SOPHY," and adds, "Your Presence is earnestly expected at ROME. The Father of High Priests is fond of our *Order*, and the CARDINALS have an Emulation to be distinguish'd. Our Excellent Brother GORMOGON, *Mandarin*, CHAN FUE, is well, and salutes you." There are also several allusions to the Freemasons, which point to the prevalence of irregularities, such as we are already justified in believing must have existed at the time.[1]

The following notice appeared in the *Daily Journal* of October 26, 1730:

"By command of the VOL-GI.

A General Chapter of the most August and Ancient order GOR-MO-GON, will be held at the Castle Tavern in Fleet Street, on Saturday the 31st Inst., to commence at 12 o'clock; of which the several Graduates and Licentiates are to take Notice, and give their Attendance.

P. W. T."

An identical summons, signed "F. N. T.," will be found in the same journal for October 28, 1731, but that earlier chapters were held at the same place may be inferred from a paragraph in the *British Journal* of December 12, 1724, which reads: "We hear that a Peer of the first Rank, a noted Member of the Society of *Free-Masons*, hath suffered himself to be degraded as a member of that Society, and his Leather Apron and Gloves to be burnt, and thereupon enter'd himself as a Member of the Society of Gormogons, at the *Castle*-Tavern in *Fleet Street.*"

This can only refer to the Duke of Wharton, whose well-known eccentricity of character, combined with the rebuff he experienced when last present in Grand Lodge, may have led him to take this step. It is true, that in 1728 he constituted a lodge at Madrid, but this would be in complete harmony with the disposition of a man who, in politics and everything else, was always turning moral somersaults; and the subsequent application of the lodge to be "constituted *properly*,"[2] tends to show that, however defective his own memory may have been, his apostasy was neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Craft.

The number of renegade Gormogons must, I think, have been very large, but the only secession from the "Order" that I have met with occurs in the *Weekly Journal* or *British Gazetteer* of April 18, 1730, which has—"On Saturday last, at the Prince William Tavern, at Charing ✠, Mr Dennis,[3] the famous poet and critick, was admitted a Free and

[1] See Appendix.

[2] *Post*, p. 136.

[3] John Dennis, a poet, political writer, and critic, was born in 1657, and died on January 6, 1734. He was therefore in his seventy-third year when initiated into Freemasonry.

Accepted Mason, at a lodge then held there, *having renounced the Society of the Gormogons*, of which he had been a member for many years."

Impressions of the Medal of the Order—obverse and reverse—are annexed. The inscriptions which encircle them are sufficient explanatory in themselves, and it has been suggested that the words AN. REG. and AN. INST., on the lower projections respectively, may possibly refer to the foundation of the Order in the reign of Queen Anne.[1]





Here I bring to a close this "short study" on a subject of much interest, which, I trust, nevertheless, other students will pursue. In this hope, I ask our antiquaries not to lose sight of the fact, that the Gormogons were the only formidable rivals of the Freemasons, and to bear in mind also, that several of the regulations[2] passed by the latter before 1725 are deemed by some good authorities to have been levelled against the former.

The Grand Lodge on May 20, 1725, ordered that the minutes of the last meeting should be read—a formality noticed for the first time; it was also "ordered, that his Grace the Duke of Richmond be continued Grand Mas^{t}. for the next half year ending at Christmas," and there occurs a singular entry, with regard to which we should remain entirely in the dark, were it not for the discovery of a manuscript in the library of the British Museum, by the late Matthew Cooke,[3] that clears up the whole matter. The minute runs

[1] Notes and Queries, 4th series, vol. iv., p. 441. The illustrations of the jewel are from photographs of one in the possession of Mr. W. H. Rylands, and therefore exactly represent the appearance and size of the original, which is of silver. The owner points out to me that Anno Regni 39 of George III. would be 1798-99, which may be compared with the "An. Inst., 8799" of the medal. A.D. 1699 would be the 11th and 12th of William (and Mary), the only other reign of that period having 39 regnal years.

[2] *E.g.*, those of February 19 and November 24, 1724.

[3] Addl. MS. 23, 202. Numerous extracts from it were given in the *Freemason's Magazine* (July to December 1861, pp. 67, 85, 132, 304, 326, 387) by Mr. Cooke, who in announcing his discovery (p. 67), says: "I think I am entitled to claim for the MS. before me, the distinguished position of the oldest *lodge* minute-book in existence." As will be seen, however, the minutes are not those of a *lodge*, but of a Society, which admitted none but Freemasons as members or visitors. I am glad to state

—"Ordered, that there be a letter wrote to the following brethren, to desire them to attend the Grand Lodge at the next Quarterly Communication (viz^{t}.) William Gulston, Coort Knevitt, William Jones, Charles Cotton, Thomas ffisher, Thomas Harbin, and ffrancis Xavier Geminiani."[1]

The manuscript referred to, informs us, that these persons were members—and, with three exceptions, founders—of an association, entitled the "Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas, Apolloni," established February 18, 1725, by seven brethren from the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Holles Street, and one other.

The minutes of the Society extend to 296 pages, and the last entry is dated March 23, 1727. Rule xviii. ordains—"that no Person be admitted as a Visitor, unless he be a Free Mason," and the ranks of the Society were recruited solely from the Craft. But if the applicant for membership was not a mason, the Society proceeded to make him one, and sometimes went further, for we find that on May 12, 1725, two brothers "were regularly passed Masters," one "was regularly passed fellow Craft & Master," and another "was regularly passed Fellow Craft"[2]—the ordinance (XIII.) of Grand Lodge enjoining that such ceremonies should only be performed in the presence of that body, being in full force at the time.

The ordinary practice in cases where the candidates were devoid of the Masonic qualification, was to make them Masons in the first instance,[3] after which they were ordered to attend "to be admitted and properly inducted members." This, however, they frequently failed to do, and on March 17, 1726, two persons were ignominiously expelled for not taking up their membership—for which they had been duly qualified—though thrice summoned to do so.

"Geo: Payne J: G: Warden," was present as a visitor on September 2, 1725, and the following entry occurs in the minutes under December 16 of the same year:

"A letter Dat. the 8th Instant from Brother Geo. Payne, Jun^{r} Grand Warden, directed in form to this Society, inclosing a Letter from the Duke of Richmond, Grand Master, dat. likewise the 8 Instant, directed to the Presid^{t}. and the rest of the Brethren at the Apollo,[4] in which he Erroneously insists on and Assumes to himself a Pretended Authority to call Our R^{t}. Wōrpfull and Highly Esteem'd Society to an account *for making Masons irregularly* for which reasons, as well as for want of a Due Regard, Just Esteem, and Omitting to Address himself in proper form to the Rt. Wōrpfull and Highly Esteemed Society,

Ordered—

That the Said Letters do lye on the Table."

that the MS.—which throws a great deal of light upon some hitherto obscure points in Masonic history—will shortly be published by Mr. W. H. Rylands—as the *first*, it may be hoped, of a long series of "manuscripts of the Craft," a sphere of labor for which he is eminently fitted, both by taste and qualifications, though I almost fear, that to carry out *all* the literary projects which are floating in his brain, he would require the hands of Briareus and the life of the Wandering Jew.

[1] All these brethren, except ffisher and Harbin, were "made Masons" in the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Hollis Street, and three of them—Knevitt, Jones, and Cotton—by the Duke of Richmond, Grand Master. Harbin was a member of the same Lodge in 1725. Thomas ffisher was junior warden of the Lodge at Ben's Coffee House, New Bond Street, in 1723. *Cf. ante*, p. 112. [2] *Ante*, p. 112.

[3] Jan. 13, 1726—"Resolved that Voisin Humphrys and James Bayne he made Masons, thereby to qualifye them to be admitted Members of this R. Wōrpfull and Highly Esteem'd Society" (Minutes, p. 159). [4] The sign of the house where the Society met had been changed.

The subject is not again referred to in the minutes of the Society, or in those of Grand Lodge, but we learn from the former that a week later—December 23, 1725—three members of "the Lodge at the Horn" were present as visitors, including Alexander Hardine, the Master, and Francis Sorrell, Senior Grand Warden.

The preceding extracts throw a fuller light, than has hitherto been shed, upon a very dark portion of Masonic history. It is highly probable that Payne's visit to the Musical Society took place at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, by whom, as we have seen, three of the members were "made Masons."[1] But the attendance of Sorrell and Hardine *after* the Grand Master's letter had been so contemptuously disregarded, is not a little remarkable. Still more curious is the circumstance, that at the very time their visit occurred, Coort Knevitt was also a member of the "Lodge at the Horn." It may be taken, therefore, that the denunciations of the Grand Master were a mere *brutem fulmen*, and led to no practical result. The Musical Society died out in the early part of 1727, but the minutes show that the members persisted in making Masons until June 23, 1726, and possibly would have continued the practice much later had the supply of candidates lasted longer than it apparently did.

William Gulston, the *præses*, or president of the Society during the greater part of its existence, whose name, we may suppose, would have been particularly obnoxious to the rulers of the Craft, was a member of Lodge No. 40, at the St. Paul's Head, in 1730, and his name appears first on the list. There were 107 members in all, and among them were Dr. Richard Rawlinson, Grand Steward 1734; John Jesse, Grand Treasurer 1738-52; and Fotherley Baker, Dep. G. M. 1747-51. These were not the kind of men to join in fellowship with any person whose Masonic record would not bear investigation. It is reasonably clear that, down at least to 1725, and perhaps later, the bonds of discipline so recently forged were unequal to the strain which was imposed upon them. Confidence is a plant of slow growth, and even were evidence wanting, to confirm the belief, that the "beneficent despotism" which arose out of the unconditional surrender of their inherent privileges by *four* private lodges, was not submitted to without resistance by the Craft at large—from the nature of things, no other conclusion could be adopted.

We may therefore suppose that Gulston and the others gradually ceased to commit the irregularities for which they were censured, and that they did so before the time had arrived when the Grand Lodge felt itself established on a sufficiently firm basis to be able to maintain in their integrity the General Regulations agreed to by the Masons of London and Westminster in 1723.[2]

The remaining characteristic of Additional MS. 23,202 has been referred to on a previous page,[3] and the evidence it affords of the Fellow Craft's and Master's "parts" having been actually wrought other than in Grand Lodge, *before* February 18, 1725, is of great value, both as marking the earliest date at which such ceremonies are *known* to have been worked, and from the inference we are justified in drawing, that at the period in question there was nothing unusual in the action of the brethren concerned in these proceedings.

The Quarterly Communication, held November 27, 1725, was attended by the officers of forty-one lodges, a number vastly in excess of any previous record of a similar char-

[1] *Ante*, p. 132, note 1.

[2] See the "Approbation" appended to the first "Book of Constitutions," 1723.

[3] *Ante*, p. 112.

acter, and which does not again reach the same figures until the November meeting of 1732. Two reasons may be assigned for so full an attendance—one, the general interest experienced by the fraternity at large in the success of the Committee of Charity, the report of which body, drawn up by William Cowper, the chairman, was to be presented to Grand Lodge; the other, that an extension of the authority of private lodges was to be considered, and, as the following extract shows, conceded: "A Motion being made that such part of the 13th Article of the Gen^{ll}. Regulations relating to the making of Ma^{sts} only at a Quarterly Court may be repealed, and that the Mast. of Each Lodge, with the consent of his Wardens and the Majority of the Brethren, being Ma^{sts}., may make Ma^{sts} at their discretion. Agreed, *Nem. Con.*"[1]

It is singular, that whilst *forty-nine*[2] lodges are stated to have been represented in Grand Lodge on this occasion, the Engraved List of 1729 has only fifty-four lodges in all, forty-four of which, and no more, were constituted up to, and inclusive of the year 1725. This is at first sight somewhat confusing, but the Engraved List of 1725 shows that sixty-four lodges existed in that year, and as we shall presently see, there were many influences at work between the years 1725 and 1729, tending to keep down and still further reduce the number of lodges.

The Duke of Richmond was succeeded by Lord Paisley, afterward Earl of Abercorn, who appointed Dr. Desaguliers his Deputy, and during this Grand Mastership the only event worth recording, is the resolution passed February 28, 1726, giving past rank to Deputy Grand Masters, a privilege, it may be observed, also extended to Grand Wardens on May 10, 1727.

The next to ascend the Masonic throne was the Earl of Inchiquin, during whose term of office, Provincial Grand Masters were first appointed, and on June 24, 1727, the Masters and Wardens of Private Lodges were ordered to wear at all Masonic meetings, "the Jewells of Masonry hanging to a White Ribbon (vizt.) That the Mast. wear the Square, the Sen^{r}. Warden the Levell, and the Jun^{r}. Warden the Plumb Rule."[3]

About this period the question of Masonic precedency began to agitate the lodges, and the following extract from the minutes of Grand Lodge will afford the best picture I am able to present, of the manner in which their relative positions at the Quarterly Communications were determined, before any strict rule on the subject was laid down.

"December 19, 1727.—The Masters and Wardens of the Several Lodges following, attended and answered to their Names, vizt:—

[1] Anderson renders this—"The *Master* of a Lodge, with his *Wardens* and a competent *Number* of the Lodge assembled in due Form, can make *Masters* and *Fellows* at Discretion" (New Regulation XIII., § 2). The italics are the doctor's. It will be seen that the actual minutes of Grand Lodge are silent with regard to the admission of "Fellows." *Cf. ante*, pp. 110. 111.

[2] Although this statement rests upon Anderson's assertion in the Constitutions of 1738, I am disposed to believe it, because firstly, it seems inherently probable, and in the second place, Anderson apparently derived his *figures* from something in the nature of an attendance book, now missing. I may also add, that the number of lodges he alleges to have been present at any particular meeting of Grand Lodge, has always been correct, whenever I have been able to test its accuracy.

[3] "25 June 1728—Masters and Wardens of Lodges shall never attend the G. Lodge without their Jewels and Clothing" (Constitutions, 1738, N. R. XII.). Here Anderson is plainly incorrect, as the regulation to which he alludes, was enacted—according to the actual minutes of Grand Lodge—in the previous year.

1. Goose and Gridiron, St. Pauls.
2. Rose and Rummer, Castle Yard.
3. Queen's Head, Knave's Acre.
4. Horn, West[r].
5. Green, Dragon, Newgate St.
6. St. Paul's Head, Ludgate St.
7. Three Tuns, Swithin's Alley.
8. Queen's Head, Great Queen St.
9. Ship, Fish St. Hill.
10. Globe, Strand.
11. Tom's Coffee House, Clare Market.
12. Crown and Scepter, St. Martin's.
13. Swan, Greenwich.
14. Cross Keys, Henrietta St., Co: Garden.
15. Swan, Tottenham High Cross.
16. Swan and Rummer, Finch Lane.
17. Mag: Pye, against Bishopsgate Church.
18. Mount Coffee House, Grosvenor St."

Here we find the "Four Old Lodges" at the head of the roll, and arranged, moreover, in due order of seniority, reckoned from their age, or respective dates of establishment or constitution. This position they doubtless owed to the sense entertained of their services as founders of the Grand Lodge. But the places of the remaining lodges appear to have been regulated by no principle whatever. No. 5 above, becomes No. 19 on the first list (1729), in which the positions of lodges were determined by the dates of their warrants of constitution. Similarly, No. 6 drops down to the number 18, 7 to 12, 8 to 14, 9 to 22, 13 to 25, whilst the No. 11 of 1727 goes up to the sixth place on the Engraved List of 1729.

In the same year, at the ASSEMBLY on St. John's Day (in Christmas), the following resolution was adopted, "That it shall be referred to the succeeding Grand Master, Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens, to enquire into the Precedency of the Several Lodges, and to make report thereof at the next Quarterly Communication, in order that the same may be finally settled and entre'd accordingly."

In conformity with this regulation, "most of the Lodges present delivered the dates of their being Constituted into Lodges, in order to have precedency in the Printed Book;" others did so on June 25, 1728; and at the ensuing Grand Lodge held in November, the Master and Wardens of the several lodges were for the first time "called according to their seniority."

The grand officers, under whose superintendence the Engraved List[1] of 1729 was brought out—Lord Colerane, Grand Master; Alexander Choke, the Deputy; Nathaniel Blakerby and Joseph Highmore, Grand Wardens—were invested with their badges of office on the aforesaid St. John's Day, 1727, at which ASSEMBLY, an application by the members of the Lodge at the King's Head in Salford, that their names might be entered in the Grand Lodge Books, and themselves taken under the care and patronage of the Grand Lodge—which was acceded to—deserves to be recorded, both as showing the existence at that time of lodges other than those forming part of the *regular* establishment, as well as the tendency of all such bodies to gradually become absorbed within the central organization. These accessions strengthened the authority of Grand Lodge, whose officers wisely forebore from interposing any obstacles that might hinder or retard a surrender of their independence by those lodges which had not yet given in their adhesion to the new *régime*. Thus on November 26, 1728, a petition was presented from the "Master and Wardens of a Lodge *held for some time past* at Bishopsgate Coffee House, declaring their intention and earnest desire to be Constituted as soon as it will suit the conveniency of the Deputy Grand

[1] It is headed "A List of REGULAR LODGES *according to Seniority & Constitution.*" The words in italics appear in no previous lists.

Master to confer the honour upon them, and humbly praying to be admitted among the regular Lodges at this Quarterly Communication."

The Deputy Grand Master—Alexander Choke—we are informed, "did dispense with their being at present irregular, and admitted them into the Grand Lodge." At the same meeting, which was the last under the administration of Lord Colerane, it was settled, on the motion of Dr. Desaguliers, that there should be twelve stewards for the future, who should have the entire care and direction of the Annual Feast. Also, it was ordered, that in the absence of any officer of a lodge—Master or Warden—one of the members, "but not a mere *Enter'd Prentice*," might attend the Grand Lodge, "to supply his Room and support the Honor of his Lodge."[1]

Viscount Kingston—who was afterward at the head of the Craft in Ireland—was the next Grand Master, and the proceedings of Grand Lodge were agreeably diversified on the occasion of his installation—December 27, 1728—by a petition being presented from several Masons residing at Fort William in Bengal, wherein they acknowledged the authority of the Grand Master in England, and humbly prayed to be constituted into "a *Regular*[2] Lodge." The prayer was acceded to, and the duty entrusted to Mr. George Pomfret, brother to one of the petitioners, then on the eve of proceeding to the East Indies, and to whom was granted a deputation for the purpose. Similar deputations were granted to some brethren at Gibraltar[3] and to Mr. Charles Labelle (or *Labelye*), Master of the Lodge at Madrid—originally "constituted" by the Duke of Wharton in 1728[4]—but which the members subsequently prayed might be "constituted properly" under the direct sanction of Grand Lodge.[5]

The deputation to the Gibraltar Masons was granted to them "for and on behalf of several other Brethren, commissioned and non-commissioned officers and others, to be constituted a regular Lodge in due form," and the body thus legitimated, in a subsequent letter wherein they style themselves "The Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem[6] lately constituted at Gibraltar," express their thanks to Grand Lodge for empowering them "to hold a Lodge in as due and ample manner as hath been hitherto practised by our Brethren."[7]

Lord Kingston made very handsome presents to the Grand Lodge, and so great was his sense of the responsibilities of his office, that on a message reaching him in Ireland from the Deputy Grand Master, stating his presence was desirable at the Quarterly Communication of November 25, 1729, he forthwith embarked for England, and "rode Post from Holyhead in two days and a half," in order to preside over the meeting,—at the proceedings of which harmony appears to have prevailed, and certainly did toward the end, for the records inform us, "that the Deputy Grand Master, having gone through all business, clos'd the Lodge with the Mason's Song."

[1] Constitutions, 1738, N. R. XII.

[2] The most casual reader can hardly fail to notice, how universally the epithets of *regular*, and *irregular*, are used in the official records, to distinguish the tributary and the independent lodges respectively.

[3] Copies of the Fort William and Gibraltar Deputations, dated February 6, and March 9, respectively, are given in vol. i. of the Grand Lodge Minutes.

[4] Grand Lodge Minutes, April 17, 1728. [5] *Ibid.*, March 27, 1729.

[6] In the words of the Deputation sent to Gibraltar, using the expression "a Lodge of St. John," I find the earliest use of the phrase, a "St. John's Lodge" or "man," employed with so much frequency later, to denote the "unattached" lodge or brother.

[7] Grand Lodge Minutes, December 27, 1729.

During the term of office of this nobleman, the Grand Lodge "ordain'd" that every new lodge that should be constituted by the Grand Master, or by his authority, should pay the sum of two guineas toward the General Charity.[1] We also first hear of these grave irregularities, which, under the title of "making masons for small and unworthy considerations,"[2] are afterward so frequently alluded to in the official records. According to the minutes of March 27, 1729, "Complaint being made that at the Lodge at the One Tun in Noble Street, a person who was not a Mason was present at a Making, and that they made Masons upon a trifling expense only for the sake of a small reckoning, and that one Huddlestone of that Lodge brought one Templeman of the South Sea House with him, who was not a Mason, and the obligation was not required."

The Master and Wardens of the Lodge were ordered to attend at the next Quarterly Communication, "and in the mean time" to "endeavor to make the said Templeman a regular Mason." At the ensuing meeting the Master attended, and his explanation was deemed satisfactory; but whether, with the assistance of his Wardens, he ultimately succeeded in bringing Templeman within the fold, the records leave undecided.

The Duke of Norfolk, who succeeded Lord Kingston, was invested and installed at an ASSEMBLY and Feast held at Merchant-taylor's Hall, on January 29, 1730, in the presence of a brilliant company. No less than nine former Grand Masters attended on the occasion, and walked in the procession in order of juniority—viz., Lords Colerane, Inchiquin, and Paisley, the Duke of Richmond, Lord Dalkeith, the Duke of Montagu, Dr. Desaguliers, George Payne, and Anthony Sayer.

Although this was the only time the Duke of Norfolk was present at Grand Lodge during his tenure of office, as he shortly afterward went to Italy, his interest in the prosperity of the Institution is evinced both by his having personally constituted several lodges prior to his departure,[3] and having sent home many valuable presents from abroad, consisting of (1.) twenty pounds to the Charity fund, (2.) a large folio book for the records of Grand Lodge, and (3.) a sword of state (still in use), to be borne before the Grand Master, being the old trusty sword of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, which was next worn by his brave successor in war, Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, with both their names on the blade.

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, December 27, 1729.

[2] Other infractions of the General Regulations of a kindred, though not of an identical character, became indeed the subject of Masonic legislation at a much earlier period, *e.g.*—"25 April 1723.—Every Brother concerned in making Masons clandestinely, shall not be allowed to visit any Lodge till he has made due Submission, even tho' the Brothers so made may be allowed" (New Regulation VIII., item i.—Constitutions, 1738, p. 156).

[3] "Thursday night at the new erected Lodge, the Prince William Tavern, Charing Cross, the following gentlemen were admitted Free and Accepted Masons—viz., Governor Tinkler, General Tinkler, Governor Burrington, —— Frederick, Esq., a foreign minister, —— Goulston, Esq., Philip Lassels, Esq., Major Singleton, Mr Theobalds, Capt. Read, Mr Rice, and Mr Baynes, Master of the House. Present—The Duke of Norfolk, G.M., Lord Kingston, Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., Sir W. Saunderson, Sir W. Young, Col. Carpenter, and Mr Batson" (The Weekly Journal or British Gazetteer, No. 259, March 7, 1730). "Latter end of last week a new Lodge was set up at the Bear and Harrow Tavern in Butcher's Row, near Temple Bar, where several gentlemen of fortune were admitted Free and Accepted Masons. Present—the Grand Master (Duke of Norfolk), Lord Kingston, late G.M., Nat. Blackerby, D.G.M., and all the other Grand Officers of the Society" (*Ibid.*, No. 260, March 14, 1730). The former of these lodges I cannot identify, but the constitution of the latter (No. 74) was paid for April 21, 1730.

In this year the pamphlet already referred to, entitled "Masonry Dissected," was published by Samuel Prichard. "This work contained a great deal of plausible matter, mingled with some truth as well as falsehood; passed through a great many editions; was translated into the French, German, and Dutch languages; and became the basis or model on which all the *subsequent*[1] so-called expositions were framed."[2] It elicited a noble reply from an unknown writer, styled "A Defence of Masonry," which has been commonly, though (I think) erroneously, ascribed to Dr. Anderson, and produced one other good result by inducing stricter caution at the admission of visitors into lodges. Thus we learn, from the minutes of Grand Lodge, that on August 28, 1730, "Dr. Desaguliers stood up and (taking notice of a printed Paper lately published and dispersed about the Town, and since inserted in the News Papers, pretending to discover and reveal the Misteries of the Craft of Masonry) recommended several things to the consideration of the Grand Lodge, particularly the Resolution of the last Quarterly Communication,[3] for preventing any false brethren being admitted into regular Lodges, and such as call themselves Honorary Masons. The Deputy Grand Master seconded the Doctor, and proposed several rules to the Grand Lodge, to be observed in their respective Lodges, for their security against all open and Secret Enemies to the Craft."

The same records inform us that in the following December "D.G.M. Blackerby took notice of a Pamphlet lately published by one Prichard, who pretends to have been made a regular Mason: In violation of the Obligation of a Mason w^ch^ he swears he has broke in order to do hurt to Masonry, and expressing himself with the utmost indignation against both him (Stiling him an Impostor) and of his Book as a foolish thing not to be regarded. But in order to prevent the Lodges being imposed upon by false Brethren or Impostors: Proposed till otherwise Ordered by the Grand Lodge, that no Person whatsoever shall be admitted into Lodges unless some Member of the Lodge there present would vouch for such visiting Brothers being a regular Mason, and the Member's Name to be entered against the visitor's Name in the Lodge Book, which Proposal was unanimously agreed to."

It is a curious coincidence that the names of two of the earliest Grand Masters should be prominently associated with the proceedings of this meeting—Desaguliers, as the champion of order and regularity, and Sayer, alas, as an offender against the laws of that body over which he was called, in the first instance, to preside. The records state—"A paper, signed by the Master and Wardens of the Lodge at the Queen's Head in Knave's Acre, was presented and read, complaining of great irregularities having been committed by B^ro^ Anthony Sayer, notwithstanding the great ffavours he hath lately received by order of the Grand Lodge."[4]

December 15, 1730.—"B^ro^. Sayer attended to answer the complaint made against him, and after hearing both parties, and some of the Brethren being of opinion that what he had done was clandestine, others that it was irregular—the Question was put whether what was done was clandestine, or irregular only, and the Lodge was of opinion that it was irregular only—whereupon the Deputy Grand Master told B^ro^. Sayer that he was acquitted of the charge against him," *and recommended it to him to do nothing so irregular for the future!*

[1] It differed from the *earlier* so-called "exposures" in being much fuller, but there is every reason to believe that catechisms of a like character (and value) were in use very shortly after the establishment of the Grand Lodge. *Cf. ante*, pp. 109, 115; and Chap. XIII., p. 253.

[2] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 601. [3] Not recorded. [4] *Ante*, p. 99.

At this meeting the powers of the Committee of Charity were much extended. All business referring to Charity was delegated to it for the future, and the Committee were empowered to hear complaints, and ordered to report their opinion to Grand Lodge.

The Earl of Sunderland and Lord Portmore declining to be put in nomination for the Grand Mastership, Lord Lovell was elected to that office on March 17, 1731, on which occasion the following important regulations were enacted:—

That no Lodge should order a dinner on the Grand Feast Day.

That none but the Grand Master, his Deputy, and the Grand Wardens, should wear the Jewels in gold or gilt pendant to blue ribbons about their necks, and white leather aprons lined with blue silk.

That all who had served any of the three grand offices[1] should wear the like apron lined with blue silk in all lodges and Assemblies of Masons.

That Stewards should wear aprons lined with red silk, and have their proper jewels pendant to red ribbons.

That all who had served the office of Steward, should be at liberty to wear aprons lined with red silk "and not otherwise."

That Masters and Wardens of Lodges might wear their aprons lined with white silk, and their respective jewels with plain white ribbons, "but of no other colour whatsoever."

At the Quarterly Communication in June, a petition was presented, signed by several brethren, praying that they might be admitted into the Grand Lodge, and constituted into a *regular* lodge at the Three Kings in Crispin Street, Spittlefields. "After some debate, several brethren present vouching that they were *regular* Masons, they were admitted, and the Grand Master declared, that he or his Deputy would constitute them accordingly, and signed their petition for that purpose."

Of the distinction then drawn between the "regular" masons, and those hailing from lodges still working by inherent right, and independently of the central authority, the official records afford a good illustration.

These inform us that the petition for relief of Brother William Kemble was dismissed "satisfaction not being given to the Grand Lodge, how long he had been made a *regular* Mason,"[2] whilst a similar application from Brother Edward Hall, a member of the Lodge at the Swan in Chichester, resulted in a vote of Six Guineas, the latter alleging that he had been made a Mason in the said Lodge "by the late Duke of Richmond, six-and-thirty years ago," and being recommended by the then holder of that title, the Grand Master of 1724, who was present during the consideration of the petition.[3]

The Duke of Lorraine, who had received the two first degrees of Masonry at the Hague, by virtue of a Deputation granted to Dr. Desaguliers and others in 1731, visited England

[1] *I.e.*, G.M., D.G.M., and Wardens. The Treasurer and Secretary were not at this time regarded as Grand Officers. *Cf. post*, p. 144.

[2] Grand Lodge Minutes, June 24, 1731. Another applicant for relief at this meeting—Henry Pritchard—was described as "a *regular* mason upwards of forty years." This, if it does nothing else, would seem to establish the fact that the existence of Lodges in 1691—*working on the same lines as the memorable Four*, who met at the Goose and Gridiron in 1717—was believed in by the Grand Lodge of 1731. *Cf. ante*, p. 116, note 3.

[3] Grand Lodge Minutes, March 2, 1732. *Cf. ante*, p. 13. My friend, the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, lays great stress on this circumstance, as tending to "whitewash" Anderson, so far at least as respects the latter's statement with regard to the Duke of Richmond having been Grand Master in 1695. See, however, *ante*, pp. 8, 13: and Chap. XII., *passim*.

the same year, and was made a Master Mason, together with the Duke of Newcastle, at an "Occasional" Lodge formed by the Grand Master at Houghton Hall, the seat of Sir Robert Walpole, for that purpose.[1]

Lord Lovell was succeeded by Viscount Montagu,[2] and the latter by the Earl of Strathmore, at the time of his election Master of No. 90, the "University Lodge, at the Bear and Harrow in the Butcher's Row." He was installed by proxy, but presided over Grand Lodge on December 13, 1733, when the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

"That all such business which cannot conveniently be despatched by the Quarterly Communication, shall be referred to the Committee of Charity.

"That all Masters of Regular Lodges (contributors within twelve months to the General Charity), together with all present, former, and future Grand Officers, shall be members of that Committee.

"That all questions shall be carried by a majority of those present."

It has been necessary to give the preceding resolutions somewhat at length, because they have been singularly misunderstood by Findel and other commentators. Thus the German historian assures us—"This innovation, viz., the extension of the Committee for the administration of the Charity Fund into a meeting of *Master Masons*,[3] on whom power was conferred to make arrangements of the greatest importance, and to prepare new reso'utions, not only virtually annulled the authority vested in the Grand Lodge, but likewise greatly endangered the equality of the Brethren in the different Lodges."[4]

The criticism is misplaced. No such evils resulted, as, indeed, would have been simply impossible, upon the state of facts which the records disclose. Indeed, the schismatic Grand Lodge of 1753—which is supposed to have owed its existence to the series of innovations begun December 13, 1733—as we shall presently see, delegated, in like manner, the management of its routine business to a very similar committee, styled the "Steward's

[1] Constitutions, 1738, p. 129.—According to the minutes of No. 30,—constituted at Norwich 1724, erased Feb. 10, 1809, and the warrant assigned to the Lodge of Rectitude, Westbury, No. 632 (now No. 335)—published in the *Freemason*. Dec. 17, 1870, "Ye Rt. Hon. ye Lord Lovell, when he was G.M. summoned ye M. and Bn. to hold a lodge at Houghton Hall—there were present the G.M., His Royal Highness the Duke of Lorrain, and many other noble Bn., and when all was put into due form, G.M. presented the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Essex, Major-General Churchill, and his own Chaplin, who were unanimously accepted of, and made Masons by Rt. W'pful Thos. Johnston, the then M. of this Lodge." Among the distinguished members of the Lodge were Martin Folkes and Dr. Samuel Parr.

[2] According to Anderson (Constitutions, 1738, p. 194), Deputations were granted by Lord Montagu for constituting lodges at Valenciennes [in French Flanders], No. 127, and the Hotel de Bussy in Paris, No. 90, but the numerical position of the former, and the notice already given (*ante*, p. 105) of the latter, conflict with this assertion. Preston says, that in Lord Montagu's year, the Brethren met at Hampstead, and instituted the "Country Feast." This is slightly misleading. According to the records—"Viscount Montague, Grand Master, being Master of the Lodge at the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, *desired such brethren as pleased, to dine with him there*, and accordingly" the Dukes of Norfolk and Richmond, Lords Strathmore, Carpenter, and Teynham, and above one hundred brethren "dined with the Grand Master at the house of B^ro. Captain Talbot, being the Golden Spikes, Hampstead, at which time the Grand Master resign'd his chair as Master of that Lodge to the Lord Teynham" (Grand Lodge Minutes, April 13, 1732).

[3] The italics are mine.

[4] Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 154.

Lodge," the record of whose proceedings happily survives, whilst of that of its prototype, alas, only a fragment has been preserved.[1]

Whilst, however, many important details must remain hidden, which might explain much that is obscure in this portion of our annals, it is satisfactory to know that all matters deemed to be of consequence—and many that were not—were brought up by the Committee of Charity at the next Quarterly Communication for final determination. It is when the Communications were held with irregularity that our loss is the greatest, and of this we meet with an early example, for during the administration of the Earl of Crawford, who succeeded Lord Strathmore,[2] an interval of eleven months occurred between the meetings of Grand Lodge.

The former of these noblemen was initiated in the Lodge of Edinburgh under somewhat singular circumstances, as the following minute of that body attests: "Att Maries Chapell, the 7th day of August 1733. Present: the Right Honourable James Earle of Strathmore, present Grand Master of all the Lodges in England, and also chosen Grand Master for this present meetting. The which day the Right Honourable John Earle of Crawfurd, John Earle of Kintore, and Alexander Lord Garlies, upon application to the Societie, were admitted entered apprentices, and also receaved fellow crafts as honorary members."[3]

The Earl of Crawford was installed in office March 30, 1734, and the next meeting of Grand Lodge took place on February 24, 1735,[4] when "Dr Anderson, formerly Grand Warden, presented a Memorial, setting forth, that whereas the first edition of the General Constitutions of Masonry, compiled by himself, was all sold off, and a Second edition very much wanted, and that he had spent some thoughts upon some alterations and additions that might fittly be made to them, which he was now ready to lay before the Grand Lodge for their approbation—Resolved—that a Committee be appointed consisting of the present and former Grand Officers, and such other Master Masons as they should think proper to call on, to revise and compare the same, and when finished to lay the same before the Grand Lodge ensuing for their approbation."

Dr. Anderson "further represented that one William Smith, said to be a Mason, had, without privity or consent, pyrated a considerable part of the Constitutions of Masonry aforesaid, to the prejudice of the said Dr Anderson, it being his sole property."

'It was therefore Resolved and Ordered—That every Master and Warden present should do all in their power to discountenance so unfair a practice, and prevent the said Smith's Books[5] being bought by any member of their respective Lodges."

At this meeting the minutes of the two last Committees of Charity were read and approved of. The cost of serving the grand-mastership was restricted in future to the sum of thirty guineas, and the following resolution was adopted:

"That if any Lodge for the future within the Bills of Mortality shall not regularly meet

[1] The Minutes of the Committee of Charity, now extant, commence June 2, 1761.

[2] The Earl of Strathmore was elected Grand Master of Scotland, December 1, 1740.

[3] Lyon *op. cit.*, p. 161. On the same occasion two former Lord Provosts of Edinburgh were also initiated, and of the "group of Intrants" Lyon observes—"Two of them—Lords Crawfurd and Kintore—became Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge of England; the latter also filled that post in the Grand Lodge of Scotland; another—Lord Garlies—presided in the same Grand Body; and the remaining two—ex-provosts Lindsay and M'Aulay—were afterwards Grand Wardens under the Scottish Constitution" (*Ibid*).

[4] Vol. II., p. 135.

[5] The work referred to was entitled "A Pocket Companion For Freemasons," MDCCXXXIV.

for the space of one year, such Lodge shall be erased out of the Book of Lodges, and in case they shall afterwards be desirous of meeting again as a Lodge, they shall loose their former Rank, and submitt themselves to a New Constitution."[1]

In the following month—March 31—the Grand Master "took notice (in a very handsome speech) of the Grievance of making extraneous Masons, in a private and clandestine manner, upon small and unworthy considerations, and proposed, that in order to prevent the Practice for the future: No person thus admitted into the Craft, nor any that can be proved to have assisted at such Makings, shall be capable either of acting as a Grand Officer on occasions, or even as an officer in a private Lodge, nor ought they to have any part in the General Charity, which is much impaired by this clandestine Practice."

"His Worship, secondly, proposed, that since the General Charity may possibly be an inducement to certain persons to become Masons merely to be admitted to the Benefit thereof: That it be a Resolution of the Grand Lodge that the Brethren subscribing any Petitions of Charity should be able to certify that they have known the Petitioner in reputable or at least in tollerable circumstances."

These proposals of the Grand Master, together with some others referring to the fund of Charity, "were received with great unanimity and agreed to."[2]

"Then a Motion was made that Dr James Anderson should be desired to print the Names (in his New Book of Constitutions[3]) of all the Grand Masters that could be collected from the beginning of time," also of the Deputy Grand Masters, Grand Wardens, and of "the Brethren who have served the Craft in the Quality of Stewards, which was thought necessary—Because it is Resolved, that for the future, all Grand Officers (except the Grand Master) shall be selected out of that Body."

The business of this important meeting having been brought to a satisfactory close, "his Lordship was pleased to order"—so the minutes inform us—"a large quantity of Rack, that was made a present of, from Bengall, to be made into Punch, and to be distributed among the Brethren."

Lord Weymouth,[4] who became the next head of the Society, was installed April 17, 1735, but left all business to be transacted by his Deputy John (afterwards Lord) Ward, in which capacity the latter presided at a Quarterly Communication, held June 24, and as the minutes inform us, "very justly took notice of the great want of order that had sometimes happened in the debates of these Assemblies, and earnestly recommended to those present, the preserving proper Decency[5] and Temper in the management of the De-

The "force of this resolution" was afterwards made to operate from June 24, 1735, and to apply to "*all Lodges in England*, that neither meet, nor send in their charity, or attend Quarterly Communication, within the space of one year."

[2] A summary of the above resolutions forms the 5th Item of New Regulation VIII., as given in the Constitutions of 1738 (p. 156).

[3] The publication of this book—according to Findel—was most likely delayed in consequence of the grievous events which, like a storm, were gathering round the Fraternity, threatening to disturb its peace, and which were sought to be averted by the passing of the resolution (New Regulation VIII.) against the illegal conventions of Masons, "who have lately met secretly," etc. (History of Freemasonry, p. 155). See, however, the last note, and *ante*, p. 137.

[4] The author of "Multa Paucis" omits Viscount Weymouth from the list of Grand Masters, and says—"Grand Master Crawford honoured the Fraternity with continuing in Solomon's Chair for the space of two years" (p. 98).

[5] On April 6, 1736, a New Regulation (XL.) containing ten articles—for explaining what concern'd

bates; and advised *that only one person should speak at a time*, desiring only that the Practice of the Grand Lodge in this case might be a fitt Pattern to be followed by every Private Lodge." On the same occasion, a memorial was read from the Stewards, praying:—

"1. That they might meet monthly or otherwise, as a Lodge of Master Masons (under the Denomination of the Steward's Lodge) and be enrolled among the number of the Lodges as usual, with the times of their meeting.

"2. That they might be so far distinguished (since all the Grand Officers are for the future appointed to be chosen out of their number [1]) as to send a deputation of 12 from the whole body of Stewards to each Quarterly Communication. All the 12 to have voices, and to pay half a crown apiece towards the expense of that occasion.

"3. That no one who had not served the Society as a Steward might be permitted to wear the Coloured Ribbonds or Aprons. But that such as had been Stewards might wear a particular Jewel suspended in the proper Ribbond wherein they appear as Masons."

On a division being taken, the privileges sought to be obtained, were granted, "45 of the Assembly being in the Affirmative, and 42 in the negative."

"It was also declared—That the 12 Stewards for any coming year might attend in their proper colours, and on paying as usual for 4 Lodges, but are not to be allowed to vote, nor to be heard in any debate, unless relating to the ensuing Feast."

The twelve Stewards appeared for the 1st time in their new badges at a Grand Lodge, held December 11, 1735. Sir Robert Lawley, Master of the newly constituted Steward's Lodge, "reported that Br. Clare, the Junior Grand Warden, had been pleased to entertain it on the first visiting Night with an excellent Discourse containing some Maxims and Advice that concerned the Society in General, which at the time seemed to their own Lodge, and an hundred visiting Brethren," worthy of being read before the Grand Lodge itself—which was accordingly done, it being "received with great attention and applause," and the lecturer "desired to print the same." [2]

After these amenities, the proceedings were diversified by the presentation of "a petition and appeal, signed by several Masters of Lodges against the privileges granted to the Steward's Lodge at the last Quarterly Communication. The Appellants were heard at large, and the question being put, whether the determination of the last Quarterly Communication, relating to that matter, should be confirmed or not. In the course of the collecting the votes on this occasion, there appeared so much confusion, that it was not possible for the Grand Officers to determine with any certainty what the numbers on either side of the question were. They were therefore obliged to dismiss the Debate and close the Lodge."

Martin Clare, the Junior Grand Warden, acted on this occasion as Deputy Grand Master, and George Payne (by desire) as Grand Master, with Jacob Lamball and Dr. Anderson as his Wardens "*pro tempore.*"

To the presence, perhaps, in the official chairs, of the three veterans, whose services as Grand Officers began before those of the Grand Stewards had any existence, may be due

the *Decency* of Assemblies and Communications—was proposed by D.G.M. Ward, and agreed to by the Grand Lodge.

[1] Agreed to at the previous Communication in March. The privilege of nominating their successors, had been conceded to the Stewards, March 2, 1732.

[2] Martin Clare—a Fellow of the Royal Society—was appointed D.G.M. in 1741. His Oration was translated into several foreign languages, and a reprint of it will be found in the Pocket Companion for 1754 (pp. 282-291), and other works.

the fact, that for once at least, the pretensions of the latter met with a signal check. At the next meeting of the Grand Lodge, however, held April 6,1736, Ward was present, and in the chair, with Desaguliers sitting as his Deputy, and against the influence of these two supporters of the Steward's Lodge, combined with that of several noblemen who also attended on the occasion, Payne, Lamball, and Anderson, though reinforced by the presence of a fourth veteran—Josiah Villeneau, Grand Warden in 1721—must have felt—if, indeed, my belief in their wishing to give the weaker side in the contention the benefit of fair play rests upon any other foundation than conjecture—that it would be useless to struggle.

The appeal does not seem to have been proceeded with, though the principle it involved was virtually decided (without debate [1]) by the members of Grand Lodge being declared to be—1. The four present and all former grand officers; 2. The Master and Wardens of all constituted (*i.e.*, regular) lodges; and 3. The Master and Wardens, and *nine* representatives of the Steward's Lodge.[2]

It was not until June 24, 1741, that "the Treasurer, Secretary, and Sword-bearer of the Society were declared *members* of every Quarterly Communication or Grand Lodge;" and it was only decided, after a long debate, on June 14, 1753, that "the Treasurer was a 'Grand Officer,' by virtue of his office, and as such, to be elected from amongst the brethren who had served the Stewardship."

Frederick, Prince of Wales, became a member of the Society in 1737, and the "New Book of Constitutions" was published in 1738, the same year in which the first Papal Bull was issued against the Freemasons. With the exception of these events, and the issue of deputations for the purpose of founding lodges in foreign parts—of which more hereafter—there is nothing of moment to chronicle from April 15, 1736, when the sequence of Grand Masters was continued by the installation of the Earl of Loudoun, down to May 3, 1739, when Henry, Marquess of Carnarvon, who followed the Earl of Darnley in the chair, in turn gave place to Lord Raymond.

Not to break the thread of my narrative, the few observations that I have to make on the Constitutions and the Bull of 1738 will be postponed until the general history of the Society has been brought down to the year 1754, at which date *another* Marquess of Carnarvon appears on the scene, also as Grand Master, with whose acts, notably in regard to the so-called "Ancient" Masons, those of his predecessor in office (and title) appear—perhaps not unnaturally—to have been confounded.

During the administration of *James*, the Marquess and Grand Master of 1754-56, we find many subjects engaging the attention of Grand Lodge, with which we are, to a certain extent, familiar, from the earlier records dealing with the history of English Masonry at the time of *Henry*, the Marquess and Grand Master of 1738-39. Irregularities, calling for prompt action on the part of the authorities, occurred in either case, and to complete the parallel, new editions of the "Constitutions" were published in 1738, and also in 1756. But the "irregularities"—to use the generic term by which all breaches of Masonic law or

[1] *I.e.*, in Grand Lodge, though the subject was doubtless discussed at the Committee of Charity, which resisted the encroachments of the Stewards until a much later date. See the next note.

[2] Feb. 7, 1770.—"As the right of the members of the Steward's Lodge in general to attend the Committee of Charity appeared doubtful the Grand Lodge was of opinion they had not a general right to attend. But in order to make a proper distinction *between that and the other Lodges*, a motion was made [and adopted], that as the Master alone of each private Lodge had a right to attend, so the Master and three other members should attend on behalf of the Steward's Lodge, at every succeeding Committee" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

discipline were commonly described—were of an entirely different character in the respective eras of the two Lords Carnarvon; and it is quite as improper to associate the grand-mastership of the earlier of these noblemen with the commencement of the great Schism, as it would be to mark the date of some event still looming in the future, by connecting it with the year (1874) when the name of a *third* Lord Carnarvon was added—amid general rejoicing—to the roll of our English Grand Masters.

On June 12, 1739, the members of Grand Lodge were "moved to take into their future cons^n^. the complaint concerning the irregular making of Masons," brought before them in the previous June. "Whereupon the Grand Master [Lord Raymond] took notice, that although some Brothers might have been guilty of an offence tending so much to destroy the Cement of the Lodge, and so utterly inconsistent with the Rules of the Society, yet he could not bring himself to believe that it had been done otherwise than through Inadvertency, and therefore proposed that if any such Brothers there were, they might be forgiven for this time, which was Ordered accordingly;" also "that the Laws be strictly put in Execution against all such Brothers as shall for the future countenance, connive, or assist at any such irregular makings."

A summary of these proceedings is given in the Constitutions of 1756, 1767, and 1784; but in the edition last named, we meet with a note of fifty lines, extending over three pages,[1] and which, from its appearance in a work sanctioned and recommended by the Masonic authorities, has led to a wide diffusion of error with regard to the historical points it was placed there to elucidate. It does not even possess the merit of originality, for the compiler or editor, John Noorthouck, took it without acknowledgment from Preston, by whom the statements it contains, were first given to the world in a manner peculiarly his own, and from which those familiar with the general proportion borne by the latter's assertions to the actual truth, will believe that the note in question rests on a very insecure foundation of authority. Besides the affairs of the Society in 1739, it also professes to explain the causes which led to the great Schism, and for this reason will be considered later[2] and as introductory to the two following chapters, wherein the formation of a *second* Grand Lodge of England and its alleged connection with York are severally treated.

Lord Raymond was succeeded in April 1740 by the Earl of Kintore, who had only retired from the presidency of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in the previous November. The latter's initiation has been already adverted to,[3] and it only remains to be stated that he was Master of the Lodge of Aberdeen from 1735 to 1738 inclusive; also that as Grand Master of the Scottish, as well as of the English Craft, he was succeeded by the Earl of Morton.

On July 23, 1740, "B^ro^. Berrington informed the [Grand] Lodge that several Irregularities in the making of Masons having been lately committed, and other Indecencies offered in the Craft by several Brethren, he cautioned the Masters and Wardens against admitting such persons into their Lodges. And thereupon, several Brethren insisting that such Persons should be named, the same was, after a long Debate, and several Questions put—Ordered accordingly. When B^ro^ Berrington informed the Lodge that B^ro^ George Monkman had a list of several such persons. He on being required to do so, named Esquire Cary, Mansell Bransby, and James Bernard, late Stewards,[4] who assisted at an

[1] 239-241. [2] *Post*, p. 149. [3] *Ante*, p. 141.

[4] They served the office of Steward at the Grand Feast, April 22, 1740, were thanked in the usual form by the Grand Master, and were directed to choose their successors.

irregular Making." The minutes of this meeting terminate somewhat abruptly with the words—"When it being very late, the Lodge was closed." No further proceedings in the matter are recorded, nor indeed, are *any irregularities of the kind* again mentioned in the official records until 1749, when Lord Byron had entered upon the third year of his grand mastership. This, conjointly with the circumstance that Berrington and Monkman, as well as the others, were former Grand Stewards,[1] whose position in those days corresponded very closely with that of Grand Officers in our own, demands very careful attention.

It is evident that the authority of Grand Lodge was in no wise seriously menaced between 1740 and 1749, as the stream of historians would have us believe; indeed, on the contrary, the absolute silence of the records, with regard to infractions of Old and New Regulation VIII.[2] during the period in question, sufficiently proves that, for a time at least in the regular lodges, they had entirely ceased. This supposition is strengthened, however, by the evidence last presented, from which it would appear that irregularities were committed by the thoughtless, as well as by those who were wilfully disobedient to the laws; and that in both cases the governing body was quite able to vindicate its authority.

On June 24, 1741, it was ordered by Grand Lodge that the proceedings of lodges, and the names of brethren present at meetings, should not in future be printed without the permission of the Grand Master or his deputy. Also "that no new Lodge should for the future be constituted within the Bills of Mortality, without the consent of the Brethren assembled in Quarterly Communication first obtained for that purpose." The latter regulation being found detrimental to the Craft, was repealed March 23, 1742, and in lieu thereof it was resolved "that every brother do conform to the law made February 19, 172$\frac{3}{4}$, 'that no brother belong to more than *one* Lodge within the Bills of Mortality.'"[3]

Lord Ward, who succeeded the Earl of Morton in April 1742, was well acquainted with the nature and government of the Society, having served every office from the Secretary in a private lodge to that of Grand Master. The administration of the Earl of Strathmore, who next presided over the Society, is associated with no event of importance; and of that of his successor, Lord Cranstoun, it is only necessary to record that on April 3, 1747, a resolution was passed, discontinuing for the future the usual procession on the feast day.

"The occasion of this prudent regulation was, that some unfaithful brethren, disappointed in their expectations of the high offices and honours of the Society, had joined a number of the buffoons of the day, in a scheme to exhibit a mockery of the public procession to the grand feast."[4]

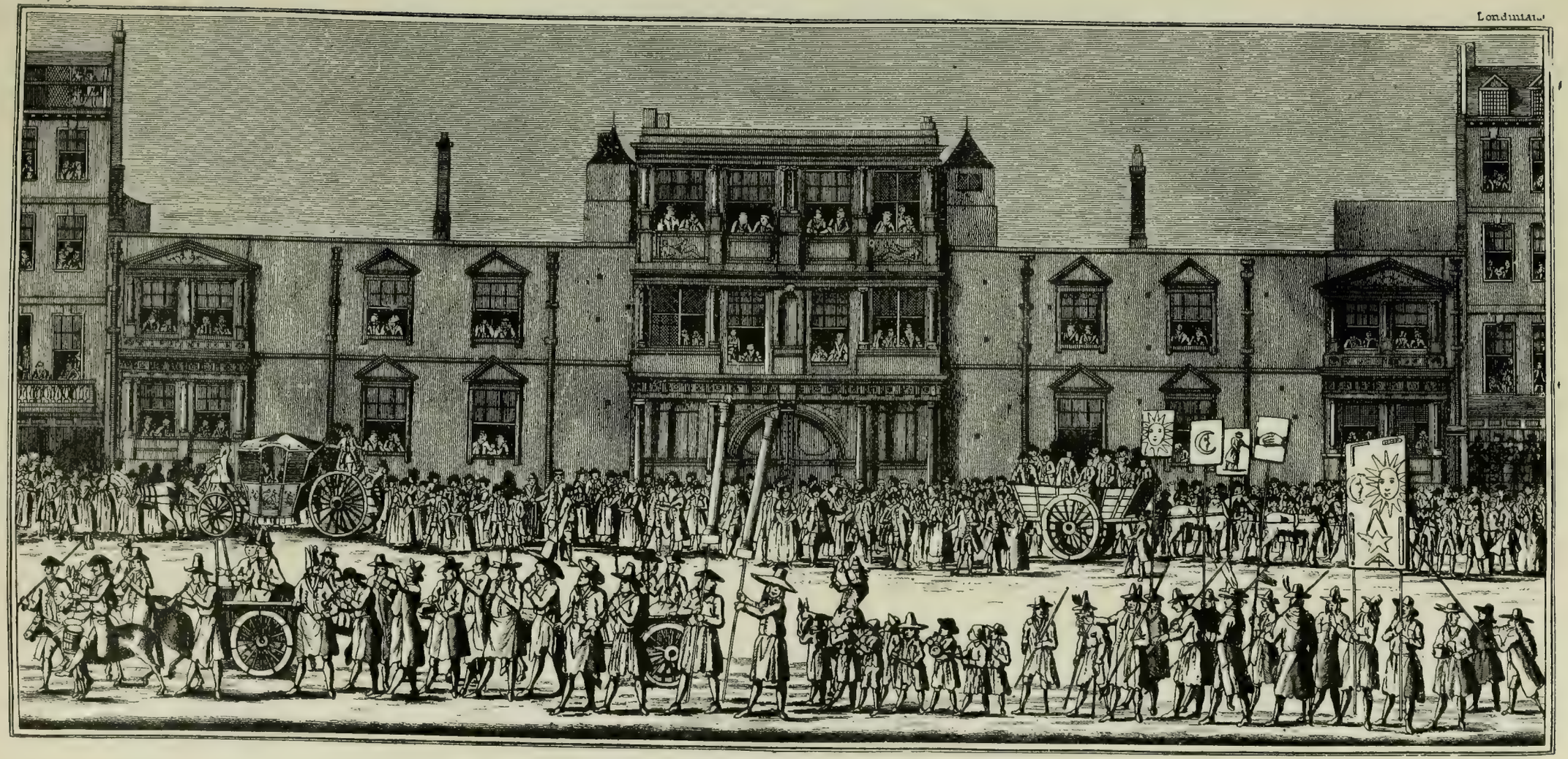
Lord Byron was elected Grand Master on April 30, 1747, and presided over the fraternity until March 20, 1752, but was only present in Grand Lodge on those dates, and on March 16, 1752, when he proposed Lord Carysfort as his successor. During the presidency of this nobleman, which lasted for five years, the affairs of the Society were much neg-

[1] Findel justly observes (here following Kloss), "that the establishment of the Steward's Lodge, and the privileges accorded to them, although innovations totally opposed to the Masonic Spirit of Equality, were not by any means a sufficient reason for disunion in the Fraternity" (*op. cit.*, p. 173). Indeed, as will be seen from the text, the Stewards took part in the very irregularities, which have been attributed to the favoritism—shown to themselves!

[2] Constitutions, 1738, pp. 156, 157. The former will be found in the Appendix. The latter consists of laws passed April 25, 1723; Feb. 19 and Nov. 21, 1724, Feb. 24 and March 31, 1735; which are referred to in this chapter under their respective years.

[3] *Ante*, 128.

[4] Constitutions, 1784, p. 253.



A Mock, Grand Procession of the Scald Miserable Masons, Passing Old Somerset House, Strand, London, 1742.

Copied from the very rare original print by A. Benoist, published in 1771.

lected, and to this period of misrule—aggravated by the summary erasure of lodges to which I shall shortly have occasion to refer—we must look, I think, for the cause of that organized rebellion against authority, resulting in the great Schism. As will be seen below,[1] only one Grand Lodge (besides the Grand Feast of April 30) was held in 1747; in 1748 there were two; in 1749 and 1750, one each; and in 1751, two. Between, moreover, these several Communications, there were, in two instances, great intervals of time—that of June 1750, being held *thirteen*, and that of September 1751, *fifteen*, months after its immediate predecessor.

The same Grand Officers, and Grand Stewards, continued in office from 1747 until 1752, which is the more remarkable because the honors of the Craft were much coveted. The Stewards were an influential body, and from 1728 to 1747, with but two exceptions—1742-43 and 1745-46, when Lords Ward and Cranstoun respectively had second terms—twelve Stewards were annually appointed.

In "Multa Paucis" a statement occurs, which, though the work is not one of much authority, I think must have had some foundation in fact, the more especially, as the event it professes to record, is only said to have happened about eleven or twelve years previously, and therefore stands on quite another footing, historically speaking, from the earlier part of the same publication.[2]

The following is the passage referred to:

"Grand Master Byron was very inactive. Several years passed by without his coming to a Grand Assembly, nay, even neglected to nominate his successor.

"The Fraternity, finding themselves intirely neglected, it was the Opinion of many old Masons to have a consultation about electing a new and more active Grand Master, and assembled for that Purpose, according to an Advertisement, which accidentally was perceived by our worthy Brother, *Thomas Manningham*, M.D., who, for the Good of Masonry, took the trouble upon him to attend at this Assembly, and gave the Fraternity the most prudent Advice for their future Observance, and lasting Advantage. They all submitted to our worthy Brother's superior Judgment, the Breach was healed."[3]

The minutes of the Grand Lodge are provokingly silent throughout the period under examination, and the only entry to which I need allude occurs under May 26, 1749, when a "Bro. Mercado" having acknowledged his fault, and explained that a person made a mason irregularly, "had agreed to be regularly made the next Lodge night at the George in Ironmonger Lane, was, at the intercession of the Master and Wardens of the said Lodge, forgiven."

Lord Byron, who, we learn, "had been abroad for several years," proposed Lord Carysfort as his successor, on March 15, and the latter was duly placed in the chair on March 20, 1752, when "all expressed the greatest Joy at the happy Occasion of their Meeting,

[1] Dec. 16, 1747; March 7 and Dec. 22, 1748; May 26, 1749; June 25, 1750; Sept. 4 and Oct. 24, 1751.

[2] Every historical work needs to be analyzed, and to have its several portions separately estimated. Whatever is remote or particular will claim our credence according to the opinion we may form of the historian's veracity, accuracy, judgment, and means of information; but the truth of narratives relating to events *that were matters of notoriety in the writer's time*, rests altogether upon a different ground; being necessarily involved in the fact that the work was published and accepted as authentic at such or such a date" (Taylor, the Process of Historical Proof, 1828, p. 57).

[3] The complete Free Mason; or, Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets [1763-64], *p.* 105. *Cf.* Vol. II., p. 161, *ante*, pp. 32, 143.

after a longer recess than had been usual." Dr. Manningham, who had been one of the Grand Stewards under Lord Byron, was appointed Deputy Grand Master, although, unlike all his predecessors in that office from 1735,[1] he had not previously served as a Grand Warden, a qualification deemed so indispensable in later years, as to be affirmed by a resolution of the Committee of Charity.[2] This points to his having rendered signal services to the Society, which would so far harmonize with the passage in "Multa Paucis," and be altogether in keeping with the character of the man.[3]

On June 18, 1752, complaint was made in Grand Lodge, "of the frequency of irregular makings—when the D.G.M. recommended the brethren to send to him or the Grand Secretary the names of such as shall be so irregularly made, and of those who make them."

At this date, however, the schism or secession had assumed form and cohesion, and although the recusant masons had not yet formed a "Grand Lodge," they were governed by a "Grand Committee,"[4] which was the same thing except in name.

On November 23, 1753, it was enacted, "That no Lodge shall ever make a Mason without due inquiry into his character, neither shall any Lodge be permitted to make and raise the same Brother at one and the same Meeting, without a dispensation from the Grand Master, which on very particular occasions may be requested."

Also, "That no Lodge shall ever make a Mason for a less sum than one Guinea, and that Guinea to be appropriated either to the private Fund of the Lodge, or to the Publick Charity, without deducting from such Deposit any Money towards the Defraying the Expense of the Tyler," etc.

The latter resolution was not to extend, however, to waiters or other menial servants.

Lord Carysfort was succeeded by *James*, Marquess of Carnarvon—son of the Duke of Chandos, a former Grand Master[5]—who, on investment—March 25, 1754—continued Dr. Manningham as his Deputy. In this year a committee was appointed to revise the "Book of Constitutions;" twenty-one country lodges were erased for nonconformity with the laws; and some irregularities were committed by a lodge meeting at the Ben Jonson's Head in Pelham Street, Spitalfields, through which we first learn, in the records under examination, of the existence of so-called *Ancient Masons*, who claimed to be independent of the Grand Lodge of 1717, and, as such, neither subject to its laws or to the authority of its Grand Master.

According to Laurence Dermott, the members of this Lodge, No. 94, "were censured, not for assembling under the denomination of 'Ancient Masons,' but for practising Ancient Masonry;"[6] which is incorrect, as they were guilty of *both* these offences. The former they admitted, and the latter was substantiated by the evidence of "Bro^{rs} Jackson and Pollard, who had been refused admittance at those Meetings until they submitted to be

[1] The "Deputies" appointed after the regulation of March 31, 1735 (*q.v.*), John, afterward Lord, Ward; W. Græme; Martin Clare; Sir R. Lawley; W. Vaughan; E. Hody; and Fotherly Baker, had all served both as Stewards and Grand Wardens.

[2] April 8, 1767. From 1735 down to 1812, every D. G.M. except Manningham and John Revis (1757-61) was a past Steward and Grand Warden. The latter, however, served the Stewardship in 1729, and was Grand Secretary 1734-56.

[3] *Cf.* Constitutions, 1756, p. 258.

[4] The "Transactions" of this body commence February 5, 1752. *Cf.* Chap. XVIII

[5] *Ante*, p. 144.

[6] Ahiman Rezon, 1778.

made *in their novel and particular Manner.*"[1] For these practices the lodge was very properly erased, and it is curious that the only hands held up in its favor were those of the representatives of the lodge then meeting at the Fish and Bell—Original No. 3.

The Marquis of Carnarvon was succeeded by Lord Aberdour, afterwards 16th Earl of Morton, a former Grand Master of Scotland (1755), May 18, 1757, of whose administration it will be sufficient to record, that on January 24, 1760, a resolution was passed to the effect that the sum of fifty pounds be sent to Germany, to be distributed among the soldiers who were Masons in Prince Ferdinand's army, whether English, Hanoverians, or Hessians.

I have now brought down the annals of the Grand Lodge of England to a period at which it will be convenient to pause, whilst we proceed to examine the records of two contemporary bodies—the "Grand Lodge of *All* England," and the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions." Accounts of these Societies will therefore be given in Chapters XVIII. and XIX. respectively, and the order of time will be so far transgressed as to preserve the narrations entire. But it is first of all essential to revert to the *alleged* origin of the Great Schism, and there are also a few features of the Freemasonry of England between 1723 and 1760 upon which a word or two have yet to be said.

The note in the Constitutions of 1784, to which I have referred at p. 145, was copied from the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1783; but the subject-matter appeared in the earlier Calendar of 1776, whilst that publication was brought out by the Stationers' Company,[2] and before it had passed into the hands of Grand Lodge. The disputes of the year 1739 were included among the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry," compiled by William Preston,[3] who, I apprehend, must have published a pamphlet, reflecting on the Schismatics, in 1775.[4] A still earlier notice of his *quondam* co-sectaries, occurs in the second edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry," which also appeared in that year. It is given as a *note* to the narrative of Lord Raymond's administration under the year 1739,[5] and runs—

"Several persons, disgusted at some of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge *at this time*, renounced their allegiance to the Grand Master, and in opposition to the original laws of the Society, and their solemn ties, held meetings, made masons, and falsely assuming the appellation of a Lodge, even presumed to constitute lodges. The regular masons, finding it necessary to check their progress, *adopted some new measures.* Piqued by this proceeding, they endeavoured to propagate an opinion, that the ancient practices of the Society were retained by them, and totally abolished by the regular Lodges, on whom they conferred the appellation of *Modern Masons.* By this artifice they continued to impose on the public, and introduced several gentlemen into their assemblies; but of late years, the fallacy being detected, they have not been so successful."

In the "Freemasons' Calendar" of 1776, however, the disturbances, which we are told above had their origin in 1739, are traced back to the time of Lord Loudon, whose appointment of grand officers in 1736, Preston now informs us, gave offence to a few individuals, who withdrew from the society during the presidency of the Earl of Darnley, but in that of Lord Raymond "assembled in the character of Masons, and without any power or authority from the Grand Master, initiated several persons into the order for small and unworthy considerations."[6]

[1] Grand Lodge Minutes, March 8, 1754; March 20 and July 24, 1755.

[2] The editions of 1775 and 1776 were published by the Stationers' Company.

[3] *Post*, p. 175. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 176. [5] P. 258

[6] Pp. 19, 20; also reproduced in substance in the edition for 1783.

Ultimately the story assumed the stereotyped form in which we now possess it. Successive editions of the "Illustrations of Masonry," published in 1781, 1788, 1792 and later, inform us that in the time of Lord Carnarvon (1738) some discontented brethren, taking advantage of the breach between the Grand Lodges of London and York,[1] assumed, without authority, the character of York Masons; that the measures adopted to check them seemed to authorize an omission of, and a variation in, the ancient ceremonies; that the seceders immediately announced independency, and assumed the appellation of *ancient* masons, also they propagated an opinion that the ancient tenets and practices of Masonry were preserved by them; and that the regular lodges, being composed of *modern* masons, had adopted *new* plans, and were not to be considered as acting under the *old* establishment.[2]

Here, as I have already ventured to express, we meet with an anachronism, for the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of 1738 are certainly confused with those of a much later date. But the chief interest of the story, lies in the statement that changes were made in the established forms, "which even the urgency of the case could not warrant."[3] Although, indeed, the passages last quoted were *continued* in the editions of his work published after 1789, we must not lose sight of the fact that they were written (1781) by Preston—a very doubtful authority at any time—during the suspension of his Masonic privileges, and when he must have been quite unable to criticize dispassionately the proceedings of the Grand Lodge, against whose authority he had been so lately in rebellion.[4]

It appears to me that the summary erasure of lodges for non-attendance at the quarterly Communications, and for not "paying in their charity," was one of the leading causes of the Secession, which, as before expressed, I think must have taken place during the presidency of Lord Byron (1747-52). In the ten years, speaking roundly, commencing June 24, 1742, and ending November 30, 1752, no less than forty-five lodges, or about a third of the total of those meeting in the metropolis, were struck out of the list. Three, indeed, were restored to their former places, but only after intervals of two, four, and six years respectively. The case of the "Horn" Lodge has been already referred to;[5] but with regard to those of its fellow-sufferers, mentioned in the note below,[6] it may be stated that No. 9 was restored, "it appearing that their Non-Attendance was occasioned by Mistake;" also No. 54, "it appearing that their not meeting regularly had been occasioned by unavoidable Accidents."

On the principle that history repeats itself, the minutes of "Sarum" Lodge, later in the century, may hold up a mirror, in which is reflected the course of action adopted by the erased lodges of 1742-52. This lodge, which became No. 37 at the change of numbers in 1780, was erased February 6, 1777, for non-compliance with the order of Grand Lodge, requiring an account of registering fees and subscriptions since October 1768.

"Our refusal," says their letter in reply,[7] "has arisen from a strict obedience to the laws, principles, and constitutions, which expressly say, 'that though the Grand Lodge have

[1] *Cf. post*, p. 164. [2] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 285, *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 287. Compare with the words italicized in the extract from the edition of 1775 (*ante*, p. 149).

[4] *Post*, p. 177, *et seq.* [5] *Ante*, p. 95.

[6] No. 9, The King's Arms, New Bond Street, *erased* March 25, 1745; *restored* March 7, 1747. No. 54, The George, in St. Mary Axe. *erased* Nov. 21, 1745; *restored* Sept. 4, 1751. No. 2, The Horn, in Westminster, *erased* April 3, 1747; *restored* Sept. 4, 1751.

[7] Dated March 19, 1777.

an inherent power and authority to make new regulations, the real benefit of the ancient Fraternity shall in all cases be consulted, and the old landmarks carefully preserved.' By the late attempt of the Grand Lodge to impose a tax on the brethren at large, under penalty of erasing them from that list wherein they have a right to stand enrolled, as long as they shall preserve the principles of that constitution, the bounds prescribed by these landmarks seem to have been exceeded; the Grand Lodge has taken upon itself the exercise of a power hitherto unknown; the ancient rules of the fraternity (which gave freedom to every Mason) have been broke in upon; and that decency of submission, which is produced by an equitable government, has been changed to an extensive, and, we apprehend, a justifiable resistance to the endeavors of the Grand Lodge."

The Lodge was restored May 1, 1777, but on a further requisition from the Grand Lodge of two shillings per annum from each brother toward the Liquidation Fund, the members met, November 19, 1800, and unanimously agreed *not* to contribute to this requisition. After which, a proposal for forming a Grand Lodge in Salisbury, independent of the Grand Lodge of England, was moved and carried.[1]

The arbitrary proceedings of 1742-52 were doubtless as much resented in London, as those of 1777-99 were in the Country, and in passing from the subject, I shall briefly remark that though the last Lodge warranted in 1755, bore the number 271, only 200 Lodges were carried forward at the closing-up and alteration of numbers in 1756.[2]

According to the Engraved Lists,[3] Lodges were constituted by the Grand Lodge of England at Madrid in 1728, in Bengal 1730, at Paris 1732, Hamburgh and Boston (U.S.A.) 1733, the Hague, Lisbon, and in Georgia, 1735; in the West Indies 1738, Switzerland 1739, Denmark 1745, Minorca 1750, Madras 1752, Virginia 1753, and in Bombay 1758. Deputations were also granted to a number of persons in foreign countries, but of these no exact record has been preserved.

Among the early Grand Masters who were Fellows of the Royal Society, may be named Dr. Desaguliers, the Duke of Montagu, the Earls of Dalkeith, Strathmore, Crawford, and Morton, Lords Paisley and Colerane—and Francis Drake, who presided over the Grand Lodge at York. The Duke of Lorraine, and the Chevalier Ramsay, were likewise both "Brethren" and "Fellows."

The following Deputies were also F.R.S.: Martin Folks, D.G.M., 1724; W. Græme, 1739; Martin Clare, 1741; and E. Hody, 1745-46; so were Sir J. Thornhill, S.G.W., 1728, and Richard Rawlinson, Grand Steward, 1734; whilst it may interest some readers to learn that William Hogarth, son-in-law of the former, served the stewardship in 1735. Of the other Grand Stewards down to the year 1760 it will be sufficient to name John Faber, 1740; Mark Adston, 1753; Samuel Spencer, 1754; the Rev J. Entick, 1752; and Jonathan Scott, 1758-59.

Editions of the "Book of Constitutions" appeared in 1723, 1738, 1746,[4] and 1756. The

[1] F. H. Goldney, History of Freemasonry in Wiltshire, 1880, pp. 109–119.

[2] Forty-five *London* Lodges were erased in 1742–52; one—at the Ben Jonson's Head—in 1755; and during the same period 4 surrendered their warrants; total 50. Twenty-one *Country* Lodges were struck out in 1754, which gives us 50 + 21 = 71. Three of the former class, as we have seen, were restored, and this represents the number of Lodges omitted in the list of 1756, concerning which no details are afforded by the records.

[3] The series commences in 1723, and apparently terminates in 1778. The "Signs of the Houses" are not shown after 1769.

[4] The 1728 edition, with a new title-page.

last named was compiled by the Rev. John Entick, and published by Jonathan Scott, and in it some alterations in, and additions to, the "Ancient Charges," which had disfigured the second edition, were omitted. The spirit of toleration which breathes in the Masons' creed has been attributed by Findel[1] and others to the influence of certain infidel writers. But of these, Woolston was probably mad, and, as remarked by a contemporary, "the devil lent him a good deal of his wickedness and none of his wit." Chubb was almost wholly uneducated; and although Collins, Tindal, and Toland discussed grave questions with grave arguments, they were much inferior in learning and ability to several of their opponents, and they struggled against the pressure of general obloquy. The deist was liable to great social contempt, and in the writings of Addison, Steele, Pope, and Swift he was habitually treated as external to all the courtesies of life. A simpler reason for the language of the Charge, "Concerning God and Religion," will be found in the fact that Anderson was a Presbyterian, and Desaguliers an Episcopalian; whilst others, no doubt, of the Grand Officers of that era were members of the older faith. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that they united on a platform which would divide them the least; and in so doing, the churchmen among them may have consoled themselves with the reflection, that Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, had many years before (1672), endeavored to construct a system of morals without the aid of theology. At the same time, it must be freely conceded, that the principles of inductive philosophy which Bacon taught, and which the Royal Society had strengthened, had acquired a complete ascendancy over the ablest minds. Perhaps therefore the object of these prescient brethren, to whom is due the absence of sectarianism in our Charges, may be summed up in the words of Bishop Spratt (1667), the first and best historian of the Royal Society, who thus describes the purposes of its founders:

"As for what belongs to the members themselves, that are to constitute the Society, it is to be noted that they have freely admitted men of different religions, countries, and professions of life. This they were obliged to do, or else they would come far short of the largeness of their own declarations. For they openly profess not to lay the foundation of an English, Scotch, Irish, Popish, or Protestant philosophy—but *a philosophy of mankind.*"

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 125. See, however, Lecky, History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii., pp. 522, 524; and Buckle, History of Civilisation in England, vol. i., pp. 363, 425, 443.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FREEMASONRY IN YORK.

I HAVE already cited the "Parchment Roll"[1] as evidence of the character of the old Lodge at York from March 19, 1712, down to December 27, 1725, during which period the records testify that the meetings were simply entitled those of a Lodge, Society, Fraternity, or Company of "Antient and Honourable Assemblies of Free and Accepted Masons."

Other evidences of the existence of the Lodge at York have been given, dating back to the seventeenth century, notably the York MS. of A.D. 1693, which contains "the names of the Lodge;" six in all, including the warden.[2] A still earlier relic is a mahogany flat rule or gauge, with the following names and year incised:—

William ✡ Baron
1663
of Yorke
Iohn Crake Iohn ✡ Baron.

Mr. Todd[3] is inclined to think that the John Drake mentioned was collated to the Prebendal Stall of Donington in the cathedral church of York in October 1663, and if so, Francis Drake, the historian, was a descendant, which, to say the least, is very probable.

Considerable activity was manifested by the York brotherhood from 1723—the year when the premier Grand Lodge of England published its first "Book of Constitutions"—and particularly during 1725.

The following will complete the roll of meetings (1712-1730), of which the first portation has been already furnished.

"'This day Dec. 27, 1725, Being the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, the Society went in Procession to Merchant's Hall, where after the Grand Feast was over, they unanimously chose the Worsp[l]. Charles Bathurst, Esqre., their Grand Master, Mr. Johnson his Deputy, Mr. Pawson and Mr. Drake, Wardens, Mr. Scourfield, Treasurer, and John Russell, Clerk for the ensuing year."

[1] Pp. 23–26. [2] Chap. II., p. 69; and see *facsimile* in Hughan's "Old Charges."
[3] Freemason, Nov. 15, 1884.
[4] Continued from page 26, and now for the first time published *in extenso.*

"Dec. 31, 1725.—At a private Lodge held at Mr Luke Lowther's, at the Starr in Stonegate, the underwritten Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons." [Name omitted.]

"Jan. 5, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge held at Mr John Colling's at y^e^ White Swan in Petergate, the underwritten persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Thomas Preston.
Martin Crofts."

"Feb. 4, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, Sr William Milner, Bar^t^., was sworn and admitted into the Society of Free Masons. W^m^. Milner.'

"Mar. 2, 1725-6.—At a private Lodge at the White Swan in Petergate, the undernamed Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Society of Free Masons. John Lewis."

"Apr. 2, 1726.—At a private Lodge at y^e^ Starr in Stonegate, the following Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Robert Kaye.
W. Wombell.
W^m^. Kitchinman.
Cyril Arthington."

"Apr. 4, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the following Gentleman was sworn and admitted into y^e^ Antient Society of Free Masons. J. Kaye."

"May 4, 1726.—At a private Lodge at M^r^ James Boreham's, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into the Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

Charles Guarles.
Rich^d^. Atkinson.
Sam^l^. Ascough."

"May 16, 1726.—At a private Lodge at Mr. Lowther's at y^e^ Star in Stonegate, the undermentioned Gentleman was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Gregory Rhodes.

'June 24, 1726.—At a [1] General Lodge held at M^r^ Boreham's in Stonegate, the undermentioned Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Jo^n^. Cossley.
W^m^. Johnstone.

At the same time the following persons were sworn and admitted into the Hon^ble^. Society, vizt.,

William Marshall.
Matt ⋀ Cellar.
His mark.
Benjamin Campsall.
William Muschamp.
W^m^. Robinson.
Matthew Groul.
John Bradley.
John Hawman."

"July 6, 1726.—Whereas it has been certify'd to me that M^r^ William Scourfield has presumed to call a Lodge and make masons without the consent of the Grand Master or Deputy, and in opposition to the 8th article of the Constitutions,[2] I do, with the consent

[1] Hughan is of opinion that there was another minute book for records of the regular monthly meetings. [2] Evidently Regulation VIII. of the Grand Lodge in London is here referred to.

of the Grand Master and the approbation of the whole Lodge, declare him to be disqualify'd from being a member of this Society, and he is for ever banished from the same.

"Such members as were assisting in constituting and forming Mr Scourfield's Schismatical Lodge on the 24th of the last month, whose names are John Carpenter, William Musgrave, Thomas Allanson, and Thos. Preston, are by the same authority liable to the same sentence, yet upon their acknowledging their Error in being deluded, and making such submission as shall be judg'd Requisite by the Grand Master and Lodge at the next monthly Meeting, shall be receiv'd into the favour of the Brotherhood, otherwise to be banish'd, and Mr Scourfield and their names to be eras'd out of the Roll and Articles.

"If any other Brother or Brothers shall hereafter separate from us, or be aiding and assisting in forming any Lodge under the said Mr Scourfield or any other Person without due Licence for the same, He or they so offending shall be disown'd as members of this Lodge, and for ever Excluded from the same."

"July 6, 1726.—At a private Lodge held at Mr Geo. Gibson's, the underwritten Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient and Honourable Society of Free Masons, viz.,

Henry Tireman.
Will. Thompson."

"Augt. 13, 1726.—At a private Lodge at Mr Lowther's at the Star in Stonegate, the underwritten Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons, vizt.,

Bellingham Graham.
Nico. Roberts."

"Dec. 13, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the Right Honble. Arthur Ld. Viscount Irvin was sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

A. Irwin."

"Dec. 15, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the undernamed Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Jno. Motley.
Wm. Davile.
Thos. Snowsell."

"Dec. 22, 1726.—At a private Lodge at the Star in Stonegate, the undernamed Persons were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Free Masons.

Richard Woodhouse.
Robart Tilburn."

"June 24, 1729.—At St John's Lodge held at ye Starr in Stonegate, the following Gentlemen were sworn and admitted into the Antient Society of Freemasons, vizt.,

Basil Forcer.
John Lamb."

"The same day Edward Thompson, Junior of Marston, Esqr., was chosen Grand Master, Mr John Wilmer, Deputy Grand Master, Mr Geo. Rhodes and Mr Geo. Reynoldson, Grand Wardens, for ye year ensuing, and afterwards the Grand Master was pleased to order the following appointments, viz., I do appoint Dr Johnson, Mr Drake, Mr Marsden, Mr

[1] The York authorities were evidently determined to put down with a strong hand all irregularities on the part of Schismatics. Wm. Scourfield, referred to above, was, in all probability, the Grand Treasurer elected at the Festival of 1725. The records are silent as to the name of the presiding officer.

Denton, Mr Brigham, Mr R. Marsh, and Mr Etty to assist in regulating the state of the Lodge, and redressing from time to time any inconveniences that may arise.

Edwd. Thompson, Gr. Mr."

"May 4, 1730.—At a private Lodge at Mr Colling's, being the Sign of ye White Swan in Petergate, York, it was order'd by the Dep. Mastr. then present—That if from thenceforth any of the officers of ye Lodge should be absent from ye Company at ye Monthly Lodges, they shall forfeit the sum of one shilling for each omission.

John Wilmer, Dep. G. M."

It will be at once noticed that the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, 1725, was celebrated under somewhat different circumstances from any of those held previously, inasmuch as it was termed the "Grand Feast," the "President" of former years being now the "Grand Master," and a Deputy Grand Master, and Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Clerk were also elected. It is impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that this expansion of the Northern organization was due to the formation of the premier Grand Lodge in 1717, of which doubtless the York Fraternity had been informed, and who therefore desired to follow the example of the Lodges in London, by having a Grand Master to rule over them.

A point much discussed of late years is the number of lodges which are essential to the legal constitution of a Grand Lodge, for even if the minimum were fixed at three or five,[1] as some advocate, the York organization would be condemned as illegal. It must, however, be borne in mind, that in 1725, as in 1717, there were no laws to govern the Craft as to the constitution of Grand Lodges, the first of its kind being only some eight years old when the second Grand Lodge was inaugurated; and though the Northern Authority was not the result, so far as is known, of a combination of lodges, as in London, clearly there was as much *right* to form such an organization in the one case as in the other.

It is to be regretted that the records of the "Four Old Lodges" do not antedate those of the "Grand Lodge" they brought into existence, as fortunately happens in the case of the single lodge which blossomed into the "Grand Lodge of *all* England, held at York," and assuredly the priority of a few years cannot be urged as a reason for styling the one body legal, and denying such a position to the other. Apparently for some years the York Grand Lodge was without any chartered subordinates, but that of itself does not invalidate its claim to be the chief authority, at least for Yorkshire and the neighboring counties. That it emanated from an old lodge at work for years prior to the creation of the London Grand Lodge, there cannot be a doubt; the records preserved going back to 1712, whilst others ranging from 1705 were extant in the last century. These extend throughout, and indeed overlap, that obscure portion of our annals, viz., the epoch of transition. It has long been assumed that this lodge of 1705-12 and later, is the same as the one alluded to in the Minster Archives of the fourteenth century. It may be so, and the popular belief is perhaps the true one, but until it is supported by at least a *modicum* of evidence, it would be a waste of time to proceed with its examination.[2]

[1] The earliest of all Grand Lodges, viz., that constituted at London in 1717, was pronounced by Laurence Dermott "*defective in numbers*," because "in order to form a Grand Lodge, *there should have been* the Masters and Wardens of *five* regular lodges" (Ahiman Rezon, 3d edit., 1778, p. 14).

[2] There is absolutely nothing to connect the York Lodge of the eighteenth and most probably the seventeenth century with lodges of earlier date, though of course the possibility of the former being a lineal descendant of the latter must be conceded.

And

That he shall not purloyn nor steale the goods of any person nor willingly suffer harme or shame or Consent thereto during his said apprentishipp either to his Mr or dame or any other fremason

But to withstand the same to the utmost of his power And thereof to informe his said Mr or some other fremason withall Convenient spod that may bee

These be the Constitucions of the noble and famous Hystory Called Masonry made and now in practice by the best Masters and followed for directing and guiding all that use the said Craft. Scripsit & me vicesimo tertio die octobris Anno Regni regis et Regina Guliolmi et Marie quinto Annoq domini 1693

Mark Kypling

The named of the Lodg

William Simpson } (Cristopher Thomp son
Anthony Horsman } (Cristopher Gill

Mr Isaick Brent Lodg Ward

Fac-simile of the Conclusion of the York MS., No. 4. A. D. 1693.

Copied from the original.

In the brief registers of the meetings from 1725 to 1730, it will be seen that after the year 1725, even when Festivals were held, they are not described as Grand Lodge assemblies; but that some of them were so regarded is evident from the speech delivered by Francis Drake, F.R.S.,[1] "Junior Grand Warden," at the celebration of the Festival of St. John the Evangelist in 1726. This well-known antiquary was familiar with the Constitutions of 1723, for he styles Dr. Anderson "The Learned Author of the Antiquity of Masonry, annexed to which are our Constitutions," and adds, "that diligent Antiquary has traced out to us those many stupendous works of the Antients, which were certainly, and without doubt, infinitely superior to the Moderns."[2] Drake's statement that "the first Grand Lodge ever held in England, was held at York," I need not pause to examine, its absurdity having been fully demonstrated in earlier Chapters.[3] If indeed, for *Grand Lodge,* we substitute "*Assembly,*" the contention may perhaps be brought within the region of possibility, and the ingenious speculation that the meeting in question was held under the auspices of "Edwin, the first Christian King of the Northumbers, about the Six Hundredth year after Christ, who laid the Foundation of our Cathedral," is at least entitled to consideration, notwithstanding the weakness of its attestation.[4] Not so, however, the assertions, that "King Edwin" presided as "Grand Master," and that the York Lodge is "the Mother Lodge of them all," which will rather serve to amuse, than to convince the readers of this History. The explanation offered by Drake with regard to "Edwin of the Northumbers" does not seem to have been popular at any time, either with the York Masons, or with the Craft at large, for the date ascribed to the apocryphal "Constitutions of 926," has been almost invariably preferred by the brethren in the north, and Laurence Dermott was not slow to follow their example, as will be seen farther on.[5] The "Old Charges" explicitly refer to Prince Edwin *temp.* Athelstan, and to no one else, as being the medium of procuring for the Masons the privilege of holding their Assemblies once a year, *where they would,* one of which was held at York; and therefore, it requires something more than the colorable solution of Drake, to set aside the uniform testimony of our time-honored Operative Constitutions. Hargrove states that "In searching the Archives of Masonry, we find the first lodge was instituted in this city (York) at a very early period; indeed, even prior to any other recorded in England. It was termed 'The Most Ancient Grand Lodge of *all* England,' and was instituted at York by King Edwin in 926, as appears by the following curious extracts from the ancient records of the Fraternity."[6]

The first writer who treated the subject of Masonry in York at any length was Findel,[7]

[1] *Ante,* pp. 25, 36.

[2] "A Speech deliver'd to the Worshipful and Ancient Society of Free and Accepted Masons at a Grand Lodge, held at Merchants' Hall, in the City of York, on St. John's Day, December 27, 1726. The Right Worshipful Charles Bathurst, Esq., Grand Master" (1st edit., Thomas Gent, York, 1727, *circa.* Reprinted, London, 1729 and 1734; also by Hughan, Masonic Sketches, 1871).

[3] II., pp. 103, 107; XII., pp. 179, 183. [4] *Cf.* Chap. XV., p. 372.

[5] *Cf. ante,* p. 39, and *post,* the Observations on the Schismatic or "Atholl" Grand Lodge, *passim.*

[6] Hughan informs me that the extract he had sent him (and which he inserted in his "Old Charges," in reference to York) from Hargrove's History, 1818, p. 476, is deficient in the following line, "and gave them the *charter* and *commission* to meet annually in communicaytion." This clause is peculiar to the MS. noted by Hargrove, which so far has escaped detection. *Vide* Chap. II., p. 75; also Hughan, Old Charges, p. 7.

[7] History of Freemasonry, pp. 83, 158–170.

but the observations of this able historian have been to a great extent superseded by a monograph from the pen of Hughan, published in 1871.[1] The labors, indeed, of subsidiary writers must not be ignored. Many of the articles dealing with York, and its unrivalled (English) Archives, in the later *Freemasons' Magazine*, represent work, which in other hands would have assumed the proportion of volumes. It is now difficult, if not altogether impossible, to trace how far each historian of the Craft is indebted to those that have preceded him. Especially is this the case with regard to subjects largely discussed in publications of an ephemeral character such as the Journals of the Fraternity. There quickly arises a great mass of what is considered common property, unless, as too often happens, it is put down to the account of the last reader who quotes it. It is true that he who shortens the road to knowledge, lengthens life, but we are all of us more indebted than we believe we are, to that class of writers whom Johnson termed "the pioneers of literature, doomed to clear away the dirt and the rubbish, for those heroes who pass on to honor and to victory, without deigning to bestow a single smile on the humble drudge that facilitates their progress."[2]

Among those members of the Craft, to whose researches we are chiefly indebted for the notices of York and its Freemasons, which lie scattered throughout the more ephemeral literature of the Craft, are some to whom I may be allowed to allude. The name of the late E. W. Schaw[3] was familiar to a past generation of Masonic readers, not less so that of the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford,[4] whose former labors, indeed, have been eclipsed by later ones. Mr. T. B. Whytehead and Mr. Joseph Todd[5] may be next referred to, both diligent explorers of Masonic Antiquities, and to whose local knowledge, visitors at the old shrine of Yorkshire Masonry are so much indebted.

Evidently it was the custom to style the ordinary meetings of the York Brethren "Private Lodges," those held on the Festival Days in June and December being entitled "General" or "St. John's" Lodges. It appears that brethren who temporarily presided, in the absence of the Presidents and (subsequently) Grand Masters, were described as Masters, but I do not consider they were the actual Masters of the Lodge, not only because there were *three* Brethren so entitled, who occupied the chair at the meetings held on July 21, August 10 and 12, September 6, and December 1, 1725, but because the Rulers at that period were named *Presidents*. The regular monthly meetings were apparently distinct from the "Private Lodges," the latter being additional to the ordinary assemblies, and it may well be, were convened exclusively for "makings." The numerous gatherings of the Lodge indicate that the interest of the members was well sustained, at least for a time.

[1] History of Freemasonry at York, forming Part i. of "Masonic Sketches and Reprints." I am glad to announce that a new edition of this interesting work is contemplated by the author, in which will be incorporated all the more recent discoveries.

[2] Lacon, vol. ii., p. 104.

[3] *Cf.* Freemasons' Magazine, Jan. to June, 1864, p. 163.

[4] *Cf.* The Archives of the York Union Lodge, by the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford (Freemasons' Magazine, Ap. 16, 1864).

[5] I may perhaps be permitted to mention in this place, my gratification at having been elected an honorary member of the "York" and "Eboracum" Lodges (Nos. 236 and 1611)—a distinction I share with Hughan—on the proposal in the one instance of Mr. Todd, and in the other of Mr. Whytehead.

The "Old Rules of the Grand Lodge at York, 1725,"[1] were as follows:

"Articles agreed to be kept and observed by the Antient Society of Freemasons in the City of York, and to be subscribed by every Member thereof at their Admittance into the said Society.

Imprimis.—That every first Wednesday in the month a Lodge shall be held at the house of a Brother according as their turn shall fall out.

2.—All Subscribers to these Articles not appearing at the monthly Lodge, shall forfeit Sixpence each time.

3.—If any Brother appear at a Lodge that is not a Subscriber to these Articles, he shall pay over and above his club [*i.e.*, subscription] the sum of one Shilling.

4.—The Bowl shall be filled at the monthly Lodges with Punch once, Ale, Bread, Cheese, and Tobacco in common, but if any more shall be called for by any Brother, either for eating or drinking, that Brother so calling shall pay for it himself besides his club.

5.—The Master or Deputy shall be obliged to call a Bill exactly at ten o'clock, if they meet in the evening, and discharge it.

6.—None to be admitted to the making of a Brother but such as have subscribed to these Articles.

7.—Timely notice shall be given to all the Subscribers when a Brother or Brothers are to be made.

8.—Any Brother or Brothers presuming to call a Lodge with a design to make a Mason or Masons, without the Master or Deputy, or one of them deputed, for every such offence shall forfeit the sum of Five Pounds.

9.—Any Brother that shall interrupt the Examination of a Brother shall forfeit one Shilling.

10.—Clerk's Salary for keeping the Books and Accounts shall be one Shilling, to be paid him by each Brother at his admittance, and at each of the two Grand days he shall receive such gratuity as the Company [*i.e.*, those present] shall think proper.

11.—A Steward to be chose for keeping the Stock at the Grand Lodge, at Christmas, and the Accounts to be passed three days after each Lodge.

12.—If any disputes arise, the Master shall silence them by a knock of the Mallet, any Brother that shall presume to disobey shall immediately be obliged to leave the Company, or forfeit five Shillings.

13.—An Hour shall be set apart to talk Masonry.

14.—No person shall be admitted into the Lodge but after having been strictly examined.

15.—No more persons shall be admitted as Brothers of this Society that shall keep a Public-House.

16.—That these Articles, shall at Lodges be laid upon the Table, to be perused by the Members, and also when any new Brothers are made, the Clerk shall publicly read them.

17.—Every new Brother at his admittance shall pay the Wait[er]s as their Salary, the sum of two Shillings, the money to be lodged in the Steward's hands, and paid to them at each of the Grand days.

[1] These are given by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," pp. 44, 45, as transcribed from the original, written on parchment, and now in the custody of the "York" Lodge, No. 236.

18.—The Bidder of the Society shall receive of each new Brother at his admittance the sum of one Shilling as his Salary [*see* Rule 7].

19.—No Money shall be expended out of the Stock after the hour of ten, as in the fifth Article."

These Laws were signed by "El. Bell, Master," and 87 Members, and though not unusual in character for the period, they are not unworthy of reproduction as the earliest regulations known, of the old Lodge at York.

It is much to be regretted that the "narrow folio manuscript Book, beginning 7th March 1705-6, containing sundry Accounts and Minutes relative to the Grand Lodge,"[1] is still missing, all the efforts of those most interested in the discovery having so far proved abortive. With that valuable document before us, it would doubtless be easy to obtain clues to several puzzles which at present confront us. Its contents were well known in 1778, as the following letter proves, which was sent by the then Grand Secretary (York) to Mr. B. Bradley, of London[2] (J. W. of the "Lodge of Antiquity"), in order to satisfy him and Mr. William Preston (P. M. of the same old lodge, and author of the famous "Illustrations of Masonry") of the existence of the ancient Grand Lodge at York before the year 1717.

"Sir,—In compliance with your request to be satisfied of the existence of a Grand Lodge at York previous to the establishment of that at London in 1717 I have inspected an Original Minute Book of this Grand Lodge beginning at 1705 and ending in 1734 from which I have extracted the names of the Grand Masters during that period as follows:

1705 Sir George Tempest Barronet.
1707 The Right Honourable Robert Benson Lord Mayor [of York.]
1708 Sir William Robinson Bar^{t}.
1711 Sir Walter Hawksworth Bar^{t}.
1713 Sir George Tempest Bar^{t}.
1714 Charles Fairfax Esq^{r}.
1720 Sir Walter Hawkesworth Bar^{t}.
1725 Edward Bell Esq^{r}.
1726 Charles Bathurst Esq^{r}.
1729 Edward Thompson Esq^{r}. M.P.
1733 John Johnson Esq^{r}. M.D.
1734 John Marsden Esq^{r}.

"It is observable that during the above period the Grand Lodge was not holden twice together at the same house and there is an Instance of its being holden once (in 1713) out of York, viz., at Bradford in Yorkshire when 18 Gentlemen of the first families in that Neighbourhood were made Masons.

"In short the superior antiquity of the Grand Lodge of York to all other Lodges in the Kingdom will not admit a Doubt all the Books which treat on the subject agree that it was founded so early as the year 926, and that in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth it was so numerous that mistaking the purport of their Meetings she was at the trouble of sending an armed Force to dislodge the Brethren, it apears by the Lodge Books since that Time

[1] A Schedule of the Regalia, Records, etc., dated September 15, 1779, will be found in Hughan's "Masonic Sketches," p. 20, *et seq.*

[2] Copied for Hughan by Mr. Todd, P.M. and Treasurer of the "York" Lodge, No. 236.

that this Lodge has been regularly continued and particularly by the Book above extracted that it was in being early in the present Century previous to the Era of the Aggrandized Lodge of London—and that it now exists even the Compilers of the Masons Almanack published under the sanction of that Lodge cannot but acknowledge tho they accompany such their acknowledgement with an invidious and unmasonic Prophecy that it will be soon totally annihilated—an event which we trust that no man nor sett of men who are mean enough to wish, shall ever live to see.

"I have intimated to this Lodge what passed between us of your Intention to apply for a Constitution under it and have the satisfaction to inform you that it met with universal Aprobation—You will therefore be pleased to furnish me with a petition to be presented for the purpose specifying the Names of the Brethren to be appointed to the several Officies, and I make no Doubt that the Matter will be speedily accomplished.

"My best Respects attends Brother Preston whom I expect you will make acquainted with the purport of this and hope it will be agreeable to him—I am with true Regard

Your most faithfull Brother
and Obedient Servant

JACOB BUSSEY, G.S.

"To Mr Benjam. Bradley,
N°. 3 Clements Lane Lombard Street
London.

"York, 29th Augst 1778."

I shall here merely notice the circumstance that Grand Secretary Bussey terms the chief officers prior to December 1725 "Grand Masters," instead of "Presidents."

Presuming that the year in each case means the period of service, and that the election or installation took place on the celebration of the (immediately) preceding Festival of St. John the Evangelist, that would really take the Register back to December 1704; when Sir George Tempest, Bart., was chosen to be the President; succeeded in 1707 by the Right Hon. Robert Benson, Lord Mayor of York (afterward Baron Bingley); after whom came Sir William Robinson, Bart., for 1708 (M.P. for York, 1713); followed by other local celebrities, down to the year 1734. Mr. Whytehead observes most truly, that "a large proportion of the Masons at York were Lord Mayors, Aldermen, and Sheriffs; and even down to our own day it has been the same."[1] Admiral Robert Fairfax, the "Deputy President" at Christmas 1721, was Lord Mayor in 1715 and M.P. in 1713; and other instances might be cited of the distinguished social position of these early rulers of the Yorkshire Fraternity. I am not, indeed, much impressed with the accuracy or critical value of the list of "Grand Masters" supplied by Mr. Bussey, and for more reasons than one. Take, for instance, the names of some of the Presidents. Sir Walter Hawkesworth is recorded as the President, June 24, 1713,[2] though not mentioned by Bussey after 1711, until 1720. Then, again, Charles Fairfax is not recognized as the chief Ruler in the minutes of Christmas 1716 and 1721, but is distinctly described as the Deputy President ("D. P."); neither is he anywhere termed *the* President in the existing Roll of 1712-30. His name certainly occurs as "The Worshipful Charles Fairfax, Esq^{re}.," on June 24, 1714; but the same prefix was accorded to other temporary occupants of the chair, who were not

[1] Some Ancient Masons and their Early Haunts (Freemason, October 25, 1884).

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 23.

Presidents at the time. The so-called President of 1725 is simply entitled "Master" on July 21 in that year, as Scourfield and Huddy are in 1725. It is impossible, therefore, to arrive at any definite conclusion with regard to these officers as respects the list in question, nor can their status in the Lodge be even approximately determined upon the evidence before us.

Dr. Bell, of Hull, in his "Stream of English Freemasonry," rather too confidently assumes that the tenure of office of the successive Presidents lasted from the years opposite their own names, until the dates placed by the same authority against those of their successors. This, of course, *may* have been sometimes the case; but we know for a certainty that it was not always so. For 1713 the same writer gives Sir Walter Hawkesworth instead of Sir George Tempest as the President, and I am inclined to agree with him in so doing, notwithstanding it is opposed to Bussey's statement. Dr. Bell bestows the title of President on Charles Bathurst for the year 1724, and "Edmund Bell *or* William Scourfield" Esquires for 1725. Charles Bathurst was not initiated until July 21, 1725,[1] unless, indeed, the office was held by his father, as Mr. Whytehead suggests[2] was possible; if so, the elder Bathurst died during his year of office, and was succeeded by his son on December 27, 1725. I am inclined to believe the year stated by the Grand Secretary was not the right one, for there are other discrepancies which have yet to be considered. So far as can now be conjectured, "George Bowes, Esq.," who was Deputy President on March 19, 1712, and August 7, 1713, was as much entitled to be described as President as either of the three gentlemen already mentioned. Mr. Whytehead has succeeded in tracing another Grand Master "of the Grand Lodge of all England at York," thus proving the incomplete character of the list of Masonic dignitaries supplied by the Grand Secretary of 1778. The discovery made by this excellent authority he thus relates: "A short time ago, I noticed in an old copy of 'Debrett' a statement that the first baronet of the Milner[3] family was Grand Master of Freemasons in England. I knew that he had been 'made' at York, as also that he had not been Grand Master of either of the Southern Bodies; and after some enquiry, and the kind assistance of Mr. Clements Markham and of Bro. Sir F. G. Milner, I have ascertained that the first baronet was Grand Master at York in 1728-9. In a MS. work in four volumes in the Leeds Library, entitled, 'A Collection of Coats of Arms and Descents of the Several Families of the West Riding, from MSS. of John Hopkinson; corrected by T. Wilson, of Leeds,' is the following entry, under the name of Sir W. Milner: 'On St. John Baptist Day, 1728, at York, he was elected Grand Master of the Freemasons in England, being the 798 successor from Edwin the Great.' This is an interesting addition to the list of the York Grand Masters."[4]

It will be remembered that the next Grand Master, "Edward Thompson, Junior, of Marston, Esq.," was elected and installed at a "St John's Lodge," held on June 24, 1729.

What Jacob Bussey, G.S., intended to convey by the words, "It is observable that,

[1] *Cf. ante*. p. 25.

[2] Freemason, November 8, 1884.

[3] Sir W. Milner was initiated on February 4, 1725-6, the present baronet, Sir F. G. Milner, M.P. for York, being "his great-great-great-grandson" (according to Mr. Whytehead), the latter having been installed as W. M. of the "Eboracum Lodge," No. 1611, York, on November 10, 1884, and curiously enough the interesting discovery came just in time to furnish the materials for one of the most attractive features of the toast-list at the subsequent banquet, designed by the successful investigator.

[4] Freemason, December 20, 1884.

during the above period, the Grand Lodge was not holden twice together at the same place,"[1] is not altogether clear, as several consecutive meetings took place at Mr. James Boreham's, 1712-26, and at the "Starr in Stongate," 1725-29. Moreover, there were Lodges held in other houses more than once in the year—*e.g.*, at John Colling's, in Petergate, 1724-25.[2]

It is from this letter we learn that the Lodge was held at Bradford by the York Brethren, when some eighteen gentlemen were made Masons. No mention is made of the Lodge held at Scarborough in 1705, under the presidency of William Thompson, Esq., though I am strongly of opinion that it assembled under the banner of the old Lodge at York.[3]

Preston bases his account of the York Grand Lodge on the letter of its Grand secretary (probably with subsequent additions from the same source). "From this account," says Preston, "which is authenticated by the Books of the Grand Lodge at York, it appears that the Revival of Masonry in the South of England did not interfere with the proceedings of the fraternity in the North; nor did that event taking place alienate any allegiance that might be due to the General Assembly or Grand Lodge there, which seems to have been considered at that time, and long after, as the Mother Lodge of the whole Kingdom. For a series of years the most perfect harmony subsisted between the two Grand Lodges, and private Lodges flourished in both parts of the Kingdom under their separate jurisdiction. The only mark of superiority which the Grand Lodge in the North appears to have retained after the revival of Masonry in the South, is in the title which they claimed, viz., *the Grand Lodge of all England,*[4] TOTIUS ANGLIÆ; while the Grand Lodge in the South passed only under the denomination of '*The Grand Lodge of England.*'"[5] The distinction claimed by the York Masons appears to have originated with the junior Grand Warden on December 27, 1726; at least, there is no earlier reference to it with which I am acquainted.

Preston was a warm adherent of the Northern Grand Lodge during the period of his separation from the Grand Lodge of England,[6] and assuredly, if all he states about its antiquity and character could be substantiated, no one need wonder at his partiality being so marked. He declares that "To be ranked as descendants of the original York Masons was the glory and boast of the Brethren in almost every country where Masonry was established; and from the prevalence and universality of the idea that York was the place where Masonry was first established by Charter, the Masons of England have received tribute

[1] Occasionally the Feast was held at the houses of the brethren by turns—in uno certo loco ad aliquesse domum fratrum vel sororum."—Caistor, Bundle cccx., No. 193 (English Gilds, introduction, by Lucy Toulmin Smith, p. xxxiii., note 4),

[2] *Ante*, pp. 23-26.

[3] Hughan informs me, on the authority of Mr. Samuel Middleton, of Scarborough, that William Thompson was M.P. for that town in 1705, and was appointed Warden of the Mint in 1715. He died in 1744. In a footnote to an old local history, he is described as "of Scarbro."

[4] It is possible (as Hughan suggests) that this title may have been a retort upon the Pope, by whom Canterbury was given a precedence over York, the Archbishop of the former city being styled "Primate of *all* England," and the latter "of England" only.

[5] Illustrations of Masonry, 1788, pp. 245, 246. The above remarks are slightly varied and curtailed in later editions.

[6] *I.e.*, the Regular or Constitutional Grand Lodge, dating from 1717. His connection with other Grand Lodges will be presently noticed.

from the first States in Europe."[1] What can be said of such a statement, when, as a simple matter of fact, not a Lodge *abroad* was ever constituted by the York Grand Lodge, and as to the tribute mentioned, there is not the slightest confirmatory evidence respecting it to be found anywhere.

The fact is, Preston doubtless wrote what he thought ought to be the case, if it were not really so, or shall we say, what he considered might be true, if the means for a full investigation were granted him.

Preston's version of the breach which occurred between the two Grand Lodges—London and York—is in the form of two distinct statements, one of which must be inaccurate, as both cannot be true. According to him, it arose out "of a few Brethren at York having, on some trivial occasion, seceded from their ancient Lodge, [and] applied to London for a Warrant of Constitution. Without any inquiry into the merits of the case, their application was honoured. Instead of being recommended to the Mother Lodge, to be restored to favor, these Brethren were encouraged to revolt; and in open defiance of an established authority, permitted under the banner of the Grand Lodge at London, to open a new Lodge in the city of York itself. This illegal extension of power, and violent encroachment on the privileges of antient Masonry, gave the highest offence to the Grand Lodge at York, and occasioned a breach, which time, and a proper attention to the Rules of the Order, only can repair."[2] His second version of the "breach" is said to be due to the encroachment of the Earl of Crawford on the "jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Masons in the City of York, by constituting two Lodges within their district, and by granting without their consent, three Deputations, one for Lancashire, a second for Durham, and a third for Northumberland. This circumstance the Grand Lodge at York at that time highly resented, and ever after seem to have viewed the Grand Lodge at London with a jealous eye. All friendly intercourse was dropt."[3] Yet another supposed cause of unpleasantness was found in the granting of a Patent to the Provincial Grand Master of Yorkshire, by the Marquis of Carnarvon, in 1738, which it seems so troubled the minds of the York Brothers "that since that circumstance, all correspondence between the two Grand Lodges has ceased."[4]

Those who have adopted Preston's view of the subject have been led astray, for there is not even the shadow of a proof, to substantiate the allegation that at any time there was animosity, either on the one side or the other; and as Hughan[5] clearly shows, if Preston's explanations are accepted, the granting of the warrant for No. 59, Scarborough, on August 27, 1729, is quite ignored, besides which, we shall find farther on, that a friendly correspondence on the part of the York Grand Lodge was offered the Grand Lodge of England, after the breach between them is said to have occurred.

It is singular also to note the error of Findel[6] and other historians with respect to the invasion of the York Territory, A.D. 1734, for as Hughan conclusively points out, there is no register of any lodge warranted or constituted in Yorkshire or its neighborhood in that year. The fact is, the second Yorkshire Lodge was No. 176, Halifax, July 12, 1738 (now No. 61), the first, as I have already stated, being the one at Scarborough of 1729.[7]

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, p. 246.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 268.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1788, p. 247.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 274.
[5] Masonic Sketches and Reprints, part i., p. 31.
[6] Many Brethren at their own request received in London a charter for the institution of a Lodge at York (Findel, History of Freemasonry, p. 165).
[7] *Cf.* Gould, "Four Old Lodges," pp. 51, 52.

It is not possible now to decide when the "Grand Lodge of all England" ceased to work—that is to say, spasmodically at least. Findel states that "the York Lodge was inactive from 1730 to 1760," and "at its last gasp,"[1] on May 30, 1730, when fines were levied for non-attendance. The same able writer observes: "The isolated or Mother Lodge, which dates from a very early period, had, until the year 1730, neither made nor constituted any other Lodge."[2] If by the latter declaration, it is meant that a lodge or lodges were formed by the "Grand Lodge of all England," in 1730, I am not aware of any evidence to justify the statement, but it occurs to me, that collateral proof is not wanting to suggest the constitution, or a least the holding of lodges in other parts of the country, besides York, under the authority of the Old Lodge in question, prior to 1730; the assemblies at Scarborough and Bradford in 1705 and 1713 respectively, being alone sufficient to support this contention.

That the Grand Lodge at York was not extinct even in 1734 is also susceptible of proof, for the Roll of Parchment, No. 9, still preserved by the present "York" Lodge (No. 236), which is a List of Master Masons, thirty-five in all, indicates that meetings had been held so late as that year, and probably later, July 7, 1734, being attached to the 27th name on the Register. There are then eight more names to be accounted for, which may fairly be approximately dated a few months farther on, if not into the year 1735.

Neither is there occasion to depend entirely upon the testimony of this Roll of Master Masons (the earliest date on which is of 1729, and the latest of 1734), for the "Book of Constitutions," 1738, contains the following reference to the York Lodge, which is not one likely to have been inserted, unless it was known that, about the time or year mentioned, the Lodge was still in existence.

> "All these foreign Lodges [*i.e.*, those to which Deputations had been granted by the Grand Lodge of 1717] are under the Patronage of our **Grand Master** of *England.*
>
> "But the *old Lodge* at York City, and the *Lodges* of Scotland, Ireland, France, and Italy, affecting Independency, are under their own *Grand Masters*, tho' they have the same *Constitutions, Charges, Regulations*, &c., for Substance, with their Brethren of *England.*"[3]

Then there are the several allusions to Freemasonry at York by Dr. Fifield Dassigny in 1744, especially the note, "I am informed in that city is held an assembly of Master Masons, under the title of Royal Arch Masons,"[4] which in all fairness cannot be dated farther back than 1740; but of this more anon. It appears to me, therefore, that there is evidence of a positive character, confirmatory of the belief that the York Masons did not lay aside their working tools until considerably later than the year named by Findel and other Historians; hence I quite agree with Hughan in his supposition that the "Grand Lodge of all England" was in actual being until about 1740-50.

That the Lodge flourished at York many years anterior to the inauguration of the Premier Grand Lodge of England, cannot, I think, be doubted, though it was not dignified by the name of a "Grand Lodge" until some eight years after the constitution of its

[1] History of Freemasonry, p. 164.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] Constitutions, 1738, p. 196.

[4] Dr. Fifield Dassigny, A Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the Present Decay of Freemasonry, Dublin, MDCCXLIV., reprinted in Hughan's Masonic Memorials, 1874, where the passage quoted above will be found at p. 89.

formidable rival; and, that it was an honorable, as well as an ancient Society, is abundantly proved by references to those of its valuable records which are happily still preserved and zealously guarded by their careful custodians, the members of the "York" (late the "Union") Lodge.

Whatever uncertainty may surround the question of the cessation from work (1740-50), there is none whatever as to the period of the Revival of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England" at York, as fortunately the records are preserved of the inauguration of the proceedings, and the commencement of a new life, which though far more vigorous than the old one, was yet destined to run its course ere the century had expired. We shall hardly err if we ascribe this revival to the establishment of a lodge at York by the Grand Lodge of England.[1] The Lodge No. 259 on the roll of the southern organization, held at the "Punch Bowl," was warranted January 12, 1761, whilst the neighborhood, so to speak, was "unoccupied territory." The charter and minutes of this friendly rival are in the possession of the "York" Lodge, No. 236, and have been carefully examined and described by Mr. T. B. Whytehead.[2] The earliest record is dated February 2, 1761, but its promoters soon shook off their first allegiance, evidently preferring a connection with the local Grand Lodge to remaining, so to speak, but a remote pendicle of the more powerful organization of the metropolis. That this was not the first lodge established by the latter in Yorkshire has been already stated. Charters were issued for Scarborough in 1729, Halifax in 1738, and Leeds in 1754, besides many others in adjoining provinces, and Provincial Grand Masters were appointed for Yorkshire in 1738, and also in 1740, when Mr. William Horton was succeeded by Mr. Edward Rooke.[3]

On the opening day at the "Punch Bowl" there were eight members present, and the same number of visitors. Great zeal was manifested by the petitioners and the brethren generally, several meetings being held from 1761 to 1763; but I do not think they met as a lodge after January 1764. Malby Beckwith, the new Master, who was placed in the chair on January 18, 1762, was duly addressed by the retiring W. M. Bro. Frodsham, and by request of the members the charge was printed and published, going through more than one edition.[4] Mr. Whytehead tells us that "as Bro. Seth Agar, the W. M. (from Jan. 3, 1763), soon afterwards became Grand Master of *all* England, it seems probable that the superior assumption of Grand Lodge had eclipsed the humble Punch Bowl Lodge, and that the latter was deserted by its members."[5]

That the constitution of the Lodge of 1761 was actually the cause of the revival of the slumbering Grand Lodge cannot be positively asserted, but it appears to me most probable that the formation of the one led to the restoration of the other, and yet, singular to state, the latter organization, though apparently owing a new lease of life to the existence of the former, was only able to shake off the lethargy of long years by absorbing the very body which stimulated its own reconstitution.

[1] *I.e.*, the Grand Lodge constituted at London, A.D. 1717.

[2] Freemasons' Chronicle, Dec. 27, 1879; Freemason, Jan. 10, 1880.

[3] Dr. Bell, in his "History of the Province of North and East Yorkshire," gives the name of William Horton as Prov. G.M. to 1756, but he died in or before 1740.

[4] "A Charge delivered to the most antient and honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, in a Lodge held at the Punch-Bowl, in Stonegate, York, upon Friday the 18th of January 1762, by Bro. Frodsham, at his dismission of the chair."

[5] Freemason, Jan. 10, 1880.

I will now cite the full account of the revival, which is given by Hughan[1] from the actual records.

"The Antient and Independent Constitution of Free and Accepted Masons Belonging to the City of York, was this Seventeenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1761, Revived by six of the surviving members of the Fraternity by the Grand Lodge being opened, and held at the House of Mr Henry Howard, in Lendall, in the said City, by them and others hereinafter named. When and where it was further agreed on, that it should be continued and held there only the Second and Last Monday in every month.[2]

Present—

Grand Master,	. .	Brother Francis Drake, Esq. F.R.S.
Deputy G.M.,	. .	George Reynoldson.
Grand Wardens,	. .	George Coates and Thomas Mason.

Together with Brothers Christopher Coulton and Martin Crofts.

Visiting Brethren.

Tasker, Leng, Swetnam, Malby Beckwith, Frodsham, Fitzmaurice, Granger, Crisp, Oram, Burton, and Howard.

"Minutes of the Transactions at the Revival and Opening of the said Grand Lodge:—

"Brother John Tasker was by the Grand Master, and the rest of the Brethren, unanimously appointed Grand Secretary and Treasurer. He having first petitioned to become a member, and being approved and accepted *nem. con.*

"Brother Henry Howard also petitioned to be admitted a member, who was accordingly balloted for and approved *nem. con.*

"Mr Charles Chaloner, Mr Seth Agar, George Palmes, Esq., Mr Ambrose Beckwith, and Mr William Siddall, petitioned to be made Brethren the first opportunity, who being severally balloted for, were all approved *nem. con.*

"This Lodge was closed till Monday, the 23rd day of this instant March, unless in case of Emergency."

Several of the visitors mentioned were members of the Lodge assembling at the "Punch Bowl," and the fact of their being present in such a capacity is sufficient proof that the two Grand Lodges were on terms of amity, especially emphasized by the friendly action of the York organization later on, about which a few words have presently to be said.

A noticeable feature of this record is that the Grand Master, Deputy, and Wardens occupied their positions as if holding them of inherent right, the only Brother elected to office being the Grand Secretary, who was also the Grand Treasurer. I think, therefore, that Francis Drake and his principal officers must have acted in their several capacities prior to the dormancy of 1740-50. If this was the case—and there are no facts which militate against such an hypothesis—then the Grand Master and his coadjutors were nominated and elected at assemblies of the Grand Lodge of which no record has come down to us.

The five candidates proposed on March 17 were initiated on May 11, 1761; mention is also made of a Brother being raised to the degree of a master mason on May 23, and apprentices were duly passed as Fellow Crafts. Minutes of this kind, however, I need not reproduce in these pages, neither is there much in the rules agreed to in 1761 and later, which require particularization.

[1] Masonic Sketches, p. 51.

[2] The "volume of the Sacred Law," which it is believed was used at the meetings, is in the safe-keeping of Eboracum Lodge No. 236, and is inscribed "*This Bible belongs to the Free Masons' Lodge at Mr. Howard's at York*, 1761."

The fees for the three degrees and membership amounted to £2, 16s., which sum "excused the brother from any further expence during Lodge hours for that Quarter, supper and drink out *of* and Glasses broke *in* the Lodge only excepted." The quarterage was fixed at six shillings and sixpence, "except as above." Candidates were only eligible for initiation on a unanimous ballot, but joining members, "regularly made masons in another Lodge," were elected if there were not more than two adverse votes; the fee for the latter election being half a guinea. Careful provisions were laid down for the guidance of the officers in the event of brethren seeking admission who were unable to prove their "*regularity.*" It was ordered on July 15, 1777, "that when a Constitution is granted to any place, the Brother who petitioned for such shall pay the fees charged thereon *upon delivery;*" and on Nov. 20, 1778, the members resolved "that the Grand Master of *All* England be on all occasions as such stiled and addressed by the Title of *Most Worshipful,* and the Masters of all Lodges under the Constitution of this Grand Lodge by the Title of *Right Worshipful.*" The secretary's salary was fixed at ten guineas per annum from Dec. 27, 1779, and the Treasurer was required "to execute his Bond in the Penal sum of one hundred pounds." The fee for certificates was fixed at six shillings each, "always paid on delivery." Unless in cases of emergency two degrees were not allowed to be conferred in one evening, and "separate Ballot shall be made to each degree distinct," as is still the custom under many Grand Lodges, but not in England, one ballot covering all three degrees, and also membership.[1]

We now approach an important innovation on the part of the York *Grand* Lodge, no less than the granting of warrants for subordinate lodges, in accordance with the custom so long followed by its London prototype. As I have previously intimated, the meetings of the old lodge at York, held out of that city, do not appear to have led to the creation of separate lodges, such as Bradford in 1713 and elsewhere. On this point it is impossible to speak with precision; it cannot be positively affirmed they did not, but, on the other hand, there is no evidence to warrant even a random conjecture that they did.

So far as evidence is concerned, there is nothing to warrant the belief, so frequently advanced, that charters were granted for subordinate lodges by the Grand Lodge of *all* England, until after the "Revival" of 1761. Prior to that date, indeed, it is quite possible that frequent meetings were held by the old York Lodge, in neighboring towns, but never (it would appear) were any other lodges constituted by that body, as we know there were in 1762 and later.

No little trouble has been taken in an attempt to compile for the first time a list of the several lodges warranted by the York authorities, but unfortunately there is not sufficient data to make the roll as complete as could be desired. The only one of the series that bears an official number is the first lodge that was warranted.[2]

[1] There is no proof that the "Grand Lodge of *All* England sided actively with either of the two "Grand Lodges of England," formed respectively in 1717 and 1753. Passively, indeed, its sympathies would appear to have been with the older organization, and though it ultimately struck up an alliance with the Lodge of Antiquity (under circumstances to be presently related), in so doing a blow was aimed at the pretensions of *both* the Grand bodies claiming jurisdiction in the south.

[2] The Grand Lodge stated in 1773—"It is not customary for this Lodge to prefix a number to the Constitutions granted by it," thus rendering it far from an easy task to trace the various York Lodges, and to fix their precedence.

"York" Lodges from 1762.

1. French Lodge,	"Punch Bowl," York,	June 10,	1762.
2.	Scarborough,[1]	Aug. 19,	1762.
3. "Royal Oak,"	Ripon,	July 31,	1769.
4. "Crown,"	Knaresborough,	Oct. 30,	1769.
5. "Duke of Devonshire,"	Macclesfield,	Sept. 24,	1770.
6.	Hovingham,	May 29,	1773.
7.	Snainton, near Malton,	Dec. 14,	1778.
9. "Druidical Lodge,"	Rotherham,	Dec. 22,	1778.
10. "Fortitude," at the "Sun,"	Hollingwood, Lanc.,	Nov. 27,	1790.

Deputation for a "Grand Lodge."

8. "Grand Lodge of England, South of the River Trent,"		March 29,	1779.
No. 1, "Lodge of Perfect Observance,"	London,	Aug. 9,	1779.
No. 2, "Lodge of Perseverance and Triumph,"	London,	Nov. 15,	1779.

In addition to these, I should add that in the Records and elsewhere, mention is made of petitions being presented to the Grand Lodge for the holding of lodges, some of which were doubtless granted; but there is no register existing from which we can ascertain what charters were actually issued.

I. Petition addressed to the "G.M. of All England at York," and signed by Abraham Sampson, about the year 1771. He declared that he had been taken to task by the "Grand Lodge in London" for getting a Warrant for Macclesfield. The new Lodge was to be held at the "Black Bull, otherwise the Rising Sun, Pettycoat Lane, White Chappel," the first Master and Wardens being nominated.

II. A letter was read at the Grand Lodge held September 27, 1779, "Requiring the mode of applying for a Constitution," the petitioner being "Bro. William Powell," of Hull. Mr. J. Coultman Smith [2] declared that the charter of the present "Humber Lodge," No. 57, of that town, was derived from the York Grand Lodge; but he is in error, that Lodge having been constituted by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, London.[3]

III. A letter was received from Doncaster, dated July 11, 1780, to the effect that a Warrant had been applied for and granted. I imagine there had been an application sent to

[1] There was much correspondence about certain masonic jewels, between the Grand Secretary at York and a Bro. W. Hutton Steel, of Scarborough, and others, extending from 1772 to 1781. The jewels were said to have been used by a lodge whose "Constitution was obtained from York," probably No. 2 as above. Bro. Steel presented them on Dec. 26, 1779, and declared that "No meeting of a Lodge since 1735" had been held, and that he was the "Last Survivor of four score brethren." My impression is that this aged Brother referred to the Lodge No. 59, warranted by the Grand Lodge of England—not *All* England—in 1729, and this opinion is strengthened by the fact that 1729 is engraved on these jewels, which are carefully treasured at York. Doubtless they were used by both the lodges named, prior to their becoming extinct.

[2] History of the Warrant of the Humber Lodge, 1855.

[3] See my "Atholl Lodges," pp. 13, 14, for the vicissitudes of this Lodge.

the York Grand Lodge; but a charter had been obtained *ad interim* from London, —the present St. George's Lodge, No. 242, of Doncaster, being the one referred to.[1]

IV. A petition was received for a Lodge to be held at the "Brush Makers' Arms, Smithy Door," at the house of John Woodmans, Manchester, dated December 23, 1787; but as the records of that period are missing, I cannot say what answer was given to the petitioners, but it is very likely that a charter was granted.

I am indebted to Mr. Whytehead for the following interesting extract from the records, which establishes the fact that the year 1762 witnessed the first Lodge being placed on the roll of the revived Grand Lodge at York.[2]

"Constitutions or Warrants granted by this Right Worshipful Grand Lodge to Brethren enabling them to hold Lodges at the places and in the houses particularly mentioned in such constitutions or warrants.

"No. 1. Anno Secundo Brother Drake G. M. *On* the 10th day of June 1762 a constitution or warrant was granted unto the following Brethren, French Prisoners of War on their Parol (viz.) Du Fresne, Le Pettier, Julian Vilfort, Pierre Le Villiane, Louis Bruslé, and Francis Le Grand, *Thereby* enabling them and others to open and continue to hold a Lodge at the sign of the Punch Bowl in Stonegate in the City of York and to make New Brethren as from time to time occasion might require, *Prohibiting* nevertheless them and their successors from making any one a Brother who shall be a subject of Great Britain or Ireland, *which said Lodge* was accordingly opened and held on the said 10th day of June and to be continued regularly on the second Thursday in every month or oftener if occasion shall require."

Of the second Lodge but little account has been preserved in the archives of the "York Lodge," though undoubtedly a minute-book was sent to the Grand Lodge for safe custody, which contained the records either of this Lodge or of the one formed in 1729 by the Grand Lodge in London.[3]

Of the third on the list there is no doubt, it having been duly "seal'd and signed;" neither is there any as to the fourth, the minute of October 30, 1769, reading as follows: "The three last-mentioned Brethren petitioned for a Constitution to open and hold a Lodge at the sign of the Crown in Knaresbrough, which was unanimously agreed to, and the following were appointed officers for the opening of the same." It would seem that the belief in a Lodge having been warranted in the Inniskilling Dragoons by the York au-

[1] W. Delanoy, History of St. George's Lodge, 1881.

[2] It would have simplified matters very considerably if this list, which was begun "in order," had been continued in like manner by the York officials.

[3] Hughan declares he saw a minute-book, or extracts therefrom, in the York archives, being records of a Lodge opened at Scarborough "on Thursday the 19th August 1762 by virtue of a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons at York, Bro. Tho Balderston, R Worpl. M.; Thos. Hart, S.W.; John Walsham, J.W.; Mattw. Fowler, S.;" hence I am inclined to believe that the second on the roll is the Lodge referred to. Mr. Joseph Todd has kindly transcribed the few minutes thus preserved, which begin March 25, 1762 (before the warrant was received), and end August 30, 1768.

thorities'—which I shared with Hughan—on the same day as No. 4, must be given up, since Messrs. Whytehead and Todd positively affirm that there is no reference whatever in the minutes to such a charter having been granted. The earliest allusion to the Inniskilling Dragoons is in 1770, when the brethren of the Lodge held in that regiment (doubtless No. 123 on the roll of "Atholl" Lodges) took part, *with other visitors*, in the Great Procession on the celebration of the Festival of St. John the Evangelist. It was arranged on December 17, Mr. Whytehead informs me, that "the Brethren of the Inniskilling Regiment who carry the Colours and act as Tylers, as also all the Brethren in the said Regiment who are private soldiers to have tickets gratis." The hospitality thus exhibited to the members of a regimental Lodge by the brethren at York, has been again and again exercised of late years by the "York" and "Eboracum" Lodges, no warmer reception being ever given to military Lodges than in the city of York. The Lodge at Macclesfield does not seem to have been successfully launched, as no fees were ever paid to the authorities at York; and probably the existence of an "Atholl" Lodge in the same town from 1764[2] may have had something to do with the members of No. 5 transferring their allegiance.

I have nothing to add as to Nos. 6 and 7, but the ninth of the series, according to Hughan, was called "No. 109" at Rotherham, the members evidently considering that the addition of one hundred to its number would increase its importance. Some of its records have found their way to York, ranging from December 22, 1778, to March 26, 1779. There is no account of the Lodge at Hollingwood among the York documents, the only notice of its origin being the original charter in the archives of the "United Grand Lodge of England," which has been transcribed and published by Hughan.[3] A volume of minutes of the York Grand Lodge, 1780-92, is evidently still missing, which Hargrove saw in Blanchard's hands so late as 1819.

Hughan, in his "History of Freemasonry at York," and Whytehead, ably continuing the same subject, "As Told by an Old Newspaper File,"[4] have furnished most interesting sketches of the proceedings of the York Grand Lodge from the "Revival" of 1761, as well as of those assembling under other Constitutions. It is not my intention, however, to do more than pass in review a few of their leading references. In the *York Courant* for December 20, 1763, is an advertisement by authority of Mr. J. S. Morritt, the Grand Master, the two Grand Wardens being Messrs. Brooks and Atkinson, the latter Brother having been the Builder of the Bridge over the Foss at York. He and his brother were initiated in 1761, "without paying the usual fees of the Lodge, as being working masons," indicating (Whytehead suggests) the fact that the old Lodge at York recognized its operative origin. Several of the festivals were held at the "Punch Bowl," an inn being much frequented by the York masons. The Lodges favored processions to church prior to the

[1] Atholl Lodges, p. 25. It is but fair, however, to state that the text of the minutes of the procession suggest that a Lodge was formed, either in Inniskilling or in connection with the regiment mentioned, as the record reads: "Many Brethren from York, as well as from the daughter Lodges of the Grand Lodge, established at Ripon, Knaresborough, and Inniskilling, were present at this Festival."

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[3] Masonic Sketches, Pt. 2, Appendix C, p. 41. The warrant was signed by Messrs. Kilby and Blanchard, Grand Master and Grand Secretary respectively. It is to be regretted that this charter is not included among the Masonic documents so zealously guarded at York.

[4] Freemason, September, 1884.

celebration of the festivals, many of the advertisements for which have been carefully reproduced by Whytehead.

In the *Courant* for June 10, 1770, is an announcement on behalf of the Lodge at the "Crown," Knaresborough, for June 26,—"A regular Procession to Church to hear Divine Service and a Sermon to be preached by a Brother suitable to the occasion," being the chief attractions offered by the Rev. Charles Kedar, the Master, and Messrs. Bateson and Clark, Wardens. In similar terms, another procession was advertised for December 27 1770, to St. John's Church, Micklegate, York, the notice being issued by order of Grand Master Palmes. The sermon was preached by Bro. the Rev. W. Dade, Rector of Barmston, in the East Riding,[1] the congregation including more than a hundred brethren. It was usual to have both a summer and winter festival in York; so the zeal of the Fraternity was kept alive, so far as processions and festive gatherings could promote the interests of the Society.

The brief existence of the Lodge at the "Punch Bowl" (1761) did not deter the brethren of the Grand Lodge of England from constituting another Lodge in York—the "Apollo" being warranted there as No. 450 on July 31, 1773. Mr. Whytehead[2] states that many distinguished brethren were connected with this Lodge; and several of the members of the old Lodge, who should have stood by their mother, went over to the more fashionable body which met at the George Hotel, in Coney Street. The "Apollo" was evidently regarded as an intruder by the York Grand Lodge, as the brethren of the latter convened their meetings on the same day and hour as those of the rival Society. In 1767 the Grand Lodge of England (London) was courteously informed by Mr. David Lambert, Grand Secretary of the York organization, that the Lodge formerly held at the "Punch Bowl" "had been for some years discontinued, and that the most Antient Grand Lodge of *all* England, held from time immemorial in this city, is the only Lodge held therein."[3] The York Grand Secretary had not the satisfaction of transmitting the intelligence of the decease of rival No. 2, for the latter outlived the York Grand Lodge by many years.[4] Another Lodge came on the scene, and announced that its festival was to be held at "the house of Mr. William Blanchard, the Star and Garter, in Nessgate, York," on December 27, 1775. This was the "Moriah" Lodge, originally chartered by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, London, in the 1st Regiment of Yorkshire Militia, as No. 176, Sheffield,[5] October 14, 1772. Its stay in the city was probably of very short duration, being a military Lodge.

St. John's Day, 1777, witnessed the Grand Lodge being held at "York Tavern," and the Provincial Grand Lodge[6] at "Nicholson's Coffee House." Both bodies attended divine service, the former at St. Helen's and the latter at St. Martin's, suitable discourses being delivered by the Rev. Brothers John Parker and James Lawson respectively. The Rev. J. Parker, vicar of St. Helen's, was "made" in 1776, without any fee being charged, and became Chaplain to the Grand Lodge, being also the annual preacher at the holding of the festivals. Meetings by both bodies—Grand Provincial—were frequently thus held on

[1] Author of a "History of Holderness."

[2] Freemason, August 30, 1884.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 52.

[4] The Lodge did not become extinct "about the year 1813," as Mr. Todd supposes (History of the York Lodge, No. 236, p. 16, but was transferred to Hull in 1817; the furniture, jewels, and various warrants being sold for some £60. It was subsequently known as the "Phœnix," until its final collapse about twenty years afterwards.

[5] Atholl Lodges, p. 34.

[6] Holding under the Grand Lodge of England.

the same day. Still another Lodge was constituted by the "Mother of Grand Lodges," and this time on such a sure foundation that it has outlived all its early contemporaries. I allude to the "Union" Lodge, No. 504, which was first held by dispensation dated June 20, 1777, Mr. Joseph Jones being the first W.M. The subsequent and eventful career of this justly celebrated Lodge, I cannot now pause to consider, and will simply remark that its name was appropriately changed to that of the "York" in 1870, when No. 236, time having but served to enhance its reputation. The last meeting advertised in the *Courant* by the York Grand Lodge, was dated June 18, 1782; but undoubtedly there were many assemblies of the brethren held after that year, even so late as the next decade. Hargrove[1] states, "As a further proof of the importance of this Lodge, we find it recorded that 'On the 24th June 1783, the Grand Master, with all the officers, attended in the great room of the Mansion House, where a Lodge in the third degree was opened, and brother Wm. Siddall, esquire, at that time the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor and Grand Master elect, was installed, acording to an ancient usage and custom, The Most Worshipful Grand Master Mason of *all* England, and was thus saluted, homaged, and acknowledged.' About the year 1787 the meetings of this lodge were discontinued, and the only member now remaining is Mr. Blanchard, proprietor of the *York Chronicle*, to whom the writer is indebted for information on the subject. He was a member many years, and being 'Grand Secretary,' all the books and papers which belonged to the lodge are still in his possession." Either Hargrove misunderstood Blanchard, or the latter possessed a very treacherous memory, since there is abundant evidence to prove that the Grand Lodge was in existence even so late as August 23, 1792, which is the date "of a rough minute recording the election of Bro. Wolley[2] as Grand Master, Bro. Geo. Kitson, Grand Treasurer, Bro. Thomas Richardson, S.G.W., and Bro. Williams, J.G.M."[3] There is also a list still extant, in Blanchard's handwriting, containing an entry of October 1, 1790, when a brother was raised to the Third Degree; and I have already mentioned the grant of a warrant in that year by the same body, which does not savor of extinction. I need not add other evidences of the activity of the Grand Lodge, as the foregoing are amply sufficient. Even the Constitutions of 1784, published by the authority of the Grand Lodge of England, thus refers to the Northern Grand Lodge. "Some brethren at York continued to act under their original constitution, notwithstanding the revival of the Grand Lodge of England; but the irregular Masons in London never received any patronage from them. The ancient York Masons were confined to one Lodge, *which is still extant*, but consists of very few members, and will probably be soon altogether annihilated."[4] Here, doubtless, the wish was father to the thought, but the prediction of John Noorthouck was soon fulfilled, though it must not be overlooked that he acknowledges the antiquity and, so to speak, the *regularity*, of the York Grand Lodge, at a period, moreover, when the secession of the Lodge of Antiquity from the Grand Lodge of England—in which movement, though a member of No. 1,[5] Noorthouck was not a participant—had greatly embittered (for reasons

[1] History and Description of the Ancient City of York, 1818, vol. ii., pt. 2, pp. 478, 479.

[2] The "York" Lodge has an engraved portrait of Grand Master Wolley, and Mr. Whytehead presented one to the Grand Lodge of England. Wolley afterwards changed his name to Copley.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 60.

[4] Constitutions, 1784, p. 240; Freemasons' Calendar, 1783, p. 23.

[5] John Noorthouck, stationer, is entered in the Grand Lodge register as having become a member of the Lodge of Antiquity in 1771, three years before Preston joined it. Both men were largely employed by the celebrated printer, William Strahan.

I am about to mention) the relations between the two earliest of the English Grand Lodges. That a warrant or deputation for the constitution of a "Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent," under the wing of the "Lodge of Antiquity," was issued by the York authorities, has been already stated. The story of the two parties in the Lodge of Antiquity—1779-89—each striving to extinguish or coerce the other; the apparent triumph of the minority, who had the support of their Grand Lodge; the secession of the majority; the expulsion of the leaders, including the famous author of the "Illustrations of Masonry;" and the setting up of a rival Grand Lodge, is not only a long one, but is also far from being a pleasant study, even at the present time. I shall, however, bring it within the smallest compass that is consistent with perspicuity, and as the whole story is so thoroughly interwoven with the history of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the claims—real or imaginary—advanced on its behalf by William Preston, it may be convenient to give in this place, a short but comprehensive memoir of that well-known writer, which will come in here, perhaps, more appropriately than at any other stage, since in addition to the leading part played by him in the temporary alliance of the Lodge of Antiquity with the "Grand Lodge of *all* England," there are other reasons for the introduction of his Masonic record as a whole—in the chapter devoted to "Freemasonry in York." In those which respectively precede and follow, a great deal of the history which has been generally—not to say, universally—accepted, as fact, rests upon his sole authority. Whilst, therefore, the narrative which I have brought up to the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century, is fresh in the recollection, and before proceeding with a description of the Great Schism, which becomes the next subject for our consideration, let us take a closer view of the writer, whose bare statement, unsupported by evidence, has been held sufficient— by the majority of later historians—to establish any point in eighteenth century Masonry, that it might be called in aid of.[1]

William Preston, whose father was a writer to the signet, was born at Edinburgh, July 28, 1742, O.S., and came to London in 1760, where he entered the services of William Strahan, His Majesty's Printer.

Soon after his arrival in London, a number of Brethren from Edinburgh attempted to establish a Lodge (in London) under sanction of a constitution from Scotland.[2] "Lest, however, such a grant should interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England, it was agreed (1762) to refuse their request. But the Grand Lodge of Scotland offered to recommend them to the [*Antient*] Grand Lodge of England,"[3] who granted them a dispensation to form a lodge and to make Masons.[4]

[1] In the ensuing pages, besides the official records of the *four* Grand Lodges, in existence during the period over which this sketch extends, and other documents and authorities specially referred to, use has been made of the following works: Illustrations of Masonry, editions, 1781, 1788, 1792; Freemasons' Magazine, vol. iv., 1795, p. 3, *et seq.*; European Magazine, vol. l., 1811, p. 323; "A State of Facts: Being a narrative of some late Proceedings in the Society of Freemasons, respecting William Preston, Past Master of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1. London, Printed in the year MDCCLXXVIII."

[2] Findel cites the application of some London Brethren to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and observes, "It was determined to refuse this request, lest by complying they might interfere with the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge. *The so-called Ancient or York Masons* received, then, at that time no support from Scotland" (History of Freemasonry, p. 178).

[3] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, with an Account of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, 1804, p. 192.

[4] "March 2, 1763.—Bror Robt. Lochhead petitioned for Dispensation to make Masons at the sign

Preston was the second person initiated under this dispensation, and the associated brethren were afterward duly constituted into a lodge (No. 111) by the officers of the "Ancient" Grand Lodge in person, on or about April 20, 1763. After meeting successively at Horn Tavern, Fleet Street; The Scots Hall, Blackfriars; and the Half Moon, Cheapside; the members of No. 111—at the instance of William Preston—petitioned for a charter from the "Regular" Grand Lodge, and the lodge was soon after constituted a *second* time in Ample Form, by the name of the "Caledonian Lodge," under which name it still exists (No. 134). On May 21, 1772, he instituted a Grand Gala at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, and delivered an oration, afterward printed in the first edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry," published in the same year.

A regular course of lectures were publicly delivered by him at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street in 1774.

At last he was invited by his friends to visit the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 1, then held at the Mitre. This he did, June 15, 1774, when the Brethren of that Lodge were pleased to admit him a member, and—what was very unusual—elected him Master at the same meeting.

He had been Master of the Philanthropic Lodge,[1] at the Queen's Head, Gray's Inn Gate, Holborn, above six years, and of several other lodges before that time. But he was now taught to consider the importance of the office of the first Master under the English Constitution.

To the Lodge of Antiquity he now began chiefly to confine his attention, and during his mastership, which continued for some years, the lodge increased in numbers and improved in its finances.

During the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Beaufort, and the Secretaryship of Thomas French, he had become a useful assistant in arranging the General Regulations of the Society, and reviving the foreign and country correspondence. Having been appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Secretary, under James Heseltine, he compiled for the benefit of the charity, the History of Remarkable Occurrences inserted in the first two publications of the "Freemasons' Calendar," and also prepared for the press an appendix to the "Book of Constitutions," from 1767, published in 1776.

From the various memoranda he had made, he was enabled to form the History of Masonry, afterward printed in his "Illustrations." The office of Deputy Grand Secretary he soon after voluntarily resigned.

The Schismatic body, under whose banner he had been initiated, were regarded by him with very scant affection, a feeling heartily reciprocated by the Atholl (or Ancient) Grand Lodge, as the minutes of that Society attest.

Thus, in November 1775, a long correspondence between William Preston, styled "a Lecturer on Masonry in London," and William Masson, Grand Secretary of Scotland, was read—the former having endeavored to establish an understanding between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the "Modern"[2] Grand Lodge—but being referred by the latter to B^ro^.

of the White Hart, in the Strand—And a dispensation was granted to him to continue in force for the space of 30 days" (Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England "According to the Old Institutions—*i.e.*, of the Schismatics or 'Ancients'").

[1] Bearing curiously enough (1756–70) the same number—111—as that of his mother lodge.

[2] *I.e.*, the *Regular* or *Constitutional* Grand Lodge, established A.D. 1717. The so-called "Ancients" being a Schismatic body, dating—as a Grand Lodge—from 1752–3. The epithets,

Will[m]. Dickey, Grand Secretary, "Ancients," for information, in a reply dated October 9, states:—"It is with regret I understand by your letter, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland has been so grossly imposed upon as to have established a correspondence with an irregular body of men, who falsely assume the *appellation* of *Antient* Masons."

From the resolutions passed on this occasion, we find that the "Ancient" Grand Lodge stigmatized, in terms of great severity, certain passages in Preston's writings,[1] for example, where describing the "Ancients," he mentions their rise into notice, "under the fictitious sanction of the Ancient York Constitution, which was entirely dropt at the revival in 1717"—and they placed on record an expression of surprise "at an Ancient Grand Lodge, being said to be revived by entirely dropping the old Constitutions." "Of equal sense and veracity," did they deem a further statement of Preston's, "that the regular masons were obliged to adopt fresh measures, and some variations were made in and additions to the established forms," remarking that an adoption of fresh measures and variations was openly confessed, nor could human wisdom conceive how such a change could be constitutional or even useful in detecting impostors, though it was plain that such new change might be sufficient to distinguish the members of the new Masonical Heresy from those who adhered to the good old system." They also "thought it remarkable (if such alterations were absolutely necessary) that no account of them had been transmitted to Scotland or Ireland, as such alterations obliterated the ancient landmarks in such manner as to render the ancient system scarcely distinguishable by either of those nations, tho' ever famous for Masonry."

The dispute in which Preston's Lodge, at his instigation became embroiled with the "regular or Constitutional" Grand Lodge of England, originated in this way:—

The Rev. M. H. Eccles, rector of Bow, having been re-elected chaplain to the Lodge of Antiquity, engaged to preach an anniversary sermon on December 27, 1777, particulars of which were advertised in the *Gazetteer* for December 24. The brethren proceeded to church informally, clothing as masons in the vestry. On returning they walked to the Lodge room without having divested themselves of their masonic clothing. John Noorthouck, a member, took exception to the latter action of the Lodge, but Preston claimed that "the proceedings of the Brethren on St. John's Day were perfectly conformable to the principles of the Institution and the laws of the Society." Preston cited the law respecting processions, but contended that it was not "calculated to debar the members of any private lodge from offering up their adoration to the Deity in a public place of worship in the character of masons, under the direction of their master." Noorthouck and Bottomley failed to obtain the consent of the members to a resolution terming the procession an "unguarded transaction," but on Preston moving "that the Lodge of Antiquity disapproves of any general processions of a masonic nature contrary to the authority of the Grand Lodge," it was passed unanimously. A memorial was presented to the Grand Lodge

Ancient and *Modern*, as applied to the rival Grand Lodges, will be dealt with in the next chapter—meanwhile, I may explain that whilst preferring the use of more suitable expressions, to distinguish between the two bodies, *the terms actually employed* will be given as far as possible, when quoting from official records. *Cf. ante*, p. 39, note 3.

[1] The reference given in the minutes is—"p. 4, line 35, etc."—and the publication quoted from must have been a pamphlet printed after the 2d edit. of the "Illustrations of Masonry." The passages referred to, slightly amplified, will be found (under the year 1739) in all the later editions; also in the "Freemasons' Calender," 1776; and the "Constitutions," 1784.

by the minority, signed by the two mentioned, and two others, four in all. A reply to this protest was also signed in open lodge on January 27, 1778, by all but six (including Preston), and by six others subsequently who were not at the meeting, making a total of seventeen. The R.W.M. (John Wilson) and Preston waited on the Grand Secretary in the interim, imploring him to do his utmost to obtain an amicable settlement.[1] The "Committee of Charity," on January 30, 1778, sided with the minority, and as Preston justified the proceedings of the Lodge, on the ground of its possessing certain "inherent privileges by virtue of its original constitution, that other lodges of a more modern date were not possessed of," resolved that the Lodge of Antiquity possessed no other privilege than its rank according to seniority, and "Mr. Preston was desired publicly to retract that doctrine, as it might tend to create a schism." This he refused to do, or to sign a declaration to the same purport, and was forthwith expelled from the Society.[2] At the Quarterly Communication ensuing, however, he presented the following memorial:—"I am sorry I have uttered a doctrine contrary to the general opinion of the Grand Lodge, and declare *I will never in future* promulgate or propagate a doctrine of any inherent right, privilege, or pre-eminence in Lodge No. 1 more than any other lodge, except its priority as the senior Lodge." The motion for his expulsion was then rescinded.[3]

There, it might have been expected, matters would have been allowed to rest, but the lamentable course pursued by the majority in the Lodge, in expelling Noorthouck, Bottomley, and Brearly, led to fresh disturbances. At the Quarterly Communication held April 8, 1778, the Master of No. 1 was directed to produce the Minute Book on the 29th of the month, and Preston's name was ordered to be struck off the list of members of the "Hall Committee," "by reason of his having been chiefly instrumental in fomenting discord in the Lodge No. 1; and his being otherwise obnoxious to the greatest part of the Society."

On January 29, 1779, the Master of No. 1 being called upon by the Committee of Charity to state whether their order,[4] respecting the restoration of Brothers Bottomley, Noorthouck, and Brearly, had been complied with, "Bro. Wm. Rigge, the Master, stated that on the evening of the last Quarterly Communication, viz., Nov. 4, last, it was resolved not to comply with the order of the Grand Lodge, and that the Lodge should withdraw itself from the authority of the Grand Lodge in London, and immediately join what they called the York Grand Lodge, after which the health of James Siddell was drank as Grand Master of Masons, the said Bro. Wm. Rigge and Brother Le Caan only dissenting. And that it was further resolved to notify such proceedings to the Grand Secretary, and that a manifesto[5] should be published to the world."

It was further stated that a minority—who were desirous of continuing their allegiance to the Grand Lodge—opposed the violent proceedings of the majority, and informed the

[1] So far, Preston himself, in his "State of Facts," but the subsequent proceedings, at the Committee of Charity, are given from the actual minutes of that body.

[2] Minutes, Committee of Charity, January 30, 1778.

[3] Grand Lodge Minutes, February 4, 1778.

[4] Made October 30, 1778. At this meeting "a Pamphlet lately published by Bro. Wm. Preston under the title of 'a State of Facts,' was cited as containing 'many *severe*, *inflammatory*, and *false* Reflections upon the proceedings of the Grand Lodge in general, and upon the Conduct of Brother Heseltine, the Grand Secretary, in particular.'"

[5] Printed by Hughan in "Masonic Sketches and Reprints" (Appendix D); and by myself in the "Four Old Lodges," p. 26.

latter, that they had no right to take away the books and furniture of the lodge, which were the joint property of all the members, "notwithstanding which the factious junto, in defiance of every rule of justice, honor, or common honesty, in the deadest hour of the night, by force took away all the furniture, Jewels, and Books belonging to the Lodge, and had since assembled under a pretended [and] ridiculous authority called by them the Grand Lodge of York Masons, of which one James Siddell, a tradesman in York, calls himself Grand Master."

It was also reported that the "Manifesto" alluded to had been published and dispersed, also that the members who remained true to their allegiance had elected the said Wm. Rigge their Master, and had restored Brothers Noorthouck, Bottomley, and Brearly to their rank and status in the Lodge. The following resolution was then passed by the Committee of Charity:—

"That whenever the Majority of a Lodge determine to quit the Society, the Constitution and Power of Assembling remains with the rest of the members who are desirous of continuing their alliance."

After which John Wilson, William Preston—described as a "Journeyman Printer"—and nine others, were expelled from the Society, and their names ordered to be "transmitted to all regular Lodges, with an Injunction not to receive or admit them as members or otherwise; *nor* to countenance, acknowledge, or admit into their Lodges, any Person or Persons, assuming or calling themselves by the name of *York Masons*, or by any other Denomination than that of *Free* and *Accepted Masons* under the Authority of, or in Alliance and Friendship with, the Grand Lodge of England,[1] of which his Grace the Duke of Manchester is at present Grand Master."

These proceedings—confirmed by Grand Lodge, February 3, 1779—evoked a further pamphlet from the seceders, dated March 24 in the same year, and issued from the Queen's Arms Tavern, St. Paul's, under the hand of "J. Sealy, Secretary," wherein they protest against "the very disrespectful and injurious manner in which the names of several brethren are mentioned," and "the false, mean, and scandalous designations annexed to them."[2]

The expelled members, as we have seen, resorted to the "Deputation from the Grand Lodge of *all* England to the R. W. Lodge of Antiquity, constituting the latter a Grand Lodge of England south of the River Trent, dated March 29, 1779,"[3] and were soon actively engaged under their new constitution.

Mr. John Wilson, late Master of No. 1, was the first Grand Master, and Mr. John Sealy the Grand Secretary, the inaugural proceedings taking place on June 24, 1779—Preston having the office of Grand Orator conferred upon him on November 3. On April 19, 1780, Mr. Benjamin Bradley was installed as the second Grand Master, Preston being appointed his D.G.M., and Messrs. Donaldson and Sealy were elected Grand Treasurer and Secretary respectively. The only two lodges formed under the auspices of this "feudal" Grand Lodge were numbered one and two, the junior being the first to be constituted. The ceremony took place at the "Queen's Head Tavern," Holborn, on August 9, 1779. The

[1] *I.e.*, as distinguished from the other Grand Lodge of England (*Ancients*), of which the Duke of Atholl (also at the head of the Scottish craft) was then the Grand Master.

[2] A copy of this pamphlet (folio) is to be found in the archives of the Lodge of Antiquity.

[3] Hargrove says it was granted in 1799 (*op. cit.*, p. 476), but this was probably due to a typographical error only, 1779 being intended.

lodge was named "Perseverance and Triumph," and had Preston for its first Master. On November 15, 1779, the "Lodge of Perfect Observance" was constituted at the "Mitre Tavern," Fleet Street—P. Lambert de Lintot[1] being R.W.M. Mr. B. H. Latrobe was Grand Secretary in 1789, and in a report to the "Grand Lodge of all England held at York," mentioned that "at the last Q.C., 29 Dec. 1789, the decayed state of the two Lodges was taken into consideration," and a deputation was appointed to make due inquiries. This was followed by a favorable result, which led that official to remark that, "upon the whole, the prospect before us seems to be less gloomy than that we have had for some time past."

As the "Lodge of Antiquity" preserved a dual existence, the private lodge and the Grand Lodge (offshoot of the York Grand Lodge) being kept quite distinct (on paper)—though virtually one and the same body—there were, in a certain sense, three subordinate lodges on the roll of the "Grand Lodge of England south of the Trent."[2]

During the suspension of his masonic privileges by the Grand Lodge of England, Preston rarely or ever attended any meetings of the Society, though he was a member of many lodges both at home and abroad. It was at this period of his life that he wrote the passages in his "Illustrations" concerning the "inherent rights" of the four lodges of 1717, which have been since adopted by the generality of Masonic historians. In the edition of 1781, referring to the subject, he observes—"when the former editions of this Book were printed, the author was not sufficiently acquainted with this part of the history of Masonry in England."[3] It may be so, and the reflections in which he indulges during the "Antiquity" schism were possibly the result of honest research, rather than mere efforts of the imagination. However, I shall follow the example, and echo the words last quoted, of the writer whose memoir I am compiling, by asking the readers of my "Four Old Lodges" to believe that when "that book was printed, the author"—to the extent that he took on trust the loose statements in the "Illustrations"—"was not sufficiently acquainted with those parts of the history of Masonry in England."

A memorial from Preston respecting his expulsion, was laid before Grand Lodge on April 8, 1789, but it was not even allowed to be read. At the ensuing Grand Feast, however, in the May following, wiser councils prevailed, and mainly through the mediation of William Birch, afterward Master of the Lodge of Antiquity. Preston and those expelled with him in 1779, all "expressing their desire of promoting conciliatory measures with the Grand Lodge, and signifying their concern that through misrepresentation they should have incurred the displeasure of Grand Lodge—their wish to be restored to the privileges of the Society, to the laws of which they were ready to conform," the Grand Lodge, being "satisfied with their apology," ordered that they should be restored to their privileges in the Society.[4] It has been said that Preston came out of this dispute the victor. Such

[1] Some notes respecting Lintot will be found in the *Freemason*, February 11, March 11, and May 6, 1882.

[2] Further details respecting these lodges are given by Hughan in his "Masonic Sketches and Reprints," p. 59; and by Whytehead in the *Freemason* for May 14, 1881, May 11, 1882, and December 13, 1884. Of the "Antiquity" Grand Lodge, I have merely to record that there were but two Grand Masters—John Wilson and Benjamin Bradley—and two Grand Secretaries—John Sealy, and later, B. H. Latrobe.

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, 1781, p. 224.

[4] Grand Lodge Minutes, May 4, 1789, and printed, with some slight variation, in the Grand Lodge Proceedings, November 25, 1789.

was far from being the case. The attitude of the Grand Lodge of England was the same from first to last—that is to say, in the view which it adopted with regard to the great question of privilege raised by the senior Lodge on its roll. The "Manifesto" of the latter was revoked. The "majority" party tendered their submission. The "Grand Lodge of England South of the Trent" passed into the realm of tradition, and the members of the Lodge of Antiquity, reunited after many years of discord, have since that period, and up to the present day, worked together in such love and harmony as to render the Senior English Lodge, all that even William Preston could have desired,—viz., a pattern and a model for all its juniors on the roll.

In 1787 Preston was instrumental in forming—or, to use the Masonic equivalent, "*reviving*"—the Grand Chapter of Harodim, particulars of which are given in his work.[1] But it is upon his "Illustrations of Masonry" that his fame chiefly rests. Of this twelve editions were published in the lifetime of the author; and the late Godfrey Higgins was not far out in his statement that it "contains much useful information, but [Preston] had not the least suspicion of the real origin of Masonry."[2] It would be possible to go much further, but we should do well to recollect that "the times immediately preceding their own are what all men are least acquainted with."[3] It was Preston's merit that he sought to unravel many historical puzzles a stage or two removed from his own in point of time; and it must be regarded as his misfortune that he failed in his laudable purpose. He was too prone to generalize largely from a very small number of solitary facts; and of this a striking example is afforded by his observations on the early history of the Great Schism, upon which I have already had occasion to enlarge.

Preston died, after a long illness, on April 1, 1818, aged seventy-six, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. Among the bequests in his will were £500 consols to the Fund of Benevolence, and £300 consols as an endowment to ensure the annual delivery of the Prestonian lecture.

Returning to the history of Freemasonry at York, the following list of Grand Masters and Grand Secretaries from 1761, though not complete, is fuller than any before published

Grand Masters.		Grand Secretaries.
1761-2.	Francis Drake, F.R.S.	John Tasker
1763.	John S. Morritt.	Do.
1764-6.	John Palmes.	Do.
1767.	Seth Agar.	David Lambert.
1768-70.	George Palmes.	Thomas Williamson.
1771-2.	Sir T. Gascoigne, Bart.	Thomas Johnson.
1773.	Charles Chaloner.	Nicholas Nickson.
1774.	Henry Stapilton.	Do.
1775.	Do.	Joseph Atkinson.
1776-8.	William Siddall.	Jacob Bussey.
1779.	Do.	John Browne.
1780.	Francis Smyth, Jun.	Do.
1782.	Robert Sinclair.	Do.

[1] Ed. 1792, p. 355.

[2] Anacalypsis, 1836, vol. i., p. 817.

[3] Horace Walpole, Letters to Sir H. Mann, vol. i., p. 181.

1783-4.	William Siddall.	William Blanchard.
1790.	Thomas Kilby.	Do.
1792.	Edward Wolley.[1]	Do.

I must now advert to some novelties which found their way into and were considered a part of the York Masonic system. The subject is one that requires very delicate handling, and I shall do my best to avoid giving offence, either to those who believe that genuine Freemasonry consists of three degrees, and no more; or to the other and perhaps larger section of the Fraternity, who are not content with the simple system known to our Masonic forefathers—Payne, Anderson, and Desaguliers. On both sides of the question a great deal might be advanced which it would be difficult to answer; but I shall endeavor to steer clear of the difficulties that beset our path—whether we incline in the one direction or the other—by rigidly confining myself, as far as possible, to actual facts, and by carefully eschewing (within the same limitations) those points of divergence upon which all good Masons can *agree* to *differ*.

Happily the Freemasons of England, who composed their differences and were reunited on a broader platform in 1813, are justified in leaving the consideration of all moot points of discipline and ceremonial of earlier date, to the antiquaries of the Craft, against whose research even the Solemn Act of Union cannot be pleaded as an estoppel.[2]

The additional ceremonies which had crept into use shortly before the fusion of the two Grand Lodges, are pleasantly alluded to by William Preston, who observes:

"It is well known to the Masons of this country, that some men of warm and enthusiastic imaginations have been disposed to amplify parts of the institution of Freemasonry, and in their supposed improvements to have elevated their *discoveries* into *new degrees*, to which they have added ceremonies, rituals, and dresses, ill-suited to the native simplicity of the Order, *as it was originally practised in this country*. But all these degrees, though probably deserving reprehension, as improper innovations on the original system of Masonry, I can never believe that they have either proceeded from bad motives, or could be viewed in any other light *than as innocent and inoffensive amusements.*"[3]

"By the Solemn Act of Union between the two Grand Lodges of Free-Masons of England, in December 1813, it was 'declared and pronounced that pure Antient Masonry consists of three degrees and no more, viz., those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch.'"[4]

This is a little confusing. The degree—as we now have it—of Installed Master not being mentioned at all, whilst that of the Royal Arch is brought in as the complement of certain other degrees, which, it was expressly stated, were *all* that existed of their kind.

The Grand Lodge of York went further, as will be shortly told; but it is first of all necessary to observe, that until quite recently the earliest allusion to Royal Arch Masonry (at York) was to be found in the "Treasurer's Book of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons," commencing April 29, 1768; but the fortunate discovery of Messrs. Whytehead and Todd in 1879 now enables us to trace the degree back to February 7, 1762. "Passing over the mention of the Royal Arch by the 'Atholl' Masons in 1752, the next in order of priority is the precious little volume at York. . . . Its chief value consists in being the earliest records of a Chapter, including a Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons,

[1] Afterwards called Copley, of Potto Hall, near Stokesley.

[2] *Cf.* The Four Old Lodges, p. 87 (III.).

[3] Illustrations of Masonry, edit. 1804, pp. 339, 340.

[4] Book of Constitutions, 1884, p. 16.

known."[1] Full particulars of this valuable minute-book will be found in Mr. Whytehead's, article, entitled "The Royal Arch at York."[2] Hughan, who has carefully examined the volume, does not consider that it could have been the first record of the Royal Arch at York, though it is the earliest preserved. The meetings are described as those of a "Lodge"—not a "Chapter"—up to April 29, 1768; and the association, though evidently an offshoot of Lodge No. 259 at the "Punch Bowl," the chief officer ("P. H.") in 1762 being Frodsham, who was the first Master of that Lodge, it gradually obtained the support of the York Grand Lodge, and ultimately developed into a Grand Chapter for that degree. The special value of the volume is its record of the warrants granted to Royal Arch Chapters in the neighborhood of York, the first of which was *petitioned* for on December 28, 1769, being the date of the earliest issued by the Grand Chapter in London ("Moderns"), which was granted on February 7, 1770. The book ends on January 6, 1776, the thread of the narrative being continued in another volume, beginning February 8, 1778, and ending September 10, 1781, which was recognized by Hughan amongst the books in the Grand Lodge of England. The "York" Lodge, by petition to the then Grand Master, Lord Zetland, secured its return to their archives, with the folio minute book, and two old MSS., which were all at that time preserved in the office of the Grand Secretary. Four Royal Arch warrants at least were granted, and probably more.

1. Ripon, ...	. Agreed to	February 7, 1770.
2. "Crown" Inn, Knaresborough, .	"	April 1770.
3. Inniskilling Regiment of Dragoons, .	"	October 1770.
4. "Druidical" Chapter, Rotherham, .	"	February 25, 1780.

These Chapters appear to have been held under the protecting wings of Craft Lodges, as is the custom now—three out of the four preserving a connection with the "York" Grand Lodge and the other, as already shown, being a regimental Lodge of the "Atholl" Masons. The degree was conferred at York on brethren hailing from Hull, Leeds, and other towns, which suggests that a knowledge of Royal Arch Masonry even at that period was far from being confined to the schismatics of London[3]—but of this more hereafter. The officers of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England" were elected "Masters of this Royal Arch Chapter whenever such Presiding Officers shall be members hereof. In case of default, they shall be succeeded by the senior members of the Royal Arch Chapter (May 2, 1779)." The only copy of a York charter (R. A.) known, is given by Hughan,[4] and was issued on July 7, 1780, to members of the "Druidical Lodge of Antient York Masons at Rotherham," under the seal of the "Grand Lodge of *all* England."

A unique meeting of the Royal Arch degree (not the "*third*," as Hargrove erroneously states) took place on May 27, 1778, in York Cathedral, and is thus described: "The Royal Arch Brethren whose names are undermentioned assembled in the Ancient Lodge, now a sacred Recess with [in] the Cathedral Church of York, and then and there opened Chapter of Free and Accepted Masons in the Most Sublime Degree of Royal Arch. The Chapter was held, and then closed in usual form, being adjourned to the first Sunday

[1] Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884, p. 64.

[2] Freemason, November 7, 1879.

[3] *I.e.*, the Masons under the obedience of the "Atholl" or "Ancient" Grand Lodge.

[4] Masonic Sketches, pt. ii., p. 18.

in June except in case of Emergency." This unusual gathering, in all probability, has supplied the text or basis for the "tradition" that the Grand Lodge in olden times was in the habit of holding its august assemblies in the crypt of the venerated Minster.

On June 2, 1780, the Grand Chapter resolved that the "Masonic Government, anciently established by the Royal Edwin, and now existing at York under the title of The Grand Lodge of all England, comprehending in its nature *all the different Orders or Degrees of Masonry*, very justly claims the subordination of all other Lodges or Chapters of Free and Accepted Masons in this Realm." The degrees were five in number, viz; the first three, the Royal Arch, and that of Knight Templar. The Grand Lodge, on June, 20, 1780, assumed their protection, and its minute-book was utilized in part for the preservation of the records of the Royal Arch and Knight Templar Degrees. Hughan considers that the draft of a certificate preserved at York for the five degrees of January 26, 1779, to November 29, 1779, "is the oldest dated reference that we know of to Knight Templary in England."[1]

Of the Encampments warranted by the Grand Lodge of *all* England for the Fifth Degree," *i.e.*, the Knight Templar, I know but of two, viz.:

K. T. Encampment, Rotherham,[2] . .	July 6, 1780.
Do., No. 15, Manchester,[3] .	October 10, 1786

What ultimately became of the first mentioned is unknown, but the second seems to have joined the Grand Encampment held in London, under "Thomas Dunkerley, G.M.," the charter bearing date May 20, 1795.[4]

It will be seen, therefore, that, though various methods were employed to preserve the vitality of the York organization, the prestige and prosperity generally of the rival Grand Lodges in London ultimately brought about its dissolution. Notwithstanding the recognition of the Royal Arch Degree, and subsequently of the Templar ceremony, the Grand Lodge of *all* England—if we except the transitory Grand Lodge formed in London—never exercised any influence beyond Yorkshire and Lancashire; and hence *all its warrants*, which have been traced from the earliest down to the latest records, were authorized to be held in those two counties only. The boast, therefore, of being "York Masons," so frequently indulged in, more especially in the United States, is an utterly baseless one, because the Grand Lodge of York (as we are justified in inferring) had outlived all its daughter Lodges—which existed in England only—before sinking into its final slumber towards the close of the last century.

Even at the height of its fortunes, the York branch of the Society was a very small one. Still, however, the relative antiquity of the *Lodge*—which certainly existed in the seventeenth century, and probably much earlier—invests the history of Freemasonry at this traditional centre with an amount of interest which, it is hoped, will more than justify the space which has been accorded to its narration.

Before, however, passing from the subject, a few words have yet to be said respecting the seals used by the now extinct Grand Lodge of *all* England, for impressions of which I have to thank Mr. Joseph Todd; and with this description I shall include, for the sake of convenience, that of some other arms, of which plates are given.

[1] T. B. Whytehead, "The Connection between the Templars and the Freemasons in the City of York," 1877. See also Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, p. 68.

[2] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 62.

[3] John Yarker, Notes on the Orders of the Temple and St. John, etc., 1869.

[4] *Ibid.*

When a seal was first used by the York Masons it is now impossible to decide. The seal affixed to the York "Constitutions and Certificates," as described by the Grand Secretary on December 14, 1767, in a letter to the "Grand Lodge of England," was "Three Regal Crowns, with this Circumscription: 'Sigillum Edwini Northum. Regis.'"[1] I take this to be the "Old Seal of Prince Edwin's Arms," of silver, mentioned in the inventory of Jan. 1, 1776, as "An iron screw press, with a Seal of Prince Edwin's Arms let into the fall," and also in the "Schedule of the Regalia and Records, etc," of September 15, 1779. In the latter inventory is named "A Seal and Counter Seal, the first bearing the arms of Prince Edwin, and the other the arms of Masonry." The seal-in-chief of the latter is of brass, and bears the legend: "✠ Sigil: Frat: Ebor: Per. Edwin: Coll:" above the three crowns being the year "A.D. 926." The "Counter Seal" (of copper) contains the arms and crest, as used by the "Atholl" Masons, of which I shall have occasion to speak further on.[2]

It is quite clear to me, that the first seal mentioned, is the one referred to by Grand Secretary Lambert in 1767, and that it was set aside later on for the "Seal and Counter Seal" named in the inventory of 1779. Impressions of the latter are attached to the warrant or deputation to "The Grand Lodge of England South of the River Trent," of March 29, 1779, and are in an oval tin box, opening with movable lids on both sides, happily still preserved by the Lodge of Antiquity. It would therefore be made between the dates of the two inventories—1776-1779.

An engraving of these seals (seal and counter seal) is to be found in Hargrove's "History of York,"[3] and likewise in Hughan's latest work.[4] The seal preserved of the Grand Chapter (York) is apparently the one mentioned in the records March 3, 1780—"Ordered that a Seal be provided for the use of the Grand Chapter not exceeding half a Guinea." It was paid for on April 7. The design is of an unusual kind, being a rainbow resting on clouds at each end; below is a triangle, and then a crescent, and the legend, "Grand-Royal-Arch-Chapter-York." It has been reproduced by Hughan for the first time, who, however, is not correct in treating the seal of the "Arms of Masonry" as the *counter* seal of the Grand Chapter, as it is distinctly stated in the inventory of 1779 to be that of the Grand Lodge. I believe we owe to Mr. W. H. Rylands the correct arrangement of the seals at York.

Colonel Shadwell Clerke, Grand Secretary, has kindly placed at my disposal impressions of the seals preserved at Grand Lodge. Of these, the more important will be found engraved with those from York. In order to distinguish the seals of the two Grand Lodges of England, the title "Atholl" has been used in one case. It may be pointed out that the arms used by "The Grand Lodge of Masons," as it is styled on the seal (No. 2), are those granted to the Masons' Company, with the colors changed, the addition of beavers as supporters, and with a bird assumed to be intended for a dove, but here more nearly resembling a falcon, substituted for the original crest of a towered castle. The other Grand Lodge, called on the seal (No. 6) "of Free and Accepted Masons," bears the arms as given by

[1] Hughan, Masonic Sketches, pt. i., p. 52. The author styles this the "*Counter* Seal," in his "Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry," 1884; but I should doubt its having been used for that purpose.

[2] "A large silk Banner, with the Society's Arms, Mottos, etc., painted on both sides, fringed about with silk fringe," is entered in the inventories of 1776 and 1779. (See colored plate.)

[3] History of York, 1818, vol. ii., pt. 2, p. 477.

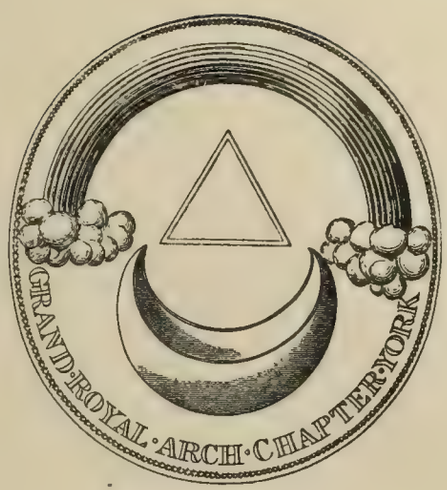
[4] Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, 1884.



1 COPPER SEAL AT YORK
Counter seal of № 7
circa 1776-1779



2 GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
before 1813



3 GRAND CHAPTER
YORK *circa* 1780
(Brass)



4 GRAND CHAPTER
ATHOLL. *before* 1817



5 UNITED GRAND CHAPTER
LONDON 1817



6 GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
ATHOLL *before* 1813



7 THE GRAND LODGE OF ALL ENGLAND
YORK *circa* 1776-1779
(brass)



8 GRAND CHAPTER, LONDON.
1769 – 1817



10 THE OFFICE SEAL OF
THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND
before 1813



9 SILVER SEAL AT YORK
circa 1761

Seals of the Grand Lodge and Grand Chapter of England, and York.

Copied from the originals, and highest authorities.

Dermott in 1764, and called the "Arms of Masonry" in the York inventory of 1779. Of the two colored plates very little need be said, as the inscriptions, like those of the seals, sufficiently describe what they represent. They include reduced copies of the arms as given in the grants to the Masons' and Carpenters' Companies in the fifteenth century,—of the Marblers, Freemasons (the towers being in this instance gold), and the Bricklayers and tilers, as painted upon the Gateshead Charter of 1671. The date *circa* 1680, of the panel in the possession of Mr. Rylands, is, in the opinion of some antiquaries, the *earliest* to which it may be attributed; most probably the blue of the field in the first and third quarters has perished. For a careful colored drawing of the banner already referred to, I am indebted to Mr. Joseph Todd, who has most willingly placed at my disposal in this as in other matters all the information of which he is in possession. As this banner is mentioned in the Inventories of January 1, 1776, and September 15, 1779, it must have been for some little time in the possession of the Lodge at York, otherwise it could not be the same as that mentioned in the minutes under December 27, 1779, then said to be presented by Bro. William Siddall.

The arms of the Stonemasons of Strassburg from the seal *circa* 1725, is colored according to the description given by Heideloff; and in the case of those of the Nurenberg, also loosely described by the same author, Mr. W. H. Rylands is of opinion that the description is perhaps to be understood,—following a usual custom in heraldry, that the arms and colors were the same as those of Strassburg, only "with this difference, it is the bend that is red," that is to say, the colors were simply reversed for distinction. The arms of the city of Cologne are given for comparison with those from the seal of the Masons of that city, found on the Charter, dated 1396. No colors are to be noticed on the original seal, which appears with others of the same class on a plate in an earlier portion of this work. In a most courteous reply to a request made by Mr. Rylands for help in the matter, Dr. Höhlbaum, Stadtarchivar of Cologne, although he agreed that the colors were most probably based on those in the arms of the city, was unfortunately unable to give any definite information on the subject. These colors have been followed in the plate. The three coronets on an azure field, were the arms borne by the Grand Lodge of *all* England—"Prince Edwin's arms"—and are therefore the same as those given on the York Seals.

CHAPTER XIX.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND "ACCORDING TO OLD INSTITUTIONS."

THE Minutes of that Schismatic body, commonly, but erroneously, termed the "Ancient Masons," commence in the following manner:

"TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GRAND COMMITTEE OF THE MOST ANCIENT AND HONORABLE FRATERNITY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.

At the Griffin Tavern in Holborn, London, Feb. 5th, 1752. MR HAGARTY[1] IN THE CHAIR.

Also present the Officers of Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, being the representatives of all the Ancient Masons in and adjacent to London. Brother John Morgan, Grand Secretary, Informed the Committee that he being lately appointed to an office on board one of His Majesty's ships, had rec^{d}. orders to prepare for his departure, and therefore advised the Grand Committee to choose a new Secretary immediately.

Upon which Bro. John Morris, past Master of No. 5, and Bro. Laurence Dermott of Nos. 9 and 10, and past Master No. 26, in Dublin, were proposed and admitted as candidates for the office of Grand Secretary, and Grand Secretary Morgan was ordered to examine the candidates separately, and report his opinion of their Qualifications.

After a long minute Examination, relative to Initiation, passing, Instalations, and General Regulations, etc., Bro. Morgan declared that Bro. Laurence Dermott was duly qualified for the office of Grand Secretary.

Whereon, the Worshipful Master in the chair put up the Names of John Morris and Laurence Dermott, seperately, when the latter was Unanimously chosen Grand Secretary; and accordingly he was installed (in the Ancient Manner) by the Worshipful M^{r} James Hagarty, Master of No. 4, then presiding officer, assisted by M^{r} John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, and the Masters present.

After which Bro. Morgan (at the request of the president) proclaimed the new Grand Secretary thrice, according to ancient custom, upon which the new Secretary received the

[1] "The above Mr. James Hagarty is a painter, and lives now (1752) in Leather Lane, London" [Note in Original].

usual salutes, and then the President and late Grand Secretary, John Morgan, delivered the books, etc., into the hands of the new Secretary, Upon certain conditions which was agreed by all parties, and which conditions the said Worshipful Bro. James Hagarty can explain.[1]

The Grand Committee unanimously joined in wishing Br°. Morgan Health and a successful voyage, and then closed with the Greatest Harmony. Having adjourned to Wednesday, the fourth of March next."

Of Laurence Dermott, the first Grand Secretary of the Seceders, it may be said, without erring on the side of panegyric, that he was the most remarkable Mason that ever existed. "As a polemic," observes a judicious writer, "he was sarcastic, bitter, uncompromising, and not altogether sincere or veracious. But in intellectual attainments he was inferior to none of his adversaries, and in a philosophical appreciation of the character of the Masonic Institution, he was in advance of the spirit of his age."[2] Yet although a very unscrupulous writer, he was a matchless administrator. In the former capacity he was the embodiment of the maxim, "*de l'audace, encore de l'audace, toujours de l'audace,*" but in the latter, he displayed qualities which we find united in no other member of the Craft, who came either before or after him.

As Grand Secretary, and later as Deputy Grand Master, he was simply the life and soul of the body with which he was so closely associated. He was also its historian, and to the influence of his writings, must be attributed, in a great measure, the marvellous success of the Schism.

The epithets of "Ancient" and "Modern" applied by Dermott to the usages of his own and of the older Society respectively, produced a really wonderful result.[3] The antithesis at once caught the public ear, and what is perhaps the strangest fact connected with the whole affair, the terms soon passed into general use, among the brethren under *both* Grand Lodges. The senior of these bodies, it is true, occasionally protested against the employment of expressions, which implied a relative inferiority on the part of its own members,[4] but the epithets stuck, and we constantly meet with them in the minute-books of lodges under the *older* system, where they were apparently used without any sense of impropriety.[5]

The memoirs of Laurence Dermott, for the most part inscribed by his own hand, are given us in the records of the "Ancients." By this I do not mean that we have there his autobiography, but the personality of the man was so marked, that with brief exceptions from the time the minutes commence, down to the date of his last appearance in Grand Lodge, the history of that body is very largely composed of personal incidents in the career of its Secretary and Deputy Grand Master.

Some curious anecdotes may be gleaned from these old records; and if Warburton's *dictum* be sound, who set more value on one material historical anecdote, than on twenty

[1] "Be it Remembered that Mr. John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, had a certain claim on the Manuscripts here said to be delivered to Laurence Dermott. Which claim was acknowledged by the Gd. Committee as good and lawful, and for that and other Good Reasons which cannot be committed to writing. The Worshipful Grand Committee did agree with Brother John Morgan, late Grand Secretary, that the new Secretary, Lau. Dermott, should be solemly bound never to deliver the said Manuscript (viz., a Large folio bound in White Vellum) to any person, But him the said John Morgan or his order in writing" [*Ibid.*].

[2] Mackey, Encyclopædia of Freemasonry, *s. v.* [3] *Ante*, p. 39, note 3. [4] *Ante*, pp. 149, 178.

[5] *Post*, pp. 196, note 2; 214, 215; and see "The Four Old Lodges," p. 35.

new hypotheses in Philosophy, or a hundred good criticisms—we cannot do better than trace the fortunes of Laurence Dermott, under the guidance of his own hand.

But before entering upon this task, a few preliminary words are essential. Laurence Dermott was born in Ireland, 1720; initiated into Masonry, 1740; installed as Master of No. 26,[1] Dublin, June 24, 1746; and in the same year became a Royal Arch Mason. Shortly after this, he came to England; and in 1748, joined a lodge under the *regular* establishment, but had shifted his allegiance, and become a member of Nos. 9 and 10, on the Roll of the Schismatics, when elected Grand Secretary by the latter, February 5, 1752. This office he laid down in 1771; and on March 27, that year, was appointed Deputy Grand Master, being succeeded, at his own request, by William Dickey, December 1777. He was again "Deputy" from December 27, 1783, until the recurrence of the same festival in 1787, when—also at his own request—he was succeeded by James Perry. His last attendance at Grand Lodge occurred June 3, 1789, and he died in June 1691.[2] There is no allusion to his death in the "Atholl" Records; and the only one I have met with in those of other Masonic jurisdictions, is the following: "June 4, 1792. *Resolved*, that in order to show the just regard and respect of this Grand Lodge for our late Bro. Laurence Dermott, the patron and founder thereof, it be recommended to every member of this Grand Lodge to appear on St. John's Day next, with Aprons bordered with black or other marks of mourning."[3]

Dermott—who, the Minutes of July 13, 1753, inform us, "was obliged to work twelve hours in the day, for the Master Painter who employed him"—in all probability owed his appointment as Grand Secretary to the influence of James Hagarty, in whose employment it is very possible he was at the time.

As time advanced, his circumstances in life improved, for in 1764, the officers of No. 31 offered to become his security to the amount of £1000, if he was chosen Grand Treasurer; in 1766, he was able to subscribe £5 toward the relief of a brother in Newgate; in 1767, he "made a volluntary gift of the Grand Master's Throne, compleat, which cost in the whole, £34;" and in 1768, he is described in the records as a Wine Merchant.

His attainments were of no mean order. The Minutes of the Steward's Lodge—March 21, 1764—informs us that, an "Arabian Mason having petitioned for relief, the Grand Secretary conversed with him in the Hebrew language," after which, he was voted £1, 1s. Of Latin, he possessed at least a smattering, for when Grand Master Matthew, on being asked by him to name the text for a sermon—June 12, 1767—replied, "In principio erat sermo ille et sermo ille erat apud Deum erat que ille sermo Deus"—the Secretary at once made a bow and said, "Fungor officio meo."

Of his conscientiousness in the performance of his duties, the following affords a good illustration:

"March 19, 1766. *N. B.* The Grand Secretary was fined for swearing an oath, which fine he paid immediately; and was ordered to withdraw, during which time the Steward's Lodge order'd that the G. S. should be excused, and that the fine shou'd not be inserted

[1] According to the "Pocket Companion for Freemasons," Dublin, 1735, the Lodge, No. 26, then met at "the Eagle Tavern on Cork Hill."

[2] I derive this date from "Notes on Lau. Dermott and his Work," 1884, by W. M. Bywater, P. M. (and historian) of the "Royal Athelstan" Lodge, No. 19, p. 57.

[3] Early History and Constitutions of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, Pt. ii., 1878, p. 119.

among the Transactions of the Steward's Lodge. Notwithstanding this lenitive order, the G. S. thinks he cannot violate that part of his Instalation Ceremony, which expressly says, that he shall not favour the undeserved. Lau. Dermott.

"Therefore I have made this note."[1]

Although frequently debarred by sickness from actual attendance at the meetings of Grand Lodge, toward the closing years of his Secretaryship, the records afford numerous examples of his devotion to the best interests of the Society. Thus, under March 7, 1770, we find: "Heard a second letter from G. S. Dermott, humbly proposing that no part of the Grand Fund be appropriated, expended, disbursed, nor ordered toward defraying the charges of any Publick Feast, Musick or Procession for the future, the Funerals of Indigent Brethren (only) excepted—and which was unanimously approved of."

In addition to his manifold labors as Secretary, he took upon himself the task of compiling a "Book of Constitutions" for the Seceders. This work—which will be hereafter considered—passed through no less than four editions during the author's lifetime,[2] and if his fame rested on nothing else, would alone serve as a lasting monument of his zeal and ability. Originally published at his own risk, its sale must have been very remunerative; and on September 29, 1785, when the thanks of Grand Lodge were voted to him for "giving up his property of 'Ahiman Rezon' to the Charity," the endowment must have been a very substantial addition to that fund.

It is worthy of notice, that in "Ahiman Rezon," 1764, whilst explaining the difference between "Antient and Modern" [Masonry], the author says: "I think it my duty to declare solemnly, before God and man, that I have not the least antipathy against the gentlemen, members of the Modern Society; but, on the contrary, love and respect them."[3] "Such," he adds, fourteen years later, "was my declaration in the second edition of this book; nevertheless, some of the Modern Society have been extremely malapert of late. Not satisfied with saying the Ancient Masons in England had no Grand Master, some of them descended so far from truth as to report, the author had forged the Grand Master's hand-writing to Masonic warrants, etc. Upon application, His Grace the most Noble Prince John, Duke of Atholl, our present R. W. Grand Master's father, avowed his Grace's hand-writing, supported the Ancient Craft, and vindicated the author in the public newspapers." He then goes on to say: "As they differ in matters of Masonry, so they did in matters of calumny; for while some were charging me with forgery, others said, that I was so illiterate as not to know how to write my name. But what may appear more strange is, that some insisted that I had neither father nor mother; but that I grew up spontaneously in the corner of a potatoe garden in Ireland." "I cannot reconcile myself," he continues, "to the idea of having neither father nor mother; but ∴ be that as it may, as I do not find that the calumny of a few Modern Masons has done me any real injury, I shall continue in the same mind as express'd in the declaration to which this notice is written."[4]

In Masonic circles, Dermott was probably the best abused man of his time, and he revenged himself by holding up the members of the rival Society[5] to the ridicule of the public. Of this, one example must suffice. Describing their innovations, he says: "There

[1] Steward's Lodge Minutes—footnote.

[2] 1756, 1764, 1778, and 1787. Subsequent editions appeared in 1800, 1801, 1807, and 1813.

[3] P. xxiv. [4] Ahiman Rezon, 3d edit., 1778.

[5] *I.e.*, The "Regular" or 'Constitutional" Grand Lodge of England.

was another old custom that gave umbrage to the young architects, *i.e.*, the wearing of aprons, which made the gentlemen look like so many mechanicks, therefore it was proposed, that no brother (for the future) should wear an apron. This proposal was rejected by the oldest Members, who declared that the aprons were all the signs of Masonry then remaining amongst them, and for that reason they would keep and wear them. [It was then proposed, that (as they were resolved to wear aprons) they should be turned upside down, in order to avoid appearing mechanical. This proposal took place, and answered the design, for that which was formerly the lower part, was now fastened round the abdomen, and the bib and strings hung downwards, dangling, in such manner as might convince the spectators that there was not a working mason amongst them.

"Agreeable as this alteration might seem to the gentlemen, nevertheless it was attended with an ugly circumstance: for, in traversing the lodge, the brethren were subject to tread upon the strings, which often caused them to fall with great violence, so that it was thought necessary to invent several methods of walking, in order to avoid treading upon the strings.][1]

"After many years' observation on these ingenious methods of walking, I conceive that the first was invented by a man grievously afflicted with the sciatica. The second by a sailor, much accustomed to the rolling of a ship. And the third by a man who, for recreation, or through excess of strong liquors, was wont to dance the drunken peasant."[2]

Although the passages within crotchets were omitted after 1787, the remainder appeared in every later edition, including the final one of 1813. That such coarse observations could ever find their way into a work of the kind, may occasion surprise; but we should do well to recollect that when "journeymen painters" take to writing "Books of Constitutions," some little deviation from the ordinary methods must be expected. But we gain a clearer insight into the real character of the man, from the lines with which he concludes this portion of his work, wherein he expresses a hope—renewed in the two succeeding editions published before his death—that he may "live to see a general conformity and universal unity between the worthy masons of all denominations"—a hope, alas, not destined to fulfilment.

Mutatis mutandis, the description given by Burton of the split in the Associate Synod, will exactly describe the breach between, and reunion of, the Masons of England:

"After long separation, these bodies, which had been pursuing their course in different lines, re-united their forces. But, in the meantime, according to a common ecclesiastical habit, each body counted itself *the* Synod, and denied the existence of the other, save as a mob of impenitent Schismatics."[3]

As the earliest records of the Seceders are in the handwriting of Laurence Dermott, and date from his election as Grand Secretary, it is impossible to say how far, as an organized body, their existence should be carried back. A note to the minutes of September 14, 1752, affords the only clue to the difficulty, and, as will be seen, does not materially assist us. It states that a General Assembly of Ancient Masons was held at the Turk's Head Tavern in Greek Street, Soho,[4] on July 17, 1751, when the Masters of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6,

[1] Ahiman Rezon, 1764, p. xxxi.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1778. Footnote to text of previous edition.

[3] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 344.

[4] May 6, 1752—"Motion made—That this Grand Committee be removed back to the Turk's Head Tavern in Greek St., Soho, where it had [been] long held under the title of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the Old Institution. This motion was not seconded, and therefore dropt"



ARMS GRANTED TO THE CARPENTERS COMPANY,
OF LONDON, 6TH EDWARD IV, 1466.



ARMS GRANTED TO THE MASONS COMPANY,
OF LONDON, 12TH EDWARD IV, 1472-3.



ARMS OF THE SCULPTURES OR MARBLERS.
FROM THE GATESHEAD CHARTER, 1671.



ARMS OF THE FREEMASONS.
FROM THE GATESHEAD CHARTER, 1671.

ARMS OF FREEMASONS, MASONS, CARPENTERS, Etc.

Copied from the Originals and Highest Authorities.

See page 185.

and 7 were authorized to grant dispensations and warrants, and to act as Grand Master. And the Masters of three lodges "did actually exercise such authority, in signing the warrant No. 8, from which [so the words run] this note is written, for Dermott never received any copy or manuscript of the former Transactions from Mr. Morgan, late Grand Secretary; Nor does Laurence Dermott, the present Grand Secretary, think that Bro. Morgan did keep any book of Transactions,—though there is no certainty that he did not."

From this we learn that there were six[1] lodges in existence prior to July 17, 1751, but the exact dates of their constitution there are no means of determining; still it is not likely that the oldest of these lodges was formed before 1747.[2]

The proceedings of the Grand Committee, held March 4, 1752—Bro. John Gaunt, Master of No. 5, in the chair—are thus recorded by Laurence Dermott:

"Formal complaints made against Thomas Phealon and John Macky, better known by the name of the 'leg of mutton masons.' In course of the examination, it appeared that Phealon and Macky had initiated many persons for the mean consideration of a leg of mutton for dinner or supper, to the disgrace of the Ancient craft. That Macky was an Empiric in phisic; and both impostors in Masonry. That upon examining some brothers whom they pretended to have made Royal-Archmen,[3] the parties had not the least idea of that secret. That Dr. Macky (for so he was called) pretended to teach a Masonical Art, by which any man could (in a moment) render himself invisible. That the Grand Secretary had examined Macky, and that Macky appeared incapable of making an Apprentice with any degree of propriety. Nor had Macky the least idea or knowledge of Royal-Arch Masonry. But instead thereof, he had told the people whom he deceived, a long story about 12 white Marble Stones, etc., etc. And that the Rainbow was the Royal Arch,[4] with many other absurdities equally foreign and rediculous.

"Agreed and ordered—that neither Thomas Phealon nor John Mackey be admitted into any ancient Lodge during their natural Lives."

On September 2, in the same year, it was agreed that every sick member should receive one penny per week from every registered Mason in London and Westminster; after which "the Lodge was opened in Ancient form of Grand Lodge, and every part of real Freemasonry was traced and explained" by the Grand Secretary, "except the Royal Arch."

"Dec. 6, 1752.—Resolved unanimously; that the Lodges, who by neglect or disobedi-

(Grand Committee Minutes). An explanation of the statement embodied with the foregoing resolution, will be found above. Its value historically is scarcely equal to that of the preamble of a bill which has the ill luck not to ripen into an Act of Parliament. *Cf. ante*, Chap. VII., p. 372.

[1] The "Grand Committee of the 'Ancients,' which subsequently developed into their 'Grand Lodge,' was no doubt originally their senior private lodge, whose growth in this respect is akin to that of the Grand Chapter of the 'Moderns,' which, commencing in 1765 as a private Chapter, within a few years assumed the general direction of R. A. Masonry, and issued warrants of Constitution" (Atholl Lodges, p. ix.).

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 147.

[3] The only allusion to the "*Royal* Arch," of earlier date, will be found in Dr. Dassigny's "Serious and Impartial Enquiry into the Cause of the present Decay of Freemasonry in the Kingdom of Ireland," 1744. Reprinted by Hughan, in "Masonic Memorials of the Union," 1874; also in *Masonic Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 368; vol. iii., pp. 5, 62, 111.

[4] *Q.* "Whence comes the Pattern of an Arch? *A.* From the Rainbow" (Mason's Examination, 1723).

ence have forfeited their Rank and Number, shall be discontinued on the Registry, and the Junior Lodges who have proved themselves faithful friends of the Ancient Craft, shall henceforth bear the Title or Number so forfeited: The distribution to be according to Seniority. The Grand Secretary desired to know whether there was any other books or Manuscripts more than had been delivered to him upon the 2nd of Feb. 1752. To which several of the Brethren answered that they did not know of any; others said they knew M^r^. Morgan had a roll of parchment of prodigious length, which contained some historical matters relative to the ancient Craft, which parchment they did suppose he had taken abroad with him. It was further said, That many Manuscripts were lost amongst the Lodges lately Modernized, where a vestige of the ancient Craft [*word erased*] was not suffered to be revived or practized. And that it was for this reason so many of them withdrew from Lodges (under the Modern sanction) to Support the true Ancient System. That they found the freemasons from Ireland and Scotland had been initiated in the very same manner as themselves, which confirmed their system and practice as right and just, Without which none could be deemed legal, though possessed of all the books and papers on Earth.

"The Grand Secretary (Dermott) produced a very old Manuscript, written or copied by one Bramhall of Canterbury, in the reign of King Henry the seventh; which was presented to M^r^. Dermott in 1748, by one of the descendants of the writer—on perusal it proved to contain the whole matter in the fore-mentioned parchment, as well as other matters not in that parchment.

"B^r^ Quay moved 'that the thanks of the General committee be given to G. S. Dermott;' upon which B^rs^. James Bradshaw [and others] protested against any thanks or even approbation of the Secretary's conduct, who, instead of being useful, had actually Sung and lectured the Brethren out of their senses. The Secretary said—if he was so unfortunate as to sing any brother out of his Senses, he hoped the Worshipful Master in the Chair, and the Grand Committee, would allow him an hour's time, and he would endeavor to sing them into their senses again.

"The request was granted with great good humour, the Secretary made proper use of his time, and the W. Master clos'd and adjourned the Grand Committee to the Five Bells Tavern in the Strand."

Several resolutions of a financial character were passed in the early part of 1753. On January 3, that every member of a Regular Lodge in and about the metropolis,[1] should contribute fourpence a month toward raising a Charity Fund; on February 7, that the officers of lodges might pay ten shillings per week to a sick member, and seven to a member confined for debt, with the assurance of being recouped from the Grand Fund; and, on April 4, that one shilling be spent by each member at every meeting; also that lodges pay two shillings and sixpence for each newly-made Mason, one shilling for joining members, and "that the G. Secretary be free from Contributions or reckonings, whilst being entitled to every benefit of the Grand Lodge, except a vote in chusing Grand Officers."[2]

The first *country* Lodge on the roll of the "Ancients" was constituted in this year. A petition from some brethren residing at Bristol was read October 3, when it was ordered "that the Grand Secretary shall proceed according to the antient custom of the Craft during the *inter Magistrum.*"[3]

[1] At this time there were no others. [2] Lodges Nos. 2 to 17 were represented at this meeting.

[3] The London lodges were usually established by means of a provisional dispensation in the first instance—*e.g.:* "June 19, 1753.—Ordered a dispensation for John Doughty, for the purpose of con-

At the next meeting of the Grand Committee—December 5, 1753—"the Grand Secretary made a motion, 'that as the Fraternity had not made choice of any of the Noble personages formerly mentioned in those Transactions,[1] and it being doubtful whether the antient Craft cou'd be honour'd with a Noble Grand Master at this time, he humbly beg'd that the Brethren wou'd make choice of some worthy and skillfull Master to fill the chair for the space of six months successively.' Accordingly Br°. Robert Turner, Master of No. 15, was nominated and unanimously chosen, Instal'd, and Saluted." The Grand Master appointed Bro. William Rankin his Deputy, and Bros. Samuel Quay of No. 2 and Lachlan M'Intosh[2] of No. 3, were elected Senior and Junior Grand Wardens respectively.

The last lodge constituted in 1753 bore the No. 29, which, together with the transition from "Grand Committee" to "Grand Lodge," amply justified the brethren in voting a jewel of the value of five guineas to the Grand Secretary, on the second anniversary of his election to that office.

In 1754, a Committee of Charity, to be styled the Steward's Lodge, was appointed, the proceedings of which were read at the next ensuing meeting of Grand Lodge. Several lodges in arrears were declared vacant, and a minute of October 2 introduces us to a practice unknown, I believe, under any other Masonic jurisdiction. It runs—"Bro. Cowen, Master of Lodge No. 37, proposed paying one guinea into the Grand Fund for No. 6 (now vacant). This proposal was accepted, and the Brethren of No. 37 are to rank as No. 6 for ye future."

Robert Turner, the first Grand Master, who had been continued in office for a second term of six months, was succeeded by the Hon. Edward Vaughan on St. John's Day in December. During the administration of the latter, the first of a long series of Military Warrants[3] was issued by this Grand Lodge, a fee of a Guinea, was imposed on every new charter,[4] and the Grand Secretary was ordered to install and invest the several officers of Lodges, in cases where the retiring Masters "were incapable of [this] performance."[5]

The Earl of Blesington was elected Grand Master December 27, 1756, and for four years presided over the Society, at least nominally, for he was present at none of its meetings. His Deputy was William Holford, but the management of affairs appears to have been left almost wholly to Laurence Dermott, by whom was brought out the same year, "Ahiman Rezon; or, A Help to a Brother"—the "Book of Constitutions" of the "Ancients."

On March 2, 1757, the Grand Secretary, in vindication of his character, which had been aspersed by one John Hamilton, proved to the satisfaction of the Grand Lodge that he had been duly installed Master of Lodge No. 26, in the Kingdom of Ireland, May 24, 1746, having previously served therein the offices of Senior and Junior Deacon, Senior and Junior Warden, and Secretary.

gregating and making of Freemasons at the One Tun in the Strand, from this day unto the first Wednesday in July next" (Grand Lodge Minutes). *Cf. ante*, p. 174, note 4.

[1] April 1, 1752.—Three brethren reported that they had waited on Lord George Sackville, who was about to attend his father, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but upon his return, would either accept the chair, or recommend them to another nobleman (Grand Lodge Minutes). The names of Lords Chesterfield, Ponsonby, Inchiquin, and Blesington "were laid before the Committee" in the following November.

[2] April 19, 1769.—Reprimanded by the Steward's Lodge for making masons clandestinely at Bristol, but his previous services recognized in having established Lodges at Berwick and Bremen. May 17.—Ordered to make submission before Nos. 84 and 118, Bristol.

[3] No. 41, 57th Foot, Sept. 7, 1755. [4] June 2, 1756. [5] June 24, 1756.

At the same meeting it was ordered—"that no person be made a mason in an Antient Lodge under the sum of £1, 5s. 6d., and cloath the Lodge if required.

"That a General Meeting of Master Masons be held on the 13th Inst., to compare and regulate several things relative to the Antient Craft; [and that] the Masters of the Royal Arch shall also be summon'd to meet, in order to regulate things relative to that most valluable branch of the Craft."

On March 13, the Grand Secretary "traced and explained the 1st, 2d, and 3d part of the Antient Craft, and Settled many things (then disputed) to the intire satisfaction of all the brethren present, who faithfully promised to adhere strictly to the Antient System and to cultivate the same in their several Lodges." Forty-six brethren, representing twenty-six lodges, were present on this occasion.

In the following June a regulation was made, forbidding the officers of Lodges—under the penalty of forfeiture of warrant—to admit as member or visitor, "any person not strictly an ancient Mason, Certified Sojourners excepted."

In the following year—March 1, 1758--a letter was read from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, announcing "a strict union with the Antient Grand Lodge in London."[1]

On December 5, 1759, "The Grand Secretary made a long and labour'd speech against any victuler being chosen a Grand Officer, which gave great offence to some persons in the Grand Lodge. The D.G.M. put the Question, viz.:

Whether the Sec^{y}., Lau. Dermott, for his last Speech, Merited Applause, or Deserved Censure.

For applauding the Secretary, ...	44
Against, ...	4

Upon which the R. W. Deputy said, 'Brethren, there are 44 votes for the Secretary, and 4 against him, by which it seems there are only 4 Publicans in the Room.'"

The next Grand Master was the Earl of Kelly, at whose accession—December 27, 1760—the number of lodges on the roll was eighty-three, being an increase of twenty-four, during the presidency of Lord Blesington. The most noteworthy were Nos. 65, Prov. G. Lodge of Nova Scotia (1757), and 69,[2] Philadelphia (1758).

The Grand Officers of the previous year were continued in their offices, and the "general thanks of the Fraternity" were conveyed to Laurence Dermott, who in reply "asked the Grand Lodge to believe two things, 1st, that he thought himself as happy in his Secretaryship, as the Great Pitt was in being Secretary of State; and, 2dly, that he would exert his utmost powers for the Good of the Antient Fraternity, so long as he lived." The services of the Grand Secretary were again recognized in a very marked and unusual manner in the following June, when the Deputy Grand Master proposed that he should be "toasted with the No. of his years," and it was "unanimously agreed that Laurence

[1] June 2, 1762. A letter read from the Secretary to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, proposing a "continual correspondence," etc., and after citing the action of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, in not admitting any Sojourner from England, as a member or petitioner, without a certificate under the seal of the Ancient Grand Lodge in London; it was ordered, that Sojourners from Ireland should similarly produce proper certificates from the Grand Lodge of that country (Grand Lodge Minutes)

[2] Warrant surrendered, but the precedency of the Lodge confirmed—Feb. 10, 1780—by the *Provincial* Grand Lodge under the Ancients, (No. 89). The latter was "closed forever" on Sept. 25, 1786, and the next day at a convention of 13 Lodges, was constituted the *Grand* Lodge of Pennsylvania.

Dermott, Esq., Grand Secretary, shall be drank in form with 39, being now in the 39th year of his Age—which was accordingly done." A footnote, however, in his own handwriting informs us that "the Secretary was in his 41st year."

On September 1, 1762, it was ordered, on the motion of the Secretary, who appears to have taken the lead in legislation, as well as in other things, that no one after October 2, ensuing, should be made a mason for a less sum than two Guineas, of which five shillings was to be paid to the Fund of Charity, and one shilling to the Grand Secretary: Also, That the whole sum should be paid on the night of Entrance, under the penalty of a Guinea, to be levied on the warrant, which was to be cancelled within six months, in default of payment.

That this prudent regulation was not immediately complied with, at least in all quarters, there is evidence to show, for the records inform us—under December 27, 1762—that "David Fisher, late Grand Warden Elect, having attempted to form a Grand Lodge of his own, and offered to Register Masons therein for 6d. each, was deem'd unworthy of any office or seat in the Grand Lodge."

A year later—December 7, 1763—the Grand Secretary was "Warranted and Impower'd to call and congregate a General Lodge in the town of Birmingham, and there to adjust and determine all complaints, disputes, or controversies, in or between the members of the Lodge No. 71 (or any other Brethren), in Birmingham aforesaid."

In 1764, there appeared a second edition of "Ahiman Rezon." A Bro. Matthew Beath was elected Grand Treasurer, June 6; and the members of No. 110 were admonished "for admitting Modern Masons into their Lodge," September 5.

On June 5, 1765, it was proposed, "that Every Past Master shall be a Member of, and have a vote in all Grand Lodges during his continuance [as] a Member of any Lodge under the Antient Constitution.

"This proposal occasion'd long various debates, several of the Masters and Wardens argued strenuously against the motion, while the presiding officer and three Masters were the only persons who spoke in favour of it." At length Grand Warden Gibson, who was in the Chair, put an amendment to the meeting, which was carried by a majority of 22 votes —there being 48 "for the past masters," and 26 "against them"—Whereupon, it was "ordered and declared that from and after the third day of December 1765, all and every Regular past master, while a member of any private Lodge, shall be a member of this Grand Lodge also, and shall have a vote in all cases except in making New Laws—which power is vested in the Master and Wardens, as being the only true Representatives of all the Lodges, according to the Old Regulation the tenth."

In the ensuing year—March 5, 1766—the Grand Master, with his grand officers and others, in fourteen coaches and chariots, drove in procession through Hampstead and Highgate, returning to the Five Bells Tavern in the Strand to dine

During the nominal presidency of Lord Kelly, sixty-two Lodges were added to the roll. Of these, seven were formed in regiments or garrisons, and eight in the colonies or abroad. Omitting Philadelphia—which received a *second* and *third* warrant in 1761 and 1764 respectively[1]—we find that Lodges under the "Ancients" were established at Charles Town, South Carolina, 1761; Amsterdam, 1762; Torlola, Marseilles, Leghorn, and Jamaica, 1763; St. Helena, 1764; and Minorca, 1766. The next Grand Master, the Hon. Thomas

[1] *Ante* p. 194.

Matthew, Provincial Grand Master of Munster, who was privately installed early in 1767,[1] appears to have been the first holder of the office who attended a meeting of the Grand Lodge. It was the custom of this worthy, wherever he resided—whether in Ireland, Great Britain, or France—"to hold a regular Lodge amongst his own domestics."

There now occur frequent entries—"G. S. Dermott absent in the Gout," which must have necessitated the assistance of a Deputy Grand Secretary, to which office we find that William Dickey, Jun., P.M. No. 14, was elected, June 1, 1768.[2] This he retained until 1771, and was subsequently Grand Secretary, 1771-77; D.G.M., 1777-81; President of the Grand Committee, 1782; and again D.G.M. from December 27, 1794, until his death, July 27, 1800.

The Grand Secretary and his Deputy had frequent disputes, and the former accused the latter—June 6, 1770—of having resigned his post "when he [Dermott] was so ill in the gout that he was obliged to be carried out in his bed (when incapable to wear shoes, stockings, or even britches) to do his duty at the Gd. Steward's Lodge." At the next meeting of Grand Lodge—September 5—Dermott "beg'd the Grand Lodge would please to do him justice, otherwise he sh[d] be under the disagreeable necessity of publishing his case." The Grand Secretary afterward said "he should not give them any further trouble concerning his affairs, and that henceforth he would resign and for ever disclaim any office in the Grand Lodge."

Further recriminations were exchanged on December 5. The records state, "Many warm disputes happen'd between Laurence Dermott, William Dickey, Junior, and others, the recording of which wou'd be of no service to the Craft nor to the various speakers."

At a subsequent meeting, held December 19, it was unanimously agreed that William Dickey had been in fault, and the public thanks of the Grand Lodge were returned to Laurence Dermott for his great assiduity in his office.

John, third Duke of Atholl, was chosen Grand Master, January 30, and installed on March 2, 1771, at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside. Dermott was appointed D.G.M.; and on March 6, William Dickey, Jun., was elected Grand Secretary.[3] These two men worked in thorough accord from this time, although the election of the latter took place in opposition to the wishes of the former, who favored the claims of a rival candidate for the Secretaryship—which, to say the least, savored slightly of ingratitude, since it was on the motion of William Dickey, Jun., that Dermott was recommended to the Duke of Atholl for the office of Deputy.

During the last four years of Dermott's Grand Secretaryship, twenty-two new *numbers* were added to the roll, which would show an apparent list of 167 Lodges in 1771, as com-

[1] The legality of the installation of the Grand Master *in private* was demurred to, November 25, 1767; and the D.G.M. stated "that the late Grand Master, the Earl of Blesington, had been only privately installed by the grand officers and Secretary in his Lordship's library in Margaret Street." In the result, the installation of Grand Master Matthew was "declared regular."

[2] September 20, 1765—"Viseters—B[r] Dickey, j[n], W. [M.] of No. 14, *Antient*" [and others]. March 21, 1766—"B. Lowrie Proposed M Will[m] Dickey, Junior, to Be made a *modern* Mason of; was Firsted and Seconded; and was admited, and was made a mason In this Lodge, and went through the Regular Degrees of the Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft, and Raisd to the Sublime degree of Master Mason" Minutes of the "Lebeck's Head" Lodge, No. 246 under the "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge).

[3] March 6, 1771—"Here Ends the minutes taken by Lau. Dermott, From the year 1751 [1752] to the year 1771" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

pared with 145 at the end of 1766. But this is misleading, because the "Ancients" constantly allotted a *vacant* instead of a *further* number to a new Lodge. Of this practice I have traced some thirty examples down to the close of 1770; and therefore, assuming that in every case a *new* warrant had received a *new* number, a grand total of at least 197 Lodges would have been reached by 1771.[1] Within the same period, about 339 Lodges were constituted by the *older* Grand Lodge of England.[2]

On the side of the Seceders, two military Lodges, and one each in Calcutta and Madras. were among the additions to the roll during the four years preceding 1771.

At a Grand Lodge, held September 4, 1771, Grand Secretary Dickey put the following question; "Is His Grace the Duke of Atholl Grand Master of Masons in every respect?" which being answered in the affirmative, the proposer said, "he had several times heard it advanced that the Grand Master had not a right to inspect into the proceedings of the Royal Arch." The Secretary further complained of many flagrant abuses of that "most sacred part of Masonry, and proposed that the Masters and Past Masters of Warranted Lodges be conven'd as soon as Possible, in order to put this part of Masonry on a Solid Basis."

Meetings accordingly took place in October and November, with the proceedings of which, Grand Lodge was made conversant by the Deputy Grand Master, December 4, 1771.

Dermott "expatiated a long time on the scandalous method pursued by most of the Lodges (on St. John's Days) in passing a number of Brethren through the Chair, on purpose to obtain the sacred Mystry's of the Royal Arch. The Deputy was answered by several Brethren, that there were many Members of Lodges, who from their Proffesions in Life (The Sea for Example) that could never regularly attain that part of Masonry, tho' very able deserving Men."

Ultimately, it was resolved unanimously—"That no person for the future shall be made a Royal Arch Mason, but the legal Representatives of the Lodge, except a Brother (that is going abroad) who hath been 12 months a Registered Mason; and must have the Unanimous Voice of his Lodge to receive such Qualification."

The case of those brethren who "had been admitted among the Royal Arch Masons Illegaly," the Deputy suggested should be left to the next Grand Chapter,[3] which was agreed to.

On March 4, 1772, it was resolved "that the Master and Wardens of every Lodge (within five miles of London) shall attend the Grand Lodge on every St. John's Day; on default thereof the Lodge shall pay ten shillings and sixpence to the Charitable Fund." This regulation was made more stringent in the following September, when it was ordered that the same officers, and within the same radius, should attend all meetings of the Grand Lodge, when duly summoned by the Grand Secretary, or else pay a fine of five shillings and three pence, which was "to be levy'd on the warrant."

[1] 195 Lodges were assigned numbers by the "Regular" or "Constitutional" Grand Lodge down to the end of 1739.

[2] *I.e.*, 330 were added to the roll between February 5, 1752, and the close of 1770. This, +9—the number of "Ancient" Lodges in existence at that date— =339.

[3] This is the first mention of "Grand Chapter" in these records, and there are no Royal Arch Minutes of earlier date than 1783. The *degree* itself, however, is referred to under the year 1752. *Cf. ante*, p. 191.

In the same year—April 8—"James Cock, P. Master[1] No. 9, moved that a chaplain (for the Grand Lodge) should be appointed annually, which was approved of, and the Rev. Dr. James Grant was elected accordingly." Also, on June 3, it was "agreed that a brother be appointed *pro tempore* to carry the Sword at Public Processions, and that Br°. Nash, Jnr. of No. 2, carry the same next St. John's Day."

At a Grand Lodge, held September 2, a letter was read from Bro. T. Corker, D. G. Secretary—Ireland—stating that "he cannot find any traces of the agreement, which was made between the two Grand Lodges in 1757," and also, "that nothing could have been more advantageous *to our poor fraternity*[2] than a strict adherence to such a resolution."

Resolved, "that a Brotherly connexion and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Ireland, has been, and will always be found, productive of Honour and advantage to the Craft in both Kingdoms."

A resolution in identical terms, was passed with regard to the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

The reply of the latter was read May 3, 1773. It stated that the Grand Lodge of Scotland were of opinion that the Brotherly intercourse and correspondence (suggested), would be serviceable to both Grand Lodges.[3]

The *entente cordiale* between the two Grand Lodges may have been due in a great measure to the fact, that the Duke of Atholl, then at the head of the fraternity in the south, became Grand Master elect of Scotland, November 30, 1772, and Grand Master a year later. Indeed, at this, as at all other stages of his career, Dermott probably made the most of his opportunities, and so sagacious a ruler of men must have been fully alive to the importance of securing the friendship of the Masons in the Northern Kingdom. The minutes of the same meeting—May 3—then proceed:

"In order to preserve (for ever) the Harmony subsisting between the two Grand Lodges, We [the Grand Lodge of England] think it necessary to declare that (from this time) no warrant should be granted by the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland, to any part of the World where either of them have a Provincial Lodge Established."[4]

The next entry which I shall transcribe, occurs under December 15, 1773, and is worthy of all praise.—"Ordered, That any Lodges running in arrears with their Landlords, [and not paying the same] on or before St. John's Day, the Warrant shall be forfeited."

On June 1, 1774, Grand Secretary Dickey having reported that several lodges assembled under an authority from a set of gentlemen called Modern Masons, it was resolved—"If any Lodge under the ancient constitution of England, from the time hereafter mentioned, viz., Europe, Six Months; Asia, Two Years; Africa and America, Twelve Months; to be computed from the 24th day of June 1774; that shall have in their possessions any Authority from the Grand Lodge of Moderns, or in any manner assemble or meet under Such Authority, Shall be deemed unworthy of associating with the members of the Ancient Community, and the Warrant they hold under this Rt. W. G. Lodge shall be immediately Cancel'd: Compleat notice of which the G. Secry shall give to all Warrd Lodges under the Ancient Sanction.

"Resolved—That all Ancient Masons (of Repute) under the Sanction of the Moderns,

[1] It is evident that at this date Past Masters possessed votes. *Cf. ante*, p. 195.

[2] The italics are mine. *Cf. ante*, p. 194.

[3] *Cf.* Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, pp. 205-209.

[4] If this regulation was operative at the present day, and the Grand Lodge of Ireland also agreed to it, the Grand Secretaries of the *three* Masonic jurisdictions in these Islands, would have far less foreign correspondence to contend with.

that may be inclined to obtain an Authority from this R. W. G. Lodge, Shall, by applying any time before the 24th June 1776, be Warranted, and the Expence of Such Warrant to be Charged only as a Renewal."

The death of the *third* Duke of Atholl—from whom a letter was read September 7, expressing satisfaction that the "Ancient craft is *regaining* its ground over the Moderns"—caused the election of grand officers to be postponed from December 7, 1774, until March 1, 1775.

On the latter date, the Grand Secretary "reported the following transactions of the Grand Master's Lodge:[1]

"'Feb. 25, 1775.—Admitted. His Grace the [*fourth*] Duke of Atholl into the first, second, and third degree; and after proper instructions had been given [it was] proposed that [he] should be Immediately Installed Master of the Grand Master's Lodge, which was accordingly done.'

"Upon the Secretary reading the above transactions, His Grace the Duke of Atholl was unanimously elected Grand Master," and, on the 25th of the same month, duly installed in the presence of the Duke of Leinster and Sir James Adolphus Oughton,[2] former Grand Masters of Ireland[3] and Scotland[4] respectively. William Dickey was continued as Secretary, and the new Grand Master "signed a warrant appointing Bro^r^ Lau: Dermott, Esq., to be His Grace's deputy; and ordered that the said deputy should be installed whenever his present indisposition would admit him to attend;" which was not until later in the year, when a series of discussions took place relative to a correspondence between William Preston and the Grand Lodge of Scotland, which has been already referred to.[5]

In the following year—March 6—it was ordered, "That in future every Modern Mason, remade under this Constitution, shall pay to the Charitable Fund, etc., Six Shillings, unless they produce a certificate of their having been made a *Modern*, and in that case shall pay only three Shillings to the Fund."

On St. John's Day (in Christmas) 1777, "Dermott informed the brethren that he had petitioned the Grand Master for liberty to resign his office of Deputy. His age, infirmities, and twenty years' service, having constrained him to take such measures." A letter was then read from the Duke of Atholl, expressing approval of William Dickey[6] as D.G.M., and stating that he had accepted the office of Grand Master of Scotland, "as he imagined it might accrue to the advantage of Ancient Masonry in England by indubitably shewing the

[1] September 5, 1759.—"The Grand Master's Lodge proclaimed, and took the first seat accordingly as No. 1" (Grand Lodge Minutes). *Revived* December 16, 1787, and retained its number at the Union. *Cf. ante*, p. 92.

[2] In 1752 General Oughton was Prov. G. M. of Minorca, under the older Grand Lodge of England, and informed that body "that the Craft flourished there in full vigour; that they adhered to their Rules [of] Decency and *Regularity* so strictly and invariably, that neither the envious, malicious, or inquisitive could find the least ground to exercise their Talents" (Grand Lodge Minutes—1723-1813—June 18, 1752).

[3] 1771, and again 1778. [4] 1769-70.

[5] *Ante*, p. 176. It is somewhat curious, that in their published works neither the "journeyman *printer*,"[1] nor the "journeyman *painter*"[2]—Preston and Dermott—the former an *Ancient* before he became a *Modern*, and the latter a *Modern* before he became an *Ancient*—using these terms in a popular though erroneous signification—refers the one to the other.

[6] James Jones, who had been chosen Grand Secretary, March 5, 1777, was re-elected on December 27.

[1] *Ante*, p. 178. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 188.

tenets to be the same." At the same meeting gold medals were voted both to the new and to the retiring Deputy.[1]

D.G.M. Dickey gave notice—March 4, 1778—"that on the first Wednesday in June next, he wou'd proceed to dispose of the warrants, laying at this time dormant, for the support of the Fund of Charity;" and in the June following it was resolved "that the Senior No. have the preference by paying to the Charity £1, 1s. 0d."[2]

On March 3, 1779, Charles Bearblock, P.M., No. 4, was elected Grand Secretary; and on the motion of "P. Deputy G. M. Dermott," it was resolved "that every lodge within the Bills of Mortality, in future do pay to the fund of Charity Ten Shillings and sixpence for every new made member."

On October 18, 1781, Lodge No. 213,[3] in the Royal Artillery, was constituted at New York by the Rev. W. Walter, who, according to the customary practice, was empowered to act as Deputy Grand Master for three hours only, together with the Masters and Wardens of Nos. 169, 210, 212, 134 (Scotland), and 359 (Ireland).

On February 6, 1782, William Dickey was unanimously chosen President of the "Grand Committee," the Dukes of Atholl and Leinster having respectively declined, the former to retain, and the latter to accept, the position of Grand Master if elected.

After an interregnum of a year and a quarter—March 6, 1783—the Earl of Antrim was elected to the chair, Laurence Dermott was appointed Deputy, and Robert Leslie was chosen Grand Secretary in the place of Charles Bearblock, "discharged from that office."

At a Grand Committee, held March 29, 1784—William Dickey in the chair—a letter was read from the Deputy G.M., complaining of an irregular and incorrect circular issued by the Grand Secretary, and also of his having usurped the power of the Grand Master and Deputy, "more particularly in a *dispensing power for congregating and forming* a new Lodge." After much discussion, it having been recommended "that every matter heard before the Committee should be lost in oblivion," Dermott and Leslie "were called in and gave their assent thereto."

In the following September the D.G.M. "informed the Lodge that he would not act, nor advise or suffer the Grand Master to act, with the present Grand Secretary, who he declared incapable of his office, and if again re-elected, he would request leave of the G.M. to resign his office." Leslie expressed surprise at the use of language as "unmasonic" as it was "unmanly," especially after the Deputy had agreed to bury all differences in oblivion, and charged the latter with having "descended to the grossest personal scurrility, unbecoming a Man, Mason, or Gentleman." The Grand Secretary was re-elected, but afterward "begged leave to decline any contest for the office," and, persisting in his resignation, a new election was ordered to take place in March, but on December 1, it was carried by a unanimous vote, that the thanks of the Grand Lodge be conveyed to Bro. Leslie, G.S.

On the St. John's day following, a letter was read from Dermott, objecting to the proceedings of the last Grand Lodge, and particularly of its having "attempted to rescind the confirmed acts of a Grand Lodge [held] in due form.' In support of this contention a great many authorities were cited, and among them, strange to say, "Doctr Anderson's

[1] Dermott availed himself of this respite from administrative labor to bring out a *third* edition of his "Ahiman Rezon" (1778).

[2] Rescinded September 2, 1778.

[3] Purchased the ninth place on the list for £5, 5s. in 1787. Became No. 17 at the Union, and is now the Albion Lodge, Quebec.

Constitutions, page 162, pub. 1738!" The missive was read aloud more than once, and after a solemn pause, a vote of censure was *unanimously passed* on the writer, "the contents of the said letter, and the conduct of the D.G.M.," appearing to the Grand Lodge "arbitrary, if not altogether illegal."

The behavior of Leslie at this juncture cannot be too highly commended. A new generation had sprung up, which was ill disposed to brook the petulance of the deputy. Nothing but the forbearance of the Grand Secretary prevented an open rupture, in which case Dermott must have gone to the wall; but in a noble letter to the Earl of Antrim, written September 10, 1784, Leslie thus expresses himself: "I again beg your Lordship's pardon, when I hint that a continuance of your former deputy may be most agreeable to the Grand Lodge, and that the want of his assistance would be irreparable."

On January 31, 1785, "a letter [was] read from the Grand Master, appointing Lau. Dermott, Esq., his deputy, and wishing that any difference between the R. W. D[eputy] and Sec^{y} Leslie might be buried in oblivion—the said letter was read twice, and the R. W. D. put the same into his pocket without any motion being made thereon by the Lodge." The vote of censure passed at the previous meeting was removed. Dermott returned thanks, declined taking upon himself the office of D. G. M., and repeated that "he would not work with Sec^{y} Leslie, upon which the Grand Lodge got into confusion and disorder for some time."

The following entry in the minutes of the "Steward's Lodge" tends to prove that about this time, the bonds of discipline were much relaxed: June 15, 1785.—"B^{r} Weatherhead Master of No. 5 was fin'd one shilling for swearing, and he also chaling'd the Master of No. 3 to turn out to fight him with sword and pistol, and us'd the W^{ll}. G. J. Warden [Feakings] in a Redicules manner, which oblig'd him to close the Lodge before the business was compleated."

In the following March, Leslie made way for John M'Cormick, but was again elected Grand Secretary, December 1, 1790, an office which he filled until the Union; and a gold medal was voted to him December 1, 1813, "for his long and faith[ful] services as Grand Secretary for more than thirty years."

Lord Antrim was installed as Grand Master, June 7, 1785, and at the same meeting invested Laurence Dermott as his Deputy. In the following September the sum of one guinea was fixed as the amount to be paid when "Modern Masons" were made "Antient." From this it may be estimated that the latter were more than holding their own in the rivalry which existed, an inference still further sustained by the language of a communication addressed by the Grand Secretary to the Grand Master March 20, 1786, informing him "that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, which had been under the government of the Moderns for upwards of twenty years, had offered for a warrant under the Antients, also that the said Grand Lodge consisted of none under the degree of an Ensign, and who had refused to act longer under the authority of the Moderns, "tho' the Duke of Cumberland is said to be their Grand Master."

At a Grand Lodge, held December 27, 1787, James Perry, J. G. W., who was invested as Deputy Grand Master, moved, "that the thanks of the G. L. be given to R. W. Lau: Dermott, Esq., P. Dep. G. M., who after forty-seven years zealously and successfully devoted to the service of the Craft, had now retired from the Eminent station which he held, and to whose masonic knowledge and abilities, inflexible adherence to the Antient Laws of the Fraternity, and Impartial administration of office, the Fraternity are so much

indebted." The motion was carried without a dissentient vote; and it was further resolved, "that a committee be formed consisting of the Grand Officers, to consider the best means of conferring some signal mark of the approbation of the Grand Lodge on the said M^r^ Deputy Dermott," and to report accordingly.

Laurence Dermott attended Grand Lodge in the following June, and was also present at Communications held on June 4, 1788, March 4,[1] and June 3, 1789. After the last date the minutes are altogether silent with regard to his name, and even his death is unrecorded.

When Dermott resigned the office of Grand Secretary (1770) there were 167 lodges on the roll; at the close of 1789 there were 258, showing an increase of 91. But within the same period, about 46—as nearly as I can trace them—were constituted, or revived at vacant numbers, thus making a grand total of 137 new lodges.

The expansion of the rival organization, between the same dates, was as follows: 119 lodges were added to its roll after 1770 and before 1780; and 125 during the ten years ending 1789, forming a total increase of 244. But the real position of the "Atholl" Grand Lodge is not disclosed by these figures In the Colonies, and wherever there were British garrisons, the new system was slowly but surely undermining the old one. Forty-nine military lodges had been constituted by the Seceders down to the close of 1789,[2] and the influence they exercised in disseminating the principles of which Dermott was the exponent, will be treated with some fulness hereafter. In this place it will be sufficient to say, that to the presence of so many army lodges in North America was mainly due the form which Masonry assumed when the various States became independent of the mother country.[3] The actual number of lodges working under what was styled the "Ancient Sanction" at the period under examination cannot be very easily determined. For example, on October 24, 1782, there were four lodges[4] at work in Halifax, N.S., "under Dispensation from the warranted lodges, Nos. 155 and 211," in that town.[5] Many local warrants were granted subsequently by the Provincial Grand Lodge,[6] but as none of these were exchanged for charters from London until 1829, it would now be difficult to trace the dates they originally bore, but that at least seventeen lodges were constituted under this jurisdiction, and probably more, before the year 1790, there is evidence to show.[7] Unfortunately the "Atholl" records do not give the lodges in existence under provincial establishments, and the earliest printed list was not published until 1804. In that year, however, we find that the province of Gibraltar comprised 9 lodges, Jamaica 15, Quebec 11, Niagara 12, and Halifax 29.

The Grand Lodge of England, previous to the death of Dermott, demanded no fees from

[1] There were present, *inter alios*, at this meeting, James Perry, D.G.M., in the chair; Laurence Dermott, P. Dep. G.M.; Thomas Harper, S.G.W.; and James Agar, J.G.W.,—all of whom were voted, at different times, gold medals by the Society. In 1813 the Duke of Kent selected three past masters of No. 1—viz., Thomas Harper, D.G.M., James Perry, and James Agar, *past* D.G.M.'s—to assist him, on behalf of the "Ancients," in preparing the Articles of Union.

[2] Sixty-seven were chartered subsequently, making a total of 116.

[3] See *post*, "Military Lodges," and "Freemasonry in America."

[4] The "Union, St. George's, Virgin, and Thistle" Lodges. The three last named were held in the Nova Scotia Volunteers, Royal Artillery, and 82d Foot respectively, and are not included in the forty-nine military lodges noticed above, or in the sixty-seven mentioned in note 2.

[5] J. Fletcher Brennan, History of Freemasonry in the Maritime Provinces of British America, 1875, p. 375.

[6] Re-warranted at its old number (65) June 2, 1784.

[7] April 15, 1789.—"John Boggs, of No. 17 Ancient York Lodge, Nova Scotia, relieved as a Sojourner with 1 guinea" (Steward's Lodge Minutes).

Nova Scotia. The Provincial body was virtually an independent organization, paying tribute to none, and exacting the respect due to any independent Grand Lodge of Freemasons.[1]

In other parts of the world, Provincial Grand Lodges under the "Ancients" also warranted a large number of subsidiary lodges, but these, in the absence of lists, it is now, for the most part, impossible to identify. One of these bodies, however, before severing its connection with England—September 25, 1786—had no less than forty-six lodges on its roll,[2] all of which, up to that date, must be regarded as having been remote pendicles of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions."

James Perry continued to serve as Deputy until December 27, 1790, when he was succeeded by James Agar, and on the same day Robert Leslie was invested as Grand Secretary in the place of John M'Cormick—awarded a pension of a shilling a day during the remainder of his natural life "for his ffaithful service to the Craft."[3]

On the death of the Earl (and Marquess) of Antrim in 1791, John, fourth Duke of Atholl, was again elected Grand Master, and installed January 20, 1792. In this year—March 7— it was Resolved and Ordered—"That a general uniformity of the practice and ceremonies of the Ancient Craft may be preserved and handed down unchanged to posterity, the Lodges in London and Westminster shall be required to nominate a Brother from each Lodge, who must be a Master or Past Master, and otherwise well-skilled in the Craft, to be put in Nomination at the Grand Chapter, in October of each year, to be elected one of the nine Excellent Masters; who are allowed to visit the Lodges; and should occasion require, they are to report thereon to the Grand Chapter, or the R. W. Deputy Grand Master, who will act as he shall deem necessary."

At the following meeting, held June 6, the minutes of the preceding one were confirmed, and also those of the Royal Arch Chapter relating "to the appointment of nine Excellent Masters to assist the Grand Officers for the current year."[4]

In the ensuing September, in order "to accelerate the business of Grand Lodge," it was unanimously ordered "that the Grand Master or his Deputy do grant such warrants as are vacant to Lodges making application for the same, giving the preference or choice to the Senior Lodges: And that the sum of Five Guineas, to be paid into the Fund of Charity, shall be the established fees for taking out such Senior warrant."

[1] Brennan, *op. cit.*, p. 402. In reply to a letter from Adam Fife, first Master of the "Virgin" Lodge, Laurence Dermott wrote, Aug. 7, 1787: "Pecuniary Submission is not the aim of the Mother Grand Lodge. To cultivate and establish the True System of Ancient Masonry, Unity, and Brotherly Love is the only point in view" (*Ibid.*, p. 424).

[2] Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, pt. i., p. 62; and pt. iii., Appendix, p. 9.

[3] The remuneration of the Secretary was not large at this time, as the following minutes show: June 3, 1790.—"A Motion was made to Raise the G. Secretary's Sallary, and by the shew of hands it was carried to allow him 10 G[uineas], added to the *five*, and to receive it Quarterly or half yearly, as he pleased to take it." Dec. 5, 1792.—"Ordered, That the sum of three shillings be in future paid to the Grand Secretary for a Master Mason's Grand Lodge Certificate; he paying the expense of parchment and printing the same."

[4] Nov. 18, 1801.—"A motion was made and seconded that the nine Excellent Masters for the time being should have a Medal emblematic of their office, which should be given up, when they were out of office, for their successors, which was agreed to, subject to the opinion of Grand Lodge" (Steward's Lodge Minutes). June 1, 1803.—"Order'd, That to prevent the intrusion of improper persons into the Grand Lodge, each member shall sign his name and rank in his Lodge, in a book provided for that purpose, in the outer porch. And the excellent Masters for the time being shall be required, in rotation, to attend early, and carry the same into effect" (Grand Lodge Minutes).

On March 4, 1794, it was ordered—that Country, Foreign, and Military Lodges (where no Grand Lodge was held) should pay five, and London Lodges ten shillings and sixpence to the Grand Fund of Charity upon the registry of every new made mason, exclusively (under both scales) of the Grand Secretary's fee, of a shilling.[1] The Metropolitan Lodges were also required to pay a further sum of one shilling per quarter for every contributing member.

James Agar was succeeded by William Dickey, who, December 27, 1794, again undertook the responsible duties of Deputy Grand Master, a position for which he was more eminently qualified than any other living man.

Until the December meeting of 1797, there is nothing of moment to record; but on that occasion "it was moved by Bro. Moreton of No. 63, and seconded by Bro. M'Gillevery of No. 3, That a committee be appointed by this R. W. Grand Lodge, to meet one that may be appointed by the Grand Lodge of Modern Masons, and with them to effect a Union." But, alas, the time for a reconcilation had not yet arrived, and it will therefore occasion no surprise that "the previous Question was thereupon Moved and Carried almost unanimously."

The negotiations which preceded the fusion of the two Societies are very fully entered in the Atholl records, but the story of the Union will be best presented as a whole, and for this reason I shall postpone its narration until the next chapter.

On July 3, 1798, a meeting took place for the purpose of establishing a Masonic Charity for educating and clothing the sons of indigent Freemasons; a subscription was opened to carry this object into execution; and six children were immediately put upon the establishment. Donations of ten and two hundred guineas were voted by Grand Lodge in 1803 and 1809 respectively to this meritorious institution; and on March 4, 1812, the London Lodges were ordered to pay five shillings, and the other lodges half that sum, at every new initiation, to be added to its funds.

The Duke of Atholl was present at a Grand Lodge held May 6, 1799, when it was deemed essential "to inhibit and totally prevent all Public Masonic Processions, and all private meetings of Masons, or Lodges of Emergency, upon any pretence whatever, and to suppress and suspend all Masonic meetings, except upon the regular stated Lodge meetings and Royal Arch Chapters, which shall be held open to all Masons to visit, duly qualified as such." It was further resolved, "That when the usual Masonic Business is ended, the Lodge shall then disperse, the Tyler withdraw from the door, and Formality and Restraint of Admittance shall cease."

Two months later—July 12, 1799—an Act of Parliament was passed—39 Geo. III., cap. 79—which will be referred to in the next chapter; and from that date until the year 1802, no *new* warrants were granted by the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, which contented itself with reviving and re-issuing those granted and held before the act in question was added to the statute-roll. At the death of William Dickey, Thomas Harper was selected to fill his place, and received the appointment of Deputy, March 4, 1801. This office he held until the Union, and during the protracted negotiations which preceded that event, was the leading figure on the Atholl side. He served as Senior Grand Warden from 1786 to 1788, was presented with a gold medal, March 3, 1790, and became Deputy Grand Secretary[2] (by appoint-

[1] According to the minutes of the Steward's Lodge, Nov. 20, 1793, the "annual compliment to the Secretary for the year 1793" is set down at fifteen guineas. September 18, 1799, it was increased to thirty, and March 26, 1800, lowered to ten.

[2] Edwards Harper, also of No. 207 Fleet Street, served as Dep. G. Secy. under Leslie, from De-

ment of Robert Leslie), December 27, 1793. According to the Grand Chapter Register, he was made a Royal Arch Mason in No. 190,[1] at Charlestown, South Carolina, and the date given is 1770. Here there is evidently a mistake, as the lodge bearing that number was only constituted in 1774; but an earlier one (No. 92) was established at Charlestown, under the same jurisdiction, in 1761, and it is probable that the numbers of the two lodges have been confused. At the period of his nomination as Deputy Grand Master, he was a member of *both* Societies, and had served the stewardship[2] in the older one, by which, as we shall see in the next chapter, he was successively expelled and re-instated during the somewhat tortuous proceedings which have yet to be recounted.

Beyond an addition to the *minimum* fee for installation, which was increased to two and a half guineas on December 4, 1804,[3] there are no entries calling for attention till we reach the year 1806, when the minutes of the Steward's Lodge, under April 16, inform us of a report made to that body by Grand Warden Plummer, to the effect that certain members of Nos. 234 and 264 "had lately taken upon themselves to address the Duke of Kent, and requested His Royal Highness to adopt and take upon himself the office of Grand Master, and to which address [the Duke] had been pleased to return an answer, under the impression that [it] had been written by the order, or under the sanction, of the Grand Lodge." At a subsequent meeting the incriminated parties "were severely reprimanded from the chair," and warned that similar conduct would be more severely dealt with in the future.[4]

On March 4, 1807, the Deputy Grand Secretary was granted an annual stipend of twenty guineas, and it was ordered, "That in future, no brother be permitted to hold or take upon himself the office of Master of a Lodge, unless he shall be first duly registered in the books of Grand Lodge."

In the following year—March 2—the Resolution passed May 6, 1799, inhibiting all Masonic Processions and Lodges of Emergency, was repealed; and on June 1, salaries of thirty and twenty pounds respectively were voted to the Grand Pursuivant and Grand Tyler.

On September 4, 1811, on the motion of James Perry, it was resolved—"That from and after Saint John's day next, no brother shall be eligible to be elected Master of any Lodge, unless he shall have acted for twelve months as Warden in the said Lodge, and that he shall not be entitled to the privileges of a past Master, *untill he shall have served one whole year in the chair of his Lodge.*"[5]

At the same period, as we shall presently see, the older Grand Lodge was also carrying out changes in its procedure, in view of the impending reconciliation.

The Duke of Atholl presided at a special Grand Lodge, held May 18, 1813, in honour

cember 27, 1800, until the Union. Presented with a gold medal, December 1, 1813. Harper and W. H. White were appointed joint Grand Secretaries to the *United* Grand Lodge of England. The former resigned in October 1838, and enjoyed till his death, in November 1855, a yearly grant of £100.

[1] Afterwards the Grand Lodge of "Ancient York Masons" of South Carolina, and which amalgamated with the Grand Lodge of "Free and Accepted Masons" of the same State in 1817.

[2] *Ante*, p. 91, note 1.

[3] Raised to three guineas, March 4, 1812.

[4] Steward's Lodge Minutes, May 21, 1806.

[5] Finally approved December 4, 1811. A rough memorandum, pinned into the minute-book, and endorsed "G. L. Extraordinary 23 Oct.," gives the same resolution, but in place of the last fourteen words (italicized above), has—"until he shall have served full two months as Master in y Chair of his Lodge."

of H.R.H. the Duke of Kent, "Provincial Grand Master for Canada." The royal visitor "expressed in the warmest terms his unchangeable affection and attachment to Masonry 'according to the Ancient Institution,' and to the Grand Lodge of England, in which those principles were so purely and correctly preserved." He further said, "that upon every occasion he should be happy to co-operate with them in exerting themselves for the preservation of the Rights and Principles of the Craft, and that, however desirable a Union might be with the *other fraternity of Masons*,[1] it could only be desirable if accomplished on the basis of the Ancient Institution, and with the maintenance of all the rights of the Ancient Craft."

The Duke of Atholl resigned in favor of the Duke of Kent, November 8, 1813. The latter was installed as Grand Master, December 1, and on St. John's day following, the Freemasons of England were re-united in a single Society.

It is improbable, that, at the commencement of the Schism, the Lodges of the Seceders differed in any other respect from those on the regular establishment, than in acknowledging no common superior. With Dermott, however, came a change, and it will next become our task, to ascertain upon what sources of authority he must have relied, when compiling the "Book of Constitutions," or, in other words, the laws and regulations of the "Ancients."

The minutes of March 2, 1757, have been already referred to.[2] These also inform us that, on the date in question, Laurence Dermott produced a certific te, under the seal of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, signed by "Edward Spratt, Grand Secretary," The latter was appointed Deputy Grand Secretary, December 27, 1742, succeeded to the higher office, June 24, 1743, and brought out a "Book of Constitutions for the use of the Lodges in Ireland," in 1751. The compiler styles himself "only a faithful Editor and Transcriber of the Work of Dr. Anderson," which appeared when "Lord Mountjoy," afterward "Earl of Blessington,"[3] was Grand Master of Ireland, who appointed a select committee of the Grand Lodge, over which he presided, to compare the customs and regulations in use there, with those of the English brethren, and found "no essential differences," except in those rules of the latter relating to the "Steward's Lodge," which were therefore omitted.

The "Charges, General Regulations," and "the manner of constituting a Lodge," were copied by Spratt from Dr. Anderson's Constitutions of 1738. Dermott appears to have done precisely the same thing in his "Ahiman Rezon,"[4] if, indeed, he did not copy at second hand from Spratt. Both compilers give the "Old" and "New" Regulations, in parallel columns, in the same manner as they are shown by Anderson, but instead of taking the former from the edition of 1723, they reproduce the garbled and inaccurate version of 1738.[5] Regulations XXIII. to XXXI.—relating to the Steward's Lodge, and to Feasts—also XXXVII. and XXXVIII., are omitted in the Irish and the "Ancient" codes; XXXIII. and XXXIV. are compressed into one Law (XXIV.); and the No.

[1] This is a somewhat curious expression, considering that Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of Kent), when appointed Prov. G.M. of Lower Canada by the Duke of Atholl—March 7, 1792—held a similar office under the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of "the other fraternity." Prince Edward was accorded the rank of Past Grand Master—under the older Masonic system—February 10, 1790, and in the same year became Prov. G.M. of Gibraltar, an office he retained until 1800.

[2] *Ante*, p. 193.

[3] In another part of the book (p. 147) described as "Viscount Montjoy, and Earl of Blessingtown."

[4] *Ante*, p. 189.

[5] *Cf. ante*, pp. 43, 152.

XXXIX, of Anderson is represented by the No. XXVII. of Dermott and Spratt. The "Old" Regulations of the two latter terminate with this number. But they add a "New" one—XXVIII.—which is identical with the XL. of Dr. Anderson, and contains the ten articles or rules passed on the motion of D.G.M. Ward, in 1736.[1] "Old" and "New" Regulation XXXIX. in the Constitutions of 1738, are substantially reproduced in O.R. and N. R. XXVII, of "Ahiman Rezon," 1756. According to both codes, the "Old Land Marks" to which the Section refers, are to "be carefully preserved;" but Spratt and Dermott omit the injunction in the *Old* Regulation, requiring proposed alterations in the laws to be submitted "to the Perusal of the yongest Enter'd Prentice," and the statement in the *New* one (XXXIX.),—that the Grand Lodge can make "NEW REGULATIONS without the consent of *All the Brethren*, at the Grand Annual Feast." In other respects, the "Old" Regulations, as given in "Ahiman Rezon, 1756, are simply copied from Anderson or Spratt. The "New" Regulations, however, of the former, are not quoted by Dermott with the same fulness, but as an example of the source of authority, whence the laws of the "Ancients" were derived, it may be interesting to state, that the compiler of their "Constitutions," adopted in its entirety Anderson's "New" Regulation VIII., consisting of a series of laws, passed by the original Grand Lodge of England in 1723, 1724, and 1735 respectively.[2] Here Dermott simply walked in the footsteps of Spratt, who had done precisely the same thing in 1751, and the former also followed the latter, in curtailing the number of "Old" Regulations to XXVII., and of "New" Regulations to XXVIII.

Indeed, in one respect only, which may be deemed material or otherwise, according to the fancies of individual readers, are the Irish and the "Ancient" Grand Secretaries at variance. In the "Manner of Constituting a Lodge," we learn from Anderson and Spratt that the Grand Master is to say certain words and use "some other Expressions that are proper and usual on that Occasion, but not proper to be written." Dermott puts the same words into the mouth of the Grand Master, but requires them to be said "*after* some other *Ceremonies*[3] and Expressions that cannot be written."

The "Royal Arch" is alluded to in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, but, that part of Masonry, as it is there termed, will be examined with some fulness when my observations on the "Constitutions" of the "Ancients" are brought to a close. With regard to the first edition I shall merely add that it made its way into favor without any direct official sanction. The brethren for whose use it was designed were styled the "Ancient York Masons in England; and the publication itself was dedicated to the Earl of Blessington, with the object, no doubt, of gaining the consent of that peer to figure as the first "noble Grand Master" of the Seceders—a scheme which was eminently successful, and reflects the greatest credit upon the sagacity of the Grand Secretary.

Lord Blessington attended no meetings of the Grand Lodge, but it is not a little singular that Dermott secured the services as titular Grand Master, for the Schismatics, of the very nobleman under whose presidency the Grand Lodge of Ireland conformed to the laws and regulations enacted by the "Regular" or "Original" Grand Lodge of England.

A second edition of "Ahiman Rezon" appeared in 1764, and extends to 224 pages, of which all but 96 are devoted to poetry and songs. It contains a "Philacteria" for persons desiring to become Free-Masons, and also a description of "Modern Masonry," extracts

[1] *Ante*, p. 142, note 5. [2] *Ante*, pp. 137, note 2; 128, 129, 131, note 1; and 146, note 2.

[3] Twenty-two years later, Dermott observes, that the Ancients and Moderns "differ exceedingly in makings, *ceremonies*, knowledge, masonical language, and *installations*" (Ahiman Rezon, 1778).

from which have been already given.[1] In the latter, Dermott introduces a catechetical method of arguing, and besides that Freemasonry, as practised in the Antient (but not in the Modern) Lodges, is universal; that a Modern Mason may with safety communicate all his secrets to an Antient Mason, but not *vice versâ;* that "a person made in the modern manner, and not after the antient custom of the craft, has no right to be called free and accepted—his being unqualified to appear in *a master's lodge,*[2] according to the universal system of Masonry," rendering "the appellation improper;" and that a Modern cannot be initiated or introduced "into a Royal Arch Lodge (the very essence of Masonry), without going through the Antient Ceremonies."[3] He also lays down that the number of Antient Masons, compared with the Moderns, is as ninety-nine to one. But there is one question and answer, which, as they are omitted in all subsequent editions, I shall transcribe. The writer asks, "What Art or Science has been introduced and practised in London without receiving the least improvement?" To this the reply is—"Freemasonry."

In this edition we first meet with disparaging allusions to the older Society; but in "Ahiman Rezon," 1778, these increase in volume, and are often couched in most offensive terms. For example, a note to "Charge" III., which forbids the initiation of women or eunuchs, has, 'This is still the law of Ancient Masons, though disregarded by our Brethren (I mean our Sisters) the Modern Masons."[4] Also in another place it is urged by Dermott that the *premier* Grand Lodge, not having been established by the Masters and Wardens of *five* Lodges, was "defective in form and capacity;" whilst, on the other hand, he contends that "the Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons received the old system without adulteration!" But Dermott certainly finds weak spots in the harness of his adversaries, when he inveighs against a statement in the "Freemasons'" Calendar," and another by Samuel Spencer, Grand Secretary to the older Institution. The former alludes to the Ancient York Constitutions having been "entirely dropped at the revival in 1717;"[5] and the latter, made in reply to an Irish Mason who was an applicant for relief, informs him, "Our Society is neither Arch, Royal Arch, or *Ancient;* so that you have no right to partake of our Charity." "Such," remarks Dermott, "was the character given them by their own Grand Secretary about fourteen years ago;[6] how much they have changed for better or worse is no business of mine."[7]

Many regulations originally taken from Anderson or Spratt are omitted in the third edition of "Ahiman Rezon," *e.g.*, "New" regulations III. and IV.; whilst this is coun-

[1] Vol. II., p. 160; *ante*, p. 190.

[2] Hughan observes: "There was apparently a difference between the 'Regular' and the 'Atholl' Masons, which has come down to us in the ceremony of the Third Degree, thereby explaining the use of two sets of words of similar import or meaning, and the preference for the *combination* rather than the *omission* of either of these peculiar and brief sentences" (*op. cit.*, p. 59).

[3] Apart from the reasons mentioned in the last note, it is quite clear that, in order to attain the Royal Arch, the candidate would have to "go through a *ceremony*"—viz., that of installation or "passing the chair," which was unrecognized in any way by the Original Grand Lodge of England until 1811. *Cf. ante*, p. 110.

[4] "The Moderns," Dermott continues, "some years ago admitted Signor Singsong, the eunuch, T-nd-ci, at one of their Lodges in the Strand. And upon a late tryal at Westminster, it appeared that they admitted a woman called Madam D'E[on]" (Ahiman Rezon, 1778).

[5] *Ante*, pp. 150, 176.

[6] The occurrence is related in the Grand Lodge Minutes under December 5, 1759.

[7] Ahiman Rezon, 1778.

terbalanced by the insertion of new laws passed by the Seceders, such, for example, as the privilege of voting accorded to Past Masters (N.R. XII.), and the right of the Grand Master to make Masons at sight (O. R. XIII.).

A fourth edition of the work appeared in 1787, and a committee of Grand Officers, with the nine Excellent Masters, was appointed, on March 4, 1795, to assist the Deputy Grand Master in bringing out a fifth, which was published in 1800, under the editorial supervision of Thomas Harper, upon whom also devolved the task of seeing the subsequent editions of 1801, 1807, and 1813 through the press.

"The Royal Arch," says Laurence Dermott, "I firmly believe to be the root, heart and marrow of Masonry." This opinion is expressed in his "Ahiman Rezon" of 1756, and doubtless did much to popularize the degree. The publication in question was not then one of authority, though it soon became so; but we should do well to recollect that not until 1771[1] can the Royal Arch be said to have formed an integral part of the system of Masonry practised by the Seceders. It was wrought, no doubt, in the so-called "Ancient" Lodges from a much earlier period, but only as a side or bye degree; and we must not emulate the credulity of those who in former years regarded the utterances of Dermott as standing upon a similar footing with the *Responsa Prudentum* of the Civil Law. In the list of subscribers prefixed to the work, seven names have the letters "A. M." appended. This, Kloss reads as signifying "Arch Mason,"[2] and he therefore concludes that in 1756 the degree was very restricted in its scope. Here, however, the great Masonic critic has made too hasty a deduction from the evidence before him. The seven subscribers were all actual or Past Grand Officers, and in every case their Masonic rank was placed opposite their names. Thus—"Edward Vaughan, G.M., A.M." (*Grand Master, Ancient Masons*), and so on. That Jeremiah Coleman, whose name also appears on the list, but without the letters "A.M.," was certainly an Arch Mason, and doubtless many others, is to be inferred from the following notification which appeared in the *Public Advertiser* for 1756:[3]

"To the Brethren of the Most Antient and Honourable, Free and Accepted Antient York Masons—this is to give notice that your company is desired, viz., such as are concerned in E[xcellent], G[rand], commonly called R[oyal] A[rch], at Bro. Sargent's, the Prince of Wales' Head, in Caple-Street, near Wellclose Square, this day, at six in the evening, to accommodate P. L. R. S. as your forefathers were. By the order of P. T. Z. L. J. A.,[4] President. Jer. Coleman, Sec'y."

Kloss attributes the introduction of *new* degrees into Britain, to the influence of the French Masons, though he is careful to point out that the innovators in each country hoodwinked their compatriots by speaking of the novelties as foreign importations. There is little doubt, however, that the degrees of Installed Master, and of the Royal Arch, had their inception in the "Scots" degrees, which sprang up in all parts of France about 1740.

[1] *Ante*, p. 197.

[2] Geschichte der Freimaurerei in England, Ireland, and Schottland, 1847, p. 383.

[3] This I have been unable to verify. It appeared in a series of extracts taken from the above journal, and given in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, February 18, 1865, which were afterwards reprinted (without the slightest acknowledgment) in the *Freemason*, September 26, 1884.

[4] After the last verse of Song No. XXXVIII. in "Ahiman Rezon," 1756, the expression occurs, "*To the Memory of* P. H. Z. L. *and* J. A." These letters were doubtless the correct ones. *Cf.* Hughan, Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, p. 65; and Freemason, October 4, 1884.

"Scots Masonry" will form the subject of a future dissertation;[1] and in this place it will be sufficient to observe that the minute books of two Lodges[2] prove that it had taken root in this country some years at least before the period of time which I have ventured to assign as that of the commencement of the Schism. The records of the Lodge of Industry, Gateshead, supply information of an analogous if not identical character. These inform us that on July 1, 1746, it was "Enacted at a Grand Lodge, That no brother Mason should be admitted into the dignity of a Highrodiam" for less than 2s. 6d., or into that of "Domaskin or Forin," for less than 5s. "Highrodiam" is very suggestive of "Harodim," of which it may have been a corruption; but the word "Domaskin" I cannot venture to explain. The two degrees or steps were, I think, some form of "Scots Masonry"—a conclusion to which I am led by the "N.B." which follows the entry given above. This reads: "The *English Masters* to pay for entering into the said *Mastership* 2s. 6d., per majority."[3]

It is a curious circumstance, that the only knowledge we possess concerning the Royal Arch before 1752[4] arises from an incidental allusion in a work of 1744, and an entry in the records of the Ancients, informing us that Dermott became a member of that degree in 1746. The former occurs in Dassigny's, "Serious and Impartial Enquiry,"[5] of which the passages relating to the subject will be given in the Appendix. Their meaning is not free from obscurity, but we are justified in inferring that a few years before 1744 some person in Dublin pretended to have been made "Master of the Royal Arch" at York, and thereby deluded many worthy people; that "*at length*" a "Brother who *had some small space before*[6] attained that excellent part of Masonry in *London*, plainly proved that his doctrine was false;" and also, that the degree was restricted to brethren who had passed the chair.

But this only proves that a side or bye degree, as yet unrecognized by the governing bodies at York and the three capitals, had found its way from London to Dublin, and we cannot be sure, from the language employed, whether in 1744, more than a single person at the latter city, was in possession of it.

I conceive that the word "Arch" must have been first used in the sense of "Chief," or, "of the first class," as *Archangel*, *Archbishop*, in which signification, we meet with the same expression in connection with associations outside the pale of the order.[7]

An "Arch-Mason," therefore, was one who had received a degree or step beyond the recognized and legitimate *three*. Out of this was ultimately evolved the degree of Installed Master, a ceremony unknown, in the older system, until the second decade of the present century, and of which I can trace no sign among the "Ancients," until the growing practice of conferring the "Arch" upon brethren not legally qualified to receive it, brought

[1] *Post*, Masonry in France.

[2] "Jan. 8, 1746.—Bros. Thomas Naish and John Burge were this day made Scotch Masters, and paid for making 2s. 6d. each" (Minutes of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, Bath, No. 41). "Oct. 19, 1746.—At this lodge were made Scotts Masons, five brethren of the lodge" (Goldney, *op. cit.*, quoting the Minutes of the Sarum Lodge). *Cf. ante*, p. 151. Five members of present No. 41 were subsequently made "Scotch Masons," Nov. 27, 1754.

[3] Masonic Magazine, vol. iii., 1875–76, pp. 73, 75. [4] *Ante*, p. 191. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] I cannot quite agree with Hughan (*op. cit.*, p. 49) that these words necessarily imply that the brother who received the Royal Arch degree in *London* did so *before* the date of the imposture.

[7] In the *Annual Register*, 1761, p. 51, there is a reference to "the almost innumerable clubs and societies which distinguish themselves, some by *Arch*, and others by very significant expressions."



Fraternally

W. H. Stutley. 33°

Past Grand Commander K. T. of Ohio.

about a *constructive passing through the chair*, which, by qualifying candidates not otherwise eligible, naturally entailed the introduction of a ceremony,[1] *additional* to the simple forms known to Payne, Anderson, and Desaguliers.

A lodge under the title of "Royal Arch," Glasgow, was erected by the Grand Lodge of Scotland on August 6, 1755. But though from this it may be inferred that the innovation had penetrated into North Britain, the charter only empowered the members to "admit and receive apprentices, pass fellow-crafts, and raise master masons."[2] In the same way, a knowledge of the degree by the masons of Philadelphia, in 1758, may be presumed from the fact that a lodge constituted there in that year by the "Ancients" bore a similar appellation.[3] Next in point of date, and apart from any records of the Seceders, supreme or subsidiary, we find the Royal Arch well established at York, 1762;[4] London, 1765; in Lancashire, 1767;[5] at Boston (U.S.A.), 1769; and in Ireland, 1772.[6]

The Royal Arch minutes of the "Ancients" commence November 5, 1783, and recite certain resolutions passed in the Grand *Lodge*, December 4, 1771,[7] and in the Grand *Chapter*, January 3, 1772. To the latter there is a preamble to the effect that some persons had "lately pretended to teach Masonical Mysteries, Superior to, or necessary to be added to the Mystery of the Royal Arch;" wherefore it was resolved: "That it is the clear opinion of this Grand Chapter that Royal Arch Masonry is (in itself) so stupendously Excellent that it Is, truely, what the Roman Masons of Old said, 'Ut Nihil possit cogitare: Nothing cou'd be imagined more.' Therefore to attempt an amendment or add to the Mysteries of the Holy Royal Arch, wou'd be a profanation of that which every good man (especially a freemason) wou'd and ought to preserve pure and undefiled."

Inasmuch as at this period the "original" Grand Lodge of England was coquetting with the myriads of degrees which were then in existence on the Continent,[8] it is almost demonstrably clear, that had not Dermott drawn the line at the Royal Arch, the older Society would have eventually followed him, in adopting any number of foreign novelties, with the same complaisance which was shown in 1811 and 1813.[9]

The Grand Chapter on the same occasion—January 3, 1772—took into consideration the matter referred to it in December 1771,[10] and decided that those brethren who had "been introduced [into Royal Arch Masonry] contrary to Antient Custom should be remade[11] gratis upon a recommendation from their respective Lodges."

[1] According to Kloss, the degree of Installed Master is (or was) identical, in nearly every respect, with one of the grades of "Scots Masonry" known on the Continent (*op. cit.*, p. 424).

[2] D. M. Lyon, in a letter dated March 13, 1885.

[3] C. E. Meyer, History of the Jerusalem Chapter, No. 3, Philadelphia.

[4] *Ante*, p. 182.

[5] History of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, Bolton, by G. P. Brockbank and James Newton, 1882, p. 19.

[6] Hughan, *op. cit.*, p. 104. According to the Grand Chapter Register (Ancients) of "Excellent Masters in the degree of the Royal Arch," Dermott was "admitted" in No. 26, Dublin, in 1746; and two others in No. 361, Ireland (1767), and in the Thistle Lodge, Scotland (1768), respectively.

[7] *Ante*, p. 197.

[8] De Vignolles, Provincial Grand Master for foreign lodges, under this body wrote—Dec. 28, 1770—to the Master of the Lodge "Charles" at Brunswick, stating that Grand Lodge did not deny that there must be and were exalted degrees, though which were to be admitted or rejected, was still in suspense. But in the interim the Grand Master permitted all lodges to form private Chapters of the "high" degrees, as they might see fit (Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 427).

[9] *Ante*, pp. 110, 181.

[10] *Ante*, p. 197.

[11] From this, we may perhaps conclude, that brethren were also re-made, in the ordinary degrees, rather in vindication of a principle, than because there was any actual necessity for it?

At the meeting held November 5, 1783, it was resolved "that this Chapter do perfectly coincide with the foregoing resolution, and that masters, and pastm^s. (*Bonâ fide*) only ought to be admitted Masters of the Royal Arch." It was also further agreed that the names of all Royal Arch Masons should be recorded in a book to be called "Seper Enholah Rabbim, *i.e.*, the Register of Excellent Masters;" that the Grand Lodge should meet at least twice in the year, and on one of these occasions, in conjunction with the Grand Officers select a certain number of "Excellent Masters," which was not to exceed nine persons, who were to examine all persons undertaking to perform any of the ceremonies relative to the Royal Arch, the installation of Grand Officers, or to Processions. These brethren, who were indifferently styled the nine Excellent Masters or Worthies,[1] subsequently had their functions enlarged, as we have already seen.[2]

Royal Arch certificates were issued by the "Ancients" in 1791, and the degree is accorded great prominence in the editions of "Ahiman Rezon," published in 1800 and later years. Nevertheless, I am strongly of opinion, that it was not fully appreciated by the "Ancients," until the novelty was invested with so much importance by the "Moderns" —as in this connection I may venture to style them, without being guilty of an anachronism—and who decorated and embellished the degree with many fanciful alterations and additions of their own creation.[3]

The earliest Royal Arch minutes are among the York Records; and next in point of date are those of the body which ultimately became the Grand Chapter, tolerated, if not actually recognized, by the earlier Grand Lodge of England. The latter commence June 12, 1765, at which date the fee for "passing the Arch" was five guineas. In the following year, Lord Blaney, Grand Master, and James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, of the older "Grand Lodge of England," became members, and also "Grand Master" and "Scribe" respectively of the "fourth degree." On March 11, 1768, Edward Gibbon, the historian, was proposed by Dunkerley and Rowland Holt, "and unanimously approved of;" but there is no record of his exaltation or admission. In 1769 warrants of Constitution were issued, and in the next year the title of "Grand and Royal Chapter" was assumed. In 1773 the use of a distinctive apron was forbidden, until the "Companions" were allowed to wear such "in the Grand Lodge, and in All private Free-mason's Lodges."[4] The Duke of Cumberland was elected "perpetual patron" in 1785. In 1796 the "Grand Chapter" became the "Grand Lodge of Royal Arch." The Earl of Moira was exalted in 1803, and the Duke of Sussex became a member in 1810. But the degree was not formally recognized by the Society over which these brethren in turn presided, until the Union, and when a complaint was presented from one Robert Sampson who had been expelled from Royal Arch Masonry—December 29, 1791—"for declaring his intention of exalting Master Masons for 5s. each." It was resolved—November 21, 1792—"that the Grand Lodge of England has nothing to do with the proceedings of the Society of Royal Arch Masons."[5]

[1] Sept. 20, 1802. "B^r Chaplin proposed, that B^r Bollom should be returned to the Grand Royal Arch Chapter, as one of the Nine Worthys for the year" (Minutes of No. 194, *now* the Middlesex Lodge, No. 143). [2] *Ante*, p. 203. [3] See, however, Hughan, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[4] The following opinion was expressed by Laurence Dermott, May 15, 1772:—"Royal *Arch-Masons* must not, in any place, except in the Royal Arch Lodge, be distinguished by any garment or badge different from what belongs to them as officers of the *Grand*, or their own private Lodge" (Early History of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania, p. cxii.).

[5] A further complaint by Sampson, arising out of the same matter, was heard by the "Committee of Charity," February 1, 1793, and "dismissed, as frivolous and vexatious."

On March 18, 1817, the two Grand Chapters followed the example of the Grand Lodges with which they were severally connected, and amalgamated, under the title of "*United* Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons of England."

The Royal Arch degree was originally conferred in the *lodge*, both by "Ancients" and "Moderns"—expressions which, having regard to the dates whereon this "Innovation in the Body of MASONRY"[1] was made by these two bodies respectively, may here be employed in their ordinary or popular signification. *Chapters* were first brought into use by the latter, and the earliest of which a record has been preserved was well established in 1765. This, as previously stated, developed into a "Grand Body," and issued warrants of constitutions to subordinate chapters, after which the degree gradually ceased to be worked surreptitiously, by lodges under the older system. The York brethren also met as a *Chapter* from April 29, 1768.[2] Of this practice I have found but one early example among the Ancients; it occurs in the records of No. 174 *Lodge, now* the Royal Gloucester, *Chapter* No. 130, and is of value in more ways than one. First of all, it establishes the fact that the Royal Arch was not always worked in the "Ancient" Lodges, for No. 174 was constituted *April* 22, 1772, and did not become acquainted with the degree until October 7, 1783, on which date (we next learn) a brother of No. 74 under the Irish Registry, attached to the second battalion of the 1st (or Royal) Regiment, assisted by three other "Arch Masons, held a Chapter for the purpose of Raising several Brethren to this Sublime Degree, in order to their holding a Chapter in Southampton."[3]

Under both Grand Lodges, the practice of "passing brethren through the chair," or, in other words, of conferring upon them the *degree* (without serving the *office*) of "Installed Master," which had crept into the ritual of the "Ancients," was very common.[4] In Nos. 37 and 42 it lasted until 1846 and 1850 respectively.

Undue stress has been laid upon the custom which prevailed under the two Grand Lodges of England, of requiring brethren, who had already graduated under one system, to go through the ceremonies a second time under the other. The fees for registration may have been at the bottom of the whole affair, and in each case, as the admission of brethren from the rival camp in the capacity of *visitors*[5]—until a comparatively late period—plainly indicates, a re-making was more a protest against the *regularity* than the *validity* of the degree to which the postulant had been previously admitted. Lodges and Masons who went over to the enemy were said to have "apostatized" by the body with whom they were formerly in communion, and all kinds of terms, of which "translated"[6] is perhaps the most singular and expressive, are used in the records of lodges to describe the status of a brother who was "healed" or re-made. But the practice of re-making

[1] *Ante*, p. 125. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[3] At a Chapter of Emergency, held Feb. 12, 1796, it was proposed to make a brother an "excellent and super-excellent Royal Arch Mason." *Cf.* History of the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 146, Bolton (J. Newton), p. 37.

[4] Numerous examples of the custom are given in the following Lodge Histories: "Anchor and Hope," Bolton, No. 37 (G. P. Brockbank and James Newton); "Relief," Bury, No. 42 (E. A. Evans); "British Union," Ipswich, No. 114 (Emra Holmes); and under the "Ancients," "Enoch," London, No. 11 (Freemason's Chronicle, vol. iv., p. 323); and "St. John's," Bolton, No. 221 (G. P. Brockbank).

[5] Oct. 19, 1764.—"Vissiting Bretheren [*inter alios*], Broth. Jackson of No. 115 of the Modren Constutation" (Minutes of No. 86 "Ancients," *now* "Union Waterloo," No. 13). *Cf. ante*, p. 196, note 2.

[6] The cost of "translation" was a guinea and a half (G. W. Speth, History of the Lodge of Unity, No. 183, p. 22). The same amount was charged for re-making in an "Ancient" Lodge, present No. 221 (G. P. Brockbank, History of St. John's Lodge, Bolton, p. 21).

appears to have been dispensed with, in cases where an entire lodge shifted its allegiance, or where a warrant of constitution was granted by either Grand Lodge to petitioners who had graduated under its rival.[1] Thus, the minutes of No. 86, two months before it was chartered by the "Ancients," inform us that it was agreed to "make no new Masons for the feuther, till such time as we can procure a New Warrant, as the one we now act under is Illeagel, Being Modderant[2] Constitution." The warrant was granted in due course, but there is no mention of "re-makings" until a much later period, when the entries become very instructive. For example, in the year 1774, two brethren were "re-made," both of whom had been "made" in Scotland—in the "Union and Crown"[3] and in the "Kilwinning" Lodges respectively.

Inasmuch as the "Ancients" were then on the best possible terms with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, over which the Duke of Atholl—also their own Grand Master—at that time presided, the process of legitimation here resorted to was wholly uncalled for and unnecessary.[4] But the entries tend to prove, that brethren passing from one Masonic jurisdiction to another, were re-made, not because there were essential differences between the ceremonial observances peculiar to each system, but rather as a disciplinary requirement, and from motives of policy.

Notwithstanding the bitter feud between the rival Grand Lodges of England, the lodges on the two rolls worked together, on the whole, with greater love and harmony than might have been expected. Sometimes in a so-called "Ancient" Lodge the "Business" was "Modern,"[5] and oftener still, lodges under the *older* system, followed the method of working in vogue among the "Ancients."[6]

Of a divided allegiance there are a few examples. Thus, the present Royal Gloucester Lodge, Southampton, No. 130, was warranted by the "Ancients" in 1772, and by the older Society twenty years later. Sometimes the members met in one capacity, and sometimes in the other. Often it was resolved to abandon one of the "Constitutions;" but which was to be "dropped," the members could never finally decide, though each in turn was temporarily renounced on a variety of occasions. At the Union, however, the lodge wisely clung to its original charter, thus obtaining a higher position on the roll.[7]

The members of both Societies constantly walked together in processions, and their common attendance at church on these and similar occasions is very frequently recorded.[8]

[1] The warrant of St. John's Lodge, Leicester, *now* No. 279, was granted in 1790, by the Original Grand Lodge of England, to some of the principal officers and members of No. 91 "Ancients," and the previous warrant remained for a long time in the hands of Bro. Horton, who was Master both of the "old" and the "new" lodge, but was eventually delivered up to some of the brethren who still desired to work under it (W. Kelly, Freemasonry in Leicestershire, p. 24).

[2] The use of this term, under the circumstances, calls for no remark, but its constant appearance in the minutes of lodges under the older sanction is, as already observed (*ante*, p. 187) very extraordinary. The following is a curious example of the almost universal custom: Nov. 1, 1803.—"Bro. Rolf proposed Wm. Laysonby French to be *modernised* into masonry, at one guinea expense" (Emra Holmes, Minutes of the British Union Lodge, No. 114, Ipswich—Masonic Magazine, vol. iv., p. 533).

[3] Instituted at Glasgow, Dec. 23, 1766, *now* No. 103.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 192, 199.

[5] Minutes of No. 86, *now* Union Waterloo, No. 13.

[6] According to the Minutes of a lodge under the *older* Society, two brothers were "Raised the 3rd stepe of Modern Masonry" in 1791, and three were "Raised Master Masons Antient" in 1792 (E. A. Evans, History of the Lodge of Relief, No. 42, Bury, 1883, p. 39).

[7] J. R. Stebbing, History of the Royal Gloucester Lodge, No. 130 (Southampton Times, Ap. 27, 1872).

[8] See Histories of the Anchor and Hope Lodge, No. 37, p. 27 (G. P. Brockbank and James New-

A singular instance of their acting in concert is afforded by a Masonic address presented to Prince Edward—afterwards Duke of Kent—January 9, 1794, on his approaching departure from Canada. At the foot are two signatures, one to the left, the other to the right of the page—the former being that of "William Grant, D.G.M. of Modern Masons," and the latter that of "Thomas Ainslie, D.G.M. of Ancient Masons." A paragraph in the address runs—"We have a confident hope that, under the conciliating influence of your Royal Highness, the Fraternity in general of Freemasons in his Majesty's dominions will soon be united;" to which the Prince replied—"You may trust that my utmost efforts shall be exerted, that the much-wished-for Union of the whole Fraternity of Masons may be effected."[1]

The first officers of the "Grand Lodge of England according to the Old Institutions" were the Grand Master, Deputy, Wardens, and Secretary, all of whom, except the Deputy, were elected year by year. The appointment of this officer was one of the prerogatives of the Grand Master, but in practice some experienced brother was recommended for the office, and the approval of the Grand Master followed as a matter of course. A new office, that of Treasurer, was created in 1754, and in 1768 William Dickey was *elected* Deputy Grand Secretary. A Grand Pursuivant and also a Grand Tyler were *appointed* in 1771. In the following year there was a Grand Chaplain and a Sword-bearer "*pro tempore*," but the latter office, though apparently revived in 1788, did not become a permanent one until 1791. A. Deputy Grand Chaplain was among the officers for 1809.

The Steward's Lodge, or Committee of Charity, was invested with full power to hear complaints of a Masonic nature, and to punish delinquents according to the laws of the Craft. Its chief function, however, was to deal with petitions for relief, and the following are examples of the various grounds on which such applications were rejected:

January 17, 1781. From a certified Mason of No. 153, Ireland—"he having resided in London upwards of three years, and never Inquired after a Lodge or visited."

June 16, 1784. From James Barker of No. 81. "It appearing to the Steward's Lodge, his being lame and otherwise disfigured at the time of being made, he ought not to be relieved."

August 20, 1788. From Robert Brown—on the ground of his "haveing no other certificate" than that of a Knight Templar, which had been granted him by "the Carrickfergus True Blue Lodge, No. 253, under the Registry of Ireland."

November 19, 1788.—From an applicant—"not appearing to have any concern in Masonry from the time he was made."

August 15, 1804.—"Resolved, That T. Sculthorpe, being a person not perfect in body, but deformed, and much below the common stature of man, was a very improper person to become, and is now unfit to continue, a Member of this most ancient and honorable Fraternity—and consequently not entitled to the advantages or privileges of Masonry in any degree whatever."[2]

April 17, 1805.—From a member of the Union Lodge at Elbing—"A Modern? not able to make himself known as an Antient Mason."

ton); St. John's Lodge, No. 221, p. 23 (G. P. Brockbank); the Lodge of Antiquity, No. 146, p. 20 (James Newton); and of Freemasonry in Leicestershire and Rutland (W. Kelly, 1870).

[1] In the Freemason's Magazine, vol. iii., 1794, p. 13, from which I quote, both the extracts given above are shown in italics.

[2] Confirmed at the September meeting of Grand Lodge, by which body, in the previous June, a Master of a Lodge had been reprimanded for having initiated a cripple.

Sometimes very interesting points of Masonic Law were discussed or determined at meetings of this body, *e.g.*,—

April 16, 1777.—Dermott stated, that "although the Grand Master had full power and authority to make (in his presence, or cause to be made) Masons, when and where he pleased, yet he could not oblidge any Lodge to admit the persons (so made) as members, without the unanimous consent of such Lodge, and if the Grand Master made use of his privelidge in making of Masons, he ought to have made a sufficient number of them to form a Lodge and grant them a warrant, by which means they wou'd be intitled to Registry, otherwise not."[1]

December 18, 1811.—A memorial was read from No. 225, complaining that one of their members had been refused admittance by No. 245, "on the ground of his being a Quaker, when, tho' regularly admitted on his *solemn affirmative*, the officers of No. 245 contended was a violation of the principles of the Constitution." The stewards were of opinion "that there did not appear any censure to either of the Lodges in what had been done, but upon a question so novel and peculiar, recommended that the final disposal of the matter be postponed till next Steward's Lodge." The subject is not again mentioned in these records, but the minutes of the Royal Gloucester Lodge, No. 130, inform us, that in a letter dated April 13, 1796, the Grand Secretary of the "Ancients" had communicated to that body the decision of Grand Lodge, that a Quaker was ineligible for initiation.[2]

It has been shown that the laws and customs of the "Ancient" Masons were based on Irish originals. The former Dermott simply appropriated from Spratt, and the latter he appears to have gradually introduced into the ritual of the Seceders. But the author of "Ahiman Rezon" was by no means content to follow in the footsteps of any guide and boldly struck out a path of his own, which has become the well-beaten track traversed by the Freemasons of England. The epithet of "Moderns" which he bestowed on the brethren, under whose laws and customs he had been admitted into Masonry in his native country, was singularly out of place, and had the "journeymen printer" been as well skilled in polemical exercises as the "journeyman painter," the former might have completely turned the tables on the latter. As it was, however, whilst Preston's slip respecting the "dropped forms"[3] served as a never-failing text for the denunciations of the Seceders,[4] Dermott's more serious blunders and misstatements have not, up to the present day, been fully refuted. Some of his errors in history and chronology have been already noticed,[5] but it has yet to be pointed out, that by adopting the Regulations—Old and New—of the *premier* Grand Lodge of England, and at the same time denying the legality of that body, he placed himself on the horns of a dilemma.

This, however, he appears to have entirely overlooked, and in the first edition of his "Ahiman Rezon,"[6] observes with regard to the New Regulations,[7] "they have been wrote at different Times, *by Order of the whole Community*," an admission which it would have taxed his resources to explain, had the slip been harped upon with the same wearisome iteration as in the somewhat parallel case of William Preston.

[1] This ruling, slightly amplified, was afterwards inserted by Dermott as a note to "Old Regulation XIII.," in "Ahiman Rezon," 1778, and the latter has served as the foundation of authority, upon which a strange doctrine called "Making Masons at Sight," has been erected.

[2] This ruling is now obsolete. [3] *Ante*, p. 208. [4] Ahiman Rezon, 1807, p. 127.

[5] Vol. II., pp. 160, 161; *ante*, pp. 39, 208. [6] P. 87. [7] *Cf. ante*, pp. 206, 207.

The extent to which Dermott added to, or improved upon, the ceremonies of the Craft, can only form the subject of conjecture, though the balance of probability inclines strongly in one direction.

Whatever customs or ceremonies Dermott had acquired a knowledge of in his Lodge, No. 26, Dublin, we may take for granted that he assisted in passing on—very much as they were taught to him—in this country. The by-laws of the Lodge in question were adopted as a standard for the guidance of the "Ancient" Lodges before Dermott had been two months installed as Grand Secretary. From this source (or from Scotland) must have been derived the office of "deacon,"[1] which was unknown to the older Grand Lodge of England until the Union.

The degree of Installed Master, as well as that of the Royal Arch, may have been wrought in the Dublin Lodges before Dermott severed his connection with the Irish capital. But neither of them derived at that time any countenance from the Grand Lodge of Ireland, by which body, indeed, if we may believe a writer in the *Freemason's Quarterly Review*,[2] the proposal of their Grand Master, the Earl of Donoughmore, in 1813, to acknowledge the Royal Arch degree, met with such little favor, that they passed a vote of censure upon him, and were with difficulty restrained from expelling him from Masonry altogether.

It is abundantly clear, however, that during the pendency of the Schism no other degrees were recognised by the Grand Lodges of Ireland and Scotland than the simple *three*, authorized by the earliest of Grand Bodies.

[1] *Cf. ante*, p. 193. Deacons are first named in the Minutes of the Seceders on July 13, 1753.
[2] 1844, p. 420.

CHAPTER XX.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1761–1813.

IT is now essential to return to the proceedings of the earlier or original Grand Lodge of England, the narrative of which was interrupted at p. 149, in order that the records of two contemporary bodies might be placed under examination.

We left off at the year 1760, but before proceeding to relate the further events of importance which occurred during the presidency of Lord Aberdour, some remarks of a general character will be offered.

The first lodge to adopt a distinctive title, apart from the sign of the tavern where it met, was the "University" Lodge, No. 74, in 1730. This was followed by the "Grenadiers" Lodge, No. 189, in 1739; after which, the constitution in the latter year of the "Parham," the "Court-House," the "Bakers," and the "Basseterre" Lodges, in the West Indies, led to the usage becoming a more general one. Inasmuch, however, as the "signs of the houses" where the lodges met were shown in the Engraved Lists, these, in some instances at least, must doubtless have been substituted for distinctive titles, in cases even where the latter existed.[1] This view is borne out by the list for 1760, wherein out of 245 lodges, one *English* lodge only—the last on the roll—No. 245, the Temple Lodge, Bristol, appears with what may be termed in strictness a distinctive name. Nos. 1 and 70 are indeed styled respectively the "West India and American" and the "Steward's" Lodges, but in each case the sign of the tavern is shown, and these designations appear to have merely meant that the former lodge was frequented by one class of persons, and the latter by another. The same remark will hold good as regards the "Scotts' Masons' Lodge," No. 115,[2] which, according to the Engraved List for 1734, met at the Devil, Temple Bar, in that year.

But although only a single *English* lodge has a *name* affixed to it in the list for 1760, no less than twelve lodges in the West Indies, as well as four in Germany, and the same number in Holland, appear with distinctive titles in the same publication.[3] The majority of the West Indian lodges bore saintly appellatives. Those in Germany were the "Union

[1] Thus the "Grenadiers" and the "Absalom" Lodges, Nos. 110 and 119, are only described in 1760 as meeting at the "King's Arms and Tun, Hyde Park Corner," and the "Bunch of Grapes, Decker St., Hamburg," respectively.

[2] Described in a MS. list of Dr. Rawlinson for the year 1733 (*circa*) as "a Scotch Mason's Lodge," which designation is withheld in the Engraved List for 1736, where the following entry appears opposite the No. 115: "Daniel's Coffee House, Temple Bar." Extinct in 1737.

[3] The titles of Nos. 113 ("La Parfaite Union des Étrangers") and 119 ("Absalom") are omitted in this list. The former was constituted February 2, 1739, at Lausanne, in the Canton of Berne.

of Angels," Frankfort (1742);[1] the "St George," Hamburgh (1743); the "St Michael's," Mecklenburg (1754); and the "Grand Lodge Frederick," Hanover (1755). In Holland there were the lodges of "Orange," Rotterdam, and of "Charity, Peace, and Regularity," at Amsterdam. Other lodges, for example, "Solomon's Lodge," Charles Town, South Carolina (1735), and "Providence Lodge," in Rhode Island (1757), bore distinctive titles before 1760, but in these and many similar cases the later lists are misleading, as both the lodges named were only given places corresponding with their actual seniority, some years after the publication of the list under examination, the former being assigned No. 74, and the latter No. 224, which were filled in the first instance by lodges at Bristol and Santa Croix respectively.

In 1767, the lodge of which the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, was a member,[2] assumed a distinctive title in lieu of the "sign of the house"—the Sun and Punch Bowl—whereby it had previously been described, and the practice soon became very general. The happy designation bestowed on the "New Lodge at the Horn,"[3] may have helped to set the fashion, but at any rate, the "Old Lodge at the Horn" became the "Old Horn Lodge" in 1768. In the same year original No. 3 took the title of the "Lodge of Fortitude," and in 1770 the senior English lodge assumed the now time-honored designation of the "Lodge of Antiquity."

The lodges were re-numbered, in 1740, 1756, 1770, 1781, and 1792, and as the same process was resorted to at the Union (1813), and again in 1832 and 1863, much confusion has been the result, especially when it has been sought to identify lodges of the past century with those still existing in our own. Some of the difficulties of this task have been removed, but the immethodical way in which vacant numbers were allotted during the intervals between the general re-numberings, will always render it a somewhat puzzling undertaking to trace the fortunes of those lodges of bygone days, which are undistinguished from the others, save by numbers and the names of the taverns where they assembled.

The positions on the roll during the numeration of 1756-69 of the lodges at Charlestown and Rhode Island have been already noticed. The former found a place on the roll in the first instance as No. 251, and is described in the Engraved List for 1761 as "Solomon's Lodge, Charles Town, S. Carolina, 1735." Immediately above it, strange to say, at the Nos. 247-250, are four other South Carolina lodges, stated to have been constituted, the two earliest in 1743 and 1755, and the two latest in 1756 respectively. In the list for the following year, however, a vacant niche was available at the No. 74, and "Solomon's" lodge was accordingly shifted there from its lower position, the lodge immediately below it being described as "No. 75, Savannah, In the Province of Georgia, 1735."[4] In the same way the Nos. 141-143 on the list of 1756 were filled by Minorca lodges up to the year 1766, but in 1768 they were assigned to lodges in Boston and Mar-

[1] Constituted, according to the official list, June 17, 1742, but the actual warrant (which is in the *French language*, and will be printed in the Appendix) bears date February 8, 1743. It is there styled, "fille de notre bonne Loge de l'Union de Londres," and the "Mother Lodge" referred to was apparently No. 87 on the 1740 list, which then met at the "*Union* Coffee House," in the Haymarket. Lodge "Absalom," at Hamburg, was of still earlier origin—viz., 1740. It first appeared in the Engraved Lists (as No. 119) in 1756, but dropped out at the re-numbering in 1770, and again found a place on the roll, as No. 506, in 1787.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 93, note 3, and *post*, p. 223.

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 96.

[4] Also styled "Solomon's Lodge" in later lists. *Cf.* Freemasons' Chronicle, April 9, 1881.

blehead (Mass.), and in Newhaven (Connecticut), respectively. At the next change of numbers (1770) the four remaining lodges in South Carolina, misplaced in the official list, were lifted to positions on the roll tallying with their respective seniority. "St John's Lodge," New York, which was first entered in the Engraved List of 1762, was on the same occasion placed—according to the date of its constitution—among the lodges of 1757.

Certificates signed by the Grand Secretary were first issued in 1755, in which year, it may be stated, the practice of "smoaking tobacco" in Grand Lodge during the transaction of business was forbidden, the D. G. M. (Manningham) observing, "that it was not only highly disagreeable to the many not used to it, But it was also an Indecency that should never be suffered in any solemn assembly."

Lodges, more particularly during the first half of the eighteenth century,[1] were, in many instances, formed long before they were constituted. The latter ceremony was of a very simple character. Usually it was performed by the Deputy Grand Master in person, and a record of the circumstance, duly attested by the signatures of the grand or acting grand officers, forms, not uncommonly, the first entry in a minute-book. The officers were elected quarterly or half-yearly, the former practice being the more frequent of the two. But one method was substituted for the other, with very little formality, as the following entries attest:

March 1, 1762.—"Agreed that every quart^{r} it be a ballotten for a new Master and Wardens."

December 20, 1762.—"This night it was agreed that Election-night should be every six months."[2]

The installation of officers was devoid of the ceremonial observances peculiar to the "Seceders," and though the novelties of one system ultimately penetrated into the other, they were not considered orthodox or regular by brethren of the "Older School" until the somewhat "unconditional surrender" of their Grand Lodge which preceded the Union. In what is now the "Friendship Lodge," No. 6, we learn from the minutes that, March 16, 1758, "it being Election Night, the Sen^{r} Ward^{n} took the Chair; the Jun^{r} Ward^{n} [the] S. W.; y^{e} Secretary [the] J^{r} W^{n}; and B^{r} J. Anderson was Elected Secretary." In the "Moira," No. 92, on March 6, 1760, "B^{r} Dodsworth, by desire, accepted of the Master's Jewell."

The services of the "Right Worshipful Master," as the presiding officer was then styled, were frequently retained throughout several elections,[3] whilst in case of illness, or inability to attend the meetings, they were as summarily dispensed with. Thus, in a London lodge, on February 2, 1744, the Master having "declared on the box," being sick, another brother was forthwith elected in his room.[4]

Wine and tobacco were often supplied in the lodge-room. In one of the country lodges it took several bottles to audit the Treasurer's account, and when that was done, and the balance struck and carried out, it was a common practice to add a postscript of "One bottle more," and deduct that from the balance.[5] The following by-law was passed

[1] As late as 1760 a lodge was *constituted* at Canterbury (No. 253, now extinct), which had *met* since 1756 (J. R. Hall, Freemasonry in Canterbury, 1880, p. 9).

[2] Minutes of the Moira Modge, No. 92.

[3] Dec. 19, 1763.—"It being Ellexcion night, B^{r} Garrett whas reallextled has master of this Lodge in Dew forme." (Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92.)

[4] Minutes of No. 163, *now* extinct.

[5] T. P. Ashley, History of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, Bath, No. 41, p. 25.



Fraternally Yours
Wm. J. Sumner, 33°

P.·. J.·. W.·. of G.·. L.·. of Illinois, P.·. G.·. Rec.·. of G.·. Com.·. of Illinois,
Hon.·. Mem.·. Sup.·. Council 33° A.·. A.·. S.·. Rite Nor. Juris. U. S. A.

by a London lodge in 1773: "That on account of the great expense incurr'd by allowing wine at supper, and in order to prevent the bad consequences arising therefrom, no liquor shall be paid for out of the Lodge Funds *which is drunk out of the Lodge Room*, except beer or ale drank at supper."

In the "Treasurer's Accounts" of the same lodge, under October 20, 1777, there is an entry recording the payment of one shilling and sixpence for "*Herb Tobacco*" for the Lodge of Instruction, an offshoot of the lodge, established on the motion of "Brother Wm. White"—afterwards Grand Secretary—in 1773.[1]

By some lodges, however, the consumption of liquors during the period of Masonic labor was strictly forbidden; and in the Moira Lodge, *now* No. 92,[2] on February 4, 1765, a "Br Hutchinson paid a fine of 3 pence for drinking in ye Lodge."

Frequently the lodge, besides its normal functions, also discharged those of a benefit society. In such cases there was a limit as to the age of admission, and persons over forty were generally ineligible as candidates. The rules ordinarily guard against an influx of members that might press with undue weight upon the finances. People following certain callings, such as soldiers, sailors, bricklayers, and constables, were in most cases declared incapable of membership; and there was frequently a general proviso that no one whose employment in life was either prejudicial to health or of "a dangerous character," should be proposed for admission. Virtually they were trades-unions, and in one instance a regulation enacts that the "proposed" must not "occupy any business which may interfere or closs [*clash*] with [that of] any member already entered."[3] The following is from the same records:

"December 2, 1742.—A Motion was made, Seconded, and agreed to *N. C.*, that the Box shou'd be shut up from this night for six months from all benefits (Deaths & Burials excepted), unless to such members who, during the aforesaid time, shall produce a person to be made a mason, or a person to be entr'd a member—Which member so producing such shall Immediately become free."

The first two degrees were usually conferred on the same evening, and the third could also be included by dispensation.[4] The fees and dues ordinarily charged in Lodges about the year 1760 were as follows: for initiation and passing, £1 1s.; raising, 5s; quarterage, 6s. It was customary for all who were present at a meeting to pay something "for the good of the house." Usually each member paid a shilling; visitors from other Lodges, eighteen pence; and "St John's men,"[5] or brethren unattached, two shillings. Until comparatively late in the century, visits were freely interchanged by the Masons under the rival jurisdictions. If the visitor, though not personally known, could pass a satisfactory examination, this was sufficient; and even in cases of defective memory, the administra-

[1] Brackstone Baker, History of the Lodge of Emulation, No. 21, 1872, pp. 8, 9. William Preston, and James Heseltine, Grand Secretary, joined the lodge in 1772.

[2] The following by-law was enacted in 1755: "Any member y^t comes into this Lodg Disguis^d in Liquor and Swars, fined 6^d."

[3] Minutes of No. 163, at the Black Posts, Maiden Lane, March 23, 1738.

[4] March 12, 1755.—"By convention, and with y^e Dispen-ation of y^e Deputy Grand Master, this Lodge was cal'd upon to make M^r Garrett Meyer, a Mason in y^e 3 degrees" (Minutes of the George Lodge, *now* "Friendship," No. 6).

[5] In the minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92, the presence is recorded of "Br Herbert of St. John's of the Universe" (1757), and of other visitors, described as "from the Lodge of Holy St. John" (1760) and as "a St. John's man" (1764) respectively. *Cf. ante*, p. 136, note 6.

tion of an "obligation generally qualified a stranger for admission.[1] Of this custom two examples will suffice.

December 4, 1758.—"Brother Glover, of St John's Lodg, being an Ancient Meason, having taken his obligation of this Lodg, paid the ujal fine of two shilling and became a member."[2]

October 15, 1762.—"Evald Ribe, M. D., Member of St Edward's Lodge at Stockholm, took the obligation, & was proposed to become a member, & carried N. C."[3]

The usage at this period seems to have been, that "extraneous brethren," as they are commonly termed in the records both of the "Regular" Masons and the Seceders—or, in other words, persons who had been admitted into Masonry under other jurisdictions—were allowed to visit freely in the "Regular" Lodges. They were apparently *re-made*—in the sense of going through the ceremonies a second time—if they so wished, but not otherwise. According to the minutes of the Lodge at the Lebeck's Head, William Dickey was present as a visitor several times before he was "made a modern Mason of,"[4] in conformity, there can be little doubt, with his own desire, as he did not become a member of the Lodge, and therefore no pressure could have been put upon him. Evidently he could, had he liked, have attained membership in No. 246 in the same simple manner as Dr. Ribe, in connection with whom, it may be observed, that the first deputation for the office of Provincial Grand Master at Stockholm—under the Grand Lodge, whose history we are considering—was granted by Lord Blayney in 1765; and that no Lodge constituted under it appeared on the English roll until 1769.[5] As the earliest Lodge in Sweden for which a charter was granted by the Seceders was only established in 1773,[6] "St Edward's Lodge, Stockholm," if of British origin, must, therefore, have been an offshoot of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, under a patent from which body a Lodge was erected at Stockholm in 1754.[7]

Lord Aberdour held the office of Grand Master from May 18, 1757, until May 3, 1762, having filled the same position in Scotland from December 1, 1755, until November 30, 1757. In the latter capacity he granted a warrant of constitution to some brethren in Massachusetts, empowering them to meet under the title of St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 82. The petitioners were "Ancient" Masons, in the sense of belonging to the body distinguished by that popular title. These, as observed by Findel,[8] "transplanted the dissensions prevailing in England, and formed two opposing camps over the ocean." This Lodge, which was established November 13, 1756, resolved, in December, 1768, to keep the Festival of St. John the Evangelist, and "That none vulgarly called 'Modern Masons' be admitted to the Feast."[9] It ultimately became the "Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons,"[10] and amalgamated in 1792 with the "St John's Grand Lodge" of the

[1] "Oct. 16, 1761.—Resolved, that any Br who can work himself in, may be admitted, & in case any doubts arise, to take the obligation. A Member of the Regular Lodges to pay 1s. 6d. for Viziting, and a Member of St. John's 2s." (Minutes of the "Lebeck's Head" Lodge, No. 246).

[2] Minutes of the Moira Lodge, No. 92. [3] Minutes of No. 246. [4] *Ante*, p. 196, note 2.

[5] In the Engraved List for 1770, Nos. "1, 2, and 3, Sweden," appear as Nos. 385-387, and are placed among the English Lodges constituted in 1769.

[6] "No. 181," constituted by S. G. W. Christian, at the Globe Tavern, Fleet Street, London, July 14, 1773, who installed James Gersdorff as Master, James Norin and Danl Gurtausan as Wardens. The Lodge was to be held at a private room in the city of Stockholm.

[7] Lawrie, History of Freemasonry, 1804, p. 134. [8] *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

[9] Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, 1870, pp. 159, 162.

[10] Address of Grand Master Gardner (Massachusetts) 1870, p. 19.

same State, as the governing body under the older Grand Lodge of England was then designated.

Precisely as in the mother country, the Masons were divided into two denominations, and even whilst Lord Aberdour was at the head of the Craft in both kingdoms, the "Ancients" in St. Andrew's Lodge and the so-called "Moderns" in the other Boston Lodges were at open variance. This is the more remarkable, because about the very time when a difference of procedure between the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the original Grand Lodge of England was alleged to exist by the brethren of Massachusetts, a letter was written by Dr. Manningham[1] to a correspondent in Holland, informing him, in substance, after having consulted Lord Aberdour and several other Scottish noblemen and gentlemen that were "good Masons," that the Masonic ceremonies were identical under the Grand Lodge of Scotland and the older Grand Lodge of England, both of which knew only three orders, viz., "Masters, Fellow-Crafts, and Apprentices."

Lord Aberdour was succeeded as Grand Master by Earl Ferrers in 1762, and the latter gave place in turn to Lord Blayney on May 8, 1764.

During the administration of this nobleman, the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Gloucester became members of the Society, and it was ordered by Grand Lodge, that they should each be presented with an apron, lined with blue silk, and that in all future processions they should rank as Past Grand Masters, next to the grand officers for the time being.

In April, 1766, a new edition of the "Book of Constitutions" was ordered to be printed under the inspection of a committee.[2]

In the same month, at the Committee of Charity, a complaint was made "that the Lodge at the Old Bell in Bell Savage Yard, Ludgate Hill, had been illegally sold. It appeared from the Respondents that they were Foreigners, and had made (as they apprehended) a fair purchase thereof, and had paid a valuable consideration for the same, and did under that Constitution hold a regular Lodge at the Fountain in Ludgate Hill. It was determined under these circumstances that in Equity they had a Right to the Constitution, and that they should be permitted to hold their Lodge under it, but that for the Future the sale of A Constitution should on no account be held valid, but [it] should immediately be considered as Forfeited."

A further illustration of the practise last referred is afforded by the minutes of the same tribunal for April 8, 1767, on which date a "Br° Paterson reported that the Constitution of the Lodge No. 3, held at the Sun and Punch Bowl, had been sold or otherwise illegally disposed of, and that the same was purchas'd by a Number [of] Masons, who now meet by virtue thereof, under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, at the Thatched House in St. James St. And that Br° French was the person principally concerned, together with the brethren of the Lodge formerly held at the Sun and Punch Bowl."

The decision of the committee was postponed—"but as a mark of high respect to his Grace the Duke of Beaufort, and the Noblemen and Honorable Gentlemen meeting under the name of the Lodge of Friendship, *and in consideration of their being very young Masons* [it was ordered], that the Constitution No. 3 shall remain with them, even tho' it should appear upon further enquiry, that this affair hath been transacted contrary to the Consti-

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 147, 148; and Chap. XII., pp. 159, 160.

[2] The alterations proposed to be made by the committee were approved, and five hundred books ordered to be printed, January 28, 1767.

tution, but at the same time resolved, that this shall not be looked upon as a Precedent for the future on any account whatsoever."[1]

A week later, the minutes of the last Committee of Charity were read in Grand Lodge and confirmed, "except that part of them which related to Brother French," by whom an apology was made "in open Quarterly Communication." At this meeting the Duke of Beaufort was elected Grand Master, and in the following year, a vacancy occurring, he appointed French to the office of Grand Secretary.[2]

At the Committee of Charity, held January 20, 1768, two letters were read from the Grand Lodge of France, desiring a friendly correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England, which was cheerfully agreed to.[3]

At the April meeting of the same body, it was carried by a majority, that the practice of brethren appearing armed in Lodges, was an innovation upon the ancient usages and customs of the Society, and it was resolved that "the Grand Master be requested to forbid such practice in future."

In the following October, the Deputy Grand Master, who presided, informed the Committee "that the Duke of Beaufort was resolved to have the Society incorporated, and proposed that the brethren present should take into serious consideration the most effectual means to raise a fund for defraying the expense of building a hall."

A week later, the Hon. Charles Dillon, D.G.M., explained in Grand Lodge the plan he had submitted at the Committee of Charity. Ten resolutions were thereupon passed, which were ordered to be forthwith printed and transmitted to all the lodges on record. By these it was provided, that certain fees should be paid by the Grand Officers annually, by new Lodges at their constitution, by brethren at initiation or joining, and for dispensations. Many further articles or regulations were subsequently added. No. XI.—Nov. 19, 1773—requires each lodge to transmit to the Grand Secretary a list of its members, with the dates of their admission or initiation; also their ages, together with their titles, professions, or trades; and that five shillings be transmitted for every initiate, and half-a-crown for each joining member as registration fees; and that no person initiated into masonry, after October 28, 1768, shall be entitled to partake of the General Charity, or any other of the privileges of the Grand Lodge, unless his name be duly registered, and the fees paid as above.

Article XII., enacted Feb. 22, 1775, is simply a plan of granting annuities for lives, with the benefit of survivorship, or in other words it merely provides the machinery for a *tontine*.

The following is the XIIIth regulation—"Subscribers of £25 as a loan, without interest, toward paying off the hall debts, to be presented with a medal, to wear as an honorable testimony of their services, *and to be members of the Grand Lodge;*[4] a like medal to be

[1] According to the same records, the Lodge of Zeal, No. 318, was erased November 17, 1775, having proclaimed its own delinquency, by resisting a pecuniary claim on the ground "of having paid a valuable consideration for the said Lodge, and that none of the old members ever belonged to it since such sale."

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 93, note 3.

[3] Ratified at the ensuing Grand Lodge, held January 28.

[4] William Birch, Master of the Royal Lodge, protested against this clause, as being, "subversive of the principles and constitutions of Masonry, by admitting those to have seats and voice in that assembly, where none have been or ought to be, but in their Representative capacity" (Grand Lodge Minutes, Feb. 14, 1783).

given to every lodge that subscribes, to be worn by the Master; *and every subscribing Lodge is allowed to send one other representative to the Grand Lodge, besides the Master and Wardens, until the money be repaid.*"[1]

A copy of the intended Charter of Incorporation was circulated among the lodges, three of which, including the "Steward's" and the "Royal" Lodge, memorialised Grand Lodge, to discontinue the project, and another, the Caledonian Lodge, actually entered a caveat against it, in the office of the attorney-general.

On April 27, 1769, the question was put, whether the Caledonian Lodge, No. 325, should be erased, "but on Bro. E. G. Muller,[2] Master of the said Lodge, publickly asking pardon in the names of himself and his lodge, the offence was forgiven."

The Deputy Grand Master then stated that 168 lodges had declared in favor of Incorporation, and 43 against it, and "a motion being made whether the Society should be Incorporated or not—it was carried in the affirmative by a great majority."

The design of incorporating the Society by act of parliament was abandoned in 1771, when, in consequence of the opposition it encountered, the Hon. Charles Dillon himself moved that the consideration of the bill should be postponed *sine die*, which was agreed to.

Meanwhile, however, a considerable sum had been subscribed for the purpose of building a hall, and on April 23, 1773, a committee was appointed to assume a general superintendence of the undertaking. It consisted of the Present and Past Grand Officers, Provincial Grand Masters, the Master of the Steward's Lodge, and the Masters of such ten other Lodges, within the bills of mortality, as they might nominate at their first meeting. Preston, who was himself a member of this committee,[3] says that "every measure was adopted to enforce the laws for raising a new fund to carry the designs of the Society into execution, and no pains were spared by the committee to complete the purpose of their appointment."

Indeed, the new board soon usurped some of the functions of the Committee of Charity, and, as we shall presently see, a great deal of the ordinary business of the Society was remitted to it for consideration and despatch.

On November 19, 1773, some regulations were made to enforce those passed in October, 1768, but these, with others of a kindred character, will be found collected at a previous page.

In the following year—November 25, 1774—the committee reported the purchase of premises in Great Queen Street at a cost of £3150. The foundation stone of a New Hall was laid May 1, 1775, and the building itself was opened May 23, 1776, and dedicated in solemn form to MASONRY, VIRTUE, UNIVERSAL CHARITY, and BENEVOLENCE.

Although the leading occurrence during the presidency of the Duke of Beaufort was the plan of an Incorporation by Royal Charter, there are some of the proceedings under the administration of that nobleman to which it will be necessary to return.

[1] Constitutions, 1784, p. 388. The portions of the regulation in italics were enacted January 8, 1783, and the remainder on June 21, 1779.

[2] Expelled from Masonry, Feb. 7, 1770, "having brought an action against Bro Preston, Master of the Ionic Lodge, who assisted in turning him out of the Committee of Charity for his gross misbehaviour there" (Grand Lodge Minutes). The Master, Wardens, and Secretary, of the Caledonian Lodge were likewise expelled, April 26, 1771, "for sending a letter to the P.G.M. of the Austrian Netherlands reflecting upon the Grand Lodge of England in the grossest terms" (*Ibid.*).

[3] *Cf. ante*, p. 177.

The increase of foreign Lodges occasioned the appointment of a new office, viz., that of Provincial Grand Master for foreign Lodges in general, which was bestowed on John Joseph de Vignoles, Esq. The metropolitan Lodges were also placed under the control of a General Inspector or Provincial Grand Master; but the majority of the London Lodges disapproving the appointment, it was soon after withdrawn.[1]

In 1770 a friendly alliance was entered into by the Grand Lodge of England with the "National Grand Lodge of the United Provinces of Holland and their dependencies." The former undertaking not to constitute Lodges within the jurisdiction of the latter, and the Grand Lodge of Holland promising to "observe the same restriction with respect to the Grand Lodge of England in all parts of the world."

In the same year the Lodges were again renumbered, by closing up the vacancies on the roll, and moving the numbers of the existing Lodges forward.[2]

On April 26, 1771, the following resolutions were moved by "Bro. Derwas of the Steward's Lodge," and "approved of" in the following November. None of them, however, appear to have been carried into effect:

"1. That the law made the 2d of March 173½ giving a privilege to every acting steward at the Grand Feast, of nominating his successor, be abrogated.

"2. That there shall in future be 15 stewards instead of 12.

"3. That these 15 stewards shall be nominated by the Lodges within the Bills of Mortality in rotation, beginning with the senior Lodge; each of such Lodges having power to nominate one person at the annual Grand Feast, to serve that office for the year ensuing.

"4. That if any of the 15 Lodges in turn to nominate a steward shall decline or omit to do so, then the privilege to pass to the next Lodge in rotation."

Similar proposals, for throwing open the privilege of the "Red Apron" to all the metropolitan Lodges in succession, were made at a much later date, and will be narrated at a future page; but the remaining resolutions, affecting the Grand Steward's Lodge or the body of its members, passed by the older Grand Lodge of England, prior to the fusion of the two Societies, will be now briefly summarised.

At a Grand Lodge held February 3, 1779, a representation was made by the Master and other brethren of the Steward's Lodge, that it had been usual of late for brethren who served the office of steward, to neglect all attendance upon the Steward's Lodge afterwards as members; and when summoned and called upon for their subscriptions, to declare that they never considered themselves as members, whereby the fund of that Lodge was greatly injured, their books and accounts left in a very irregular state, and the actual members much disgusted. To obviate these complaints, a resolution was passed in the following terms:

"Whereas it appears from the Book of Constitutions, to have been the invariable usage of the Society, to appoint the officers of the Grand Lodge from such brethren only who have served the office of Grand Steward, Resolved, that in future, no brother be appointed a Grand officer, until he shall have served the officer of Steward at a Grand Feast; nor unless he be an actual subscribing member of the Steward's Lodge at the time of his appointment."

On April 18, 1792,[3] it was ordered, "that the Steward's Lodge be placed at the head of the List of Lodges without a Number," and this position it retained at the Union.

[1] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 308. [2] *Cf. ante*, p. 219.

[3] It had previously borne the following numbers: 117 (1736), 115 (1740), 70 (1756), 60 (1770), and 47 (1781).

In 1794, the Board of Stewards raised the price of the tickets for the Grand Feast from half a guinea to one guinea, but the alteration being objected to, it was "declared improper" by the Committee of Charity.

Lord Petre was elected Grand Master in 1772, and the first edition of the "Illustrations of Masonry,"[1] which appeared in that year, was published with his *official* sanction. This was a distinct innovation upon the ordinary usage with regard to Masonic publications, none hitherto, the Books of Constitutions alone excepted, having received the *imprimatur* of the Grand Lodge.[2]

The same patronage was extended to the second edition, which appeared in 1775,[3] in which year the author was appointed Deputy or Assistant Secretary under James Heseltine, with a salary, and his "Illustrations of Masonry," as well as the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1777, and an Appendix to the "Book of Constitutions"—brought out under his editorial supervision—were advertised for sale in the printed proceedings of the Grand Lodge of England for November 13, 1776. Through the same medium Hutchinson's "Spirit of Masonry,"[4] and the oration delivered by Dr. Dodd at the dedication of Freemasons' Hall, were also recommended to the fraternity.

The Rev. William Dodd, LL.D., was appointed Grand Chaplain May 1, 1775, on which date the foundation-stone of the new hall was laid with Masonic honors. The dedication of this building gave rise to another new office, that of Grand Architect, which was conferred on Thomas Sandby, by whom the structure was designed. Both these officers were re-appointed at the next Assembly and Feast—June 3, 1776—but in the following April, on a representation that Dr. Dodd had been convicted of forgery, and confined in Newgate, he was unanimously expelled the Society.

The next Grand Chaplain was the Rev. Sydney Swinney, D.D., who was appointed by the Duke of Manchester in 1781, after which year the office remained vacant until 1785, when the Rev. A. H. Eccles was selected to fill it, and retained the appointment down to 1802, being succeeded by the Rev. Lucius Coghlan, D.D., who likewise held it for many years, and officiated as Grand Chaplain until after the Union, and was one of the Grand Chaplains, the other being Dr. Edward Barry,[5] of the "United" Grand Lodge of England, invested by the Duke of Sussex in 1814.

[1] January 27, 1777.—The Lodge of Fortitude, No. 6, petitioned the Grand Lodge "to discontinue their sanction of Preston's 'Illustrations of Masonry,' as it tended to lay Masonic secrets open to the world—Ordered, that the Master of No. 6 do attend at next Committee of Charity to prove the charge." April 9, 1777.—"Resolved, that the charge as to the said publication was groundless, and undeserving the notice of Grand Lodge" (Minutes, Committee of Charity).

[2] "A Candid Disquisition on the Principles and Practices of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons, together with some Strictures on the Origin, Nature, and Design of that Institution," by Wellins Calcott, published in 1769, was dedicated by permission to the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master, whose name, followed by those of the D.G.M., Grand Wardens, Treasurer, and Secretary, head the list of subscribers. In this case, however, there was no formal sanction, nor can the work be said to have been *officially* countenanced by the *Society*.

[3] The sanction was in each case subscribed by the Grand Officers of the year, who on both occasions certify that they have "perused and do recommend the book."

[4] Dr. Oliver says: "The work was received with enthusiasm, as the only Masonic publication of real value then in existence. It was the first efficient attempt to explain, in a rational and scientific manner, the true philosophy of the order. Dr. Anderson and the writer of the Gloucester sermon [1752] indicated the existence of the mine,—Calcott opened it, and Hutchinson worked it" (Preface to the edition for 1843, p. 23). See, however, Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

[5] Grand Chaplain of the "Atholl" Grand Lodge, 1791–1813.

Thomas Sandby retained the title of Grand Architect until his death, and is so described in the official records and calendars, although not formally reappointed after 1776. At the Grand Feast in 1799, Robert Brettingham was invested as his successor, and filled the office until the recurrence of the same festival in 1801, when William Tyler, the Architect of the Tavern, having been proposed as a candidate for the office, the Grand Master observed that the office of Grand Architect had been conferred on Brother Sandby only as a mark of personal attachment, he having been the Architect of the Hall, but that it was never intended to be a permanent office in the Society. The Grand Lodge therefore resolved that the office of Grand Architect should be discontinued, but that in compliment to Brothers Brettingham and Tyler, both these gentlemen should be permitted to attend the Grand Lodge, and wear an honorary jewel as a mark of personal respect.

This, in effect, brought them within the provisions of a regulation passed February 14, 1776, permitting *past* as well as *actual* Grand officers to wear distinctive jewels, upon which innovation Preston remarks—"How far the introduction of this new ornament is reconcilable to the original practices of the Society, I will not presume to determine; but it is the opinion of many old masons, that multiplying honorary distinctions only lessens the value and importance of the real jewels, by which the acting officers of every Lodge are distinguished."[1]

No further offices were created during the administration of Lord Petre, nor is there much to add with respect to this section of Masonic history.

In 1773—April 23—it was Resolved, that no master of a public-house should in future be a member of any Lodge holden in his house.

Three days later, at the annual Feast, the Grand Secretary informed the Grand Lodge of a proposal for establishing a friendly union and correspondence with the Grand Lodge of Germany, held at Berlin, under the patronage of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, which met with general approbation.

On November 24, 1775, it was resolved that an Appendix to the "Book of Constitutions,"[2] and also a Freemason's Calendar, should be published, the latter in opposition to an almanac of similar name brought out by the Stationer's Company, and both matters were referred to the Hall Committee.

An Extraordinary Grand Lodge was held April 7, 1777, consisting of the Grand Officers, the Master, Wardens, and assistants of the Steward's Lodge, and the Masters of seventy-five private Lodges.

The Grand Secretary informed the brethren that the object of the meeting was to take into consideration a report from the Hall Committee, concerning the proper means of discouraging the irregular assemblies of persons calling themselves *antient masons;* and for supporting the dignity of the Society, by advancing the fees for initiation, and for new constitutions, or the revival of old ones. The report being read, it was resolved—

"That the Persons who assemble in London and elsewhere in the character of Masons, calling themselves *Antient Masons*, by virtue of an Authority from a pretended Grand Lodge in England, and at present said to be under the patronage of the Duke of Athol, are not to be countenanced or acknowledged as Masons[3] by any regular Lodge or Mason under the Constitution of England; nor shall any regular Mason be present at any of their

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, p. 315.

[2] Brought out in 1776, compiled and edited by William Preston. *Cf. ante*, pp. 175, 227.

[3] Compare with the regulation passed April 12, 1809, *post*.

Conventions, to give a Sanction to their Proceedings, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Privileges of the Society; neither shall any Person initiated at these irregular Meetings be admitted into any Lodge without being re-made,[1] and paying the usual Making Fees.

"That this Censure shall not extend to any Lodge or Mason made in Scotland or Ireland under the Constitution of either of these Kingdoms; or to any Lodge or Mason made abroad under the Patronage of any Foreign Grand Lodge in Alliance with the Grand Lodge of England, but that such Lodges and Masons shall be deemed regular and constitutional."

It was also resolved, that after May 1 then ensuing, no person should be made a Mason for a less sum than two guineas. That the fee payable at the constitution of a London Lodge should be six, and for a country lodge four, guineas, and that two guineas from each should be appropriated to the Hall Fund. The following resolution, which was duly passed, concluded the business of the evening:

"That all Lodges which have not complied with the Orders and Resolutions of the Grand Lodge in regard to the Regulations for building a Hall, &c., for the Use of the Society, be erazed out of the List, unless they transmit to the Grand Secretary, on or before each Quarterly Communication, an accurate List of all Members made or admitted since October 29, 1768, with the Registering Fee stipulated by the Regulations of that Date;[2] or give some satisfactory Excuse for their Neglect."

The proceedings of this meeting were of a very instructive character. First of all, we learn that the Original Grand Lodge of England had at last realized the vitality of the Schism, as well as the expediency of adopting more decided measures to check the rebellion against authority; next, that in addition to the functions which it was primarily called upon to discharge, a large portion of the ordinary business of the Society was transacted by the Hall Committee; and lastly, that very arbitrary measures were being resorted to in order to coerce the lodges and brethren into raising the requisite funds to balance an increasing expenditure, out of all proportion to the ordinary or normal revenue of Grand Lodge.

The remaining facts, however, that have any bearing on the Schism or its termination, will be given in the story of the Union, and the further proceedings of the Hall Committee I shall also separate from the general narrative, which I here resume.

Lord Petre was succeeded as Grand Master by the Duke of Manchester, who was invested with the ensigns of his office on May 1, 1777; after which the former nobleman returned thanks for the honors he had received in the Society, and assured the brethren of his attachment to its interests. Nor were these mere idle words. The amiable character of Lord Petre and his zeal as a Mason, may—to use the words of a contemporary—be equalled, but cannot be surpassed. He was a Catholic, but held his religious faith without bigotry, and by his liberality and worth won the esteem of all parties. He was generally regarded as the head of the Catholic body in this country, and therefore his continuing to preside for five years over a branch of the Society against which the thunders of the Vatican had been launched in 1738, and again in 1751,[3] affords conclusive proof that in England,

[1] The records of many lodges under the Older Sanction show that, in consequence of this regulation, there was an interruption of their fraternal relations with lodges under the Atholl banner. *Cf. ante*, pp. 213, 224.

[2] *Ante*, p. 226.

[3] According to the present Pope—April 20, 1884—"The first warning of danger was given by Clement XII. in 1738, and his Edict was confirmed and renewed by Benedict XIV. (1751). Pius VII.

towards the close of the eighteenth century, the two Bulls issued by Roman Pontiffs against the Freemasons had been devoid of any practical result.

Lord Petre was present at, and presided over, many meetings of the Society after the termination of his tenure of office. His last attendance appears to have occurred November 24, 1791, when, though the Acting Grand Master, Lord Rawdon, was present, he took the chair as Past Grand Master. He died July 3, 1801, and after his decease it was ascertained that he expended annually £5000 in charitable benefactions.

During the administration of the Duke of Manchester, the tranquillity of the Society was interrupted by some private dissensions. An unfortunate dispute arose among the members of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the contest was introduced into the Grand Lodge, where it occupied the attention of every committee and communication for twelve months. The result was a schism, which subsisted for the space of ten years, when the two bodies—each claiming to be No. 1—were happily re-united. The particulars of the controversy have been already given,[1] so the subject will not claim our further attention in this place.

The Grand Master, at a Quarterly Communication held February 2, 1780, laid before the brethren a letter in the Persian language, enclosed in an elegant cover of cloth of gold, addressed to the Grand Master and Grand Lodge of England, from Omdit ul Omrah Bahaudar, eldest son of the Nabob of Arcot. This Prince had been initiated into Masonry in the Lodge at Trichinopoly, near Madras, and his letter—which acknowledged in graceful terms, a complimentary address forwarded by the Grand Lodge, on the circumstance becoming known in this country—was so appreciated by the brethren, that a translation of it was ordered to be copied on vellum, and, with the original, to be elegantly framed and glazed, and hung up in the Hall at every public meeting of the Society.

At the ensuing Grand Feast, Captain George Smith was appointed Junior Grand Warden, though the Grand Secretary objected, that, being then Provincial Grand Master for Kent, he was disqualified for serving that office. Ultimately the objection was waived, Captain Smith offering to resign the Provincial Grand-Mastership, should the union of both officers in the same person prove incompatible. In the following November, a letter was read from Captain Smith, resigning the office of Junior Grand Warden, but to prevent a similar difficulty occurring, it was resolved "that it is incompatible with the laws of this Society, for any brother to hold more than one office in the Grand Lodge at the same time."

At this Grand Lodge, the Grand Master was empowered, in consequence of the great increase of business, to appoint a Joint Grand Secretary, with equal power and rank in the Society, and William White, Master of the Steward's Lodge, was thereupon appointed to that office.[2]

On February 7, 1781, at the request of the Grand Lodge of Germany, brother John Leonhardi was appointed their representative at the Grand Lodge of England, and it was

followed in their steps (1821); and Leo XII., in his Apostolic Edict '*Quo Graviora*' (1825), embraced the acts and decrees of the earlier Popes on this subject, and ordered them to be ratified forever. To the same effect, Pius VII. (1829), Gregory XVI. (1832), and very often Pius IX. (1846, 1865, etc.), have spoken" (Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII.—"De Secta Massonum," translated by Mr. E. L. Hawkins).

[1] *Ante*, p. 176, *et seq.*; and see Illustrations of Masonry, 1792, pp. 317–324.

[2] The new Grand Secretary was present, and acted as Grand Sword-Bearer, a position which was usually filled by the Master of the Steward's Lodge (if present) in the absence of the actual holder of the office.



Yours fraternally,

Samuel C. Lawrence

Past Grand Master of Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

also resolved, that brother Leonhardi should wear the clothing of a Grand officer, and rank next to Past Grand officers, at all public meetings of the Society.

At the Communication in April, 1782, the prospect of establishing a fraternal alliance, still nearer home, was discussed at some length. A report was brought up from the Committee of Charity, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland was disposed to enter into a regular correspondence, and after long debate, it was unanimously resolved, that it be recommended to the Grand Master, to use every means which in his wisdom he may think proper, for promoting a correspondence and good understanding with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, so far as might be consistent with the laws of the Society.

At the same meeting, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and Earl Ferrers were severally proposed for the office of Grand Master, and on the question being put, the former was elected by a very great majority.

A motion was then made by Brother Dagge, that whenever a Prince of the Blood did the Society the honor to accept the office of Grand Master, he should be at liberty to nominate any peer of the realm to be the Acting Grand Master, which passed unanimously in the affirmative.

The Earl of Effingham was appointed to the new office, and as proxy for the Duke of Cumberland, was installed and invested at the ensuing Feast.

At a Communication, held April 9, 1783, among the minutes of the preceding Committee of Charity, then confirmed, was one, representing that the Grand Secretary, Heseltine, had requested the opinion of the Committee, on an application made to him by Captain George Smith, to procure the sanction of the Grand Lodge for a book he intended to publish, entitled, *The Use and Abuse of Free Masonry;* and that the Committee, after mature consideration, had resolved, that it be recommended to the Grand Lodge not to grant any sanction for such intended publication.[1]

Of the work in question, it has been well said, "that it would not at the present day enhance the reputation of its writer, but at the time when it appeared there was a great dearth of Masonic literature—Anderson, Calcott, Hutchinson, and Preston, being the only authors of any repute that had as yet written on the subject of Masonry. There was much historical information contained within its pages, and some few suggestive thoughts on the symbolism and philosophy of the Order."[2] Captain Smith held an appointment in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and was a member of a Lodge at that town, the proceedings of which formed the subject of inquiry at a Grand Lodge held November 19, 1783, when Captain G. Smith and Mr. Thomas Brooke were charged with the offence of "making Masons in a clandestine manner in the King's Bench Prison." In a written defence, it was pleaded that "there being several Masons in the Prison, they had assembled as such for the benefit of instruction, and had also advanced some of them to the 3rd degree. But a doubt arising whether it could be done with propriety, the Royal Military

[1] Noorthouck observes—"No particular objection being stated against the above-mentioned work, the natural conclusion is, that a sanction was refused on the general principle, that, considering the flourishing state of our Lodges, where *regular* instruction and suitable exercises are ever ready for all brethren who zealously aspire to improve in Masonical Knowledge, new publications are unnecessary on a subject which books cannot teach" (Constitutions, 1784, p. 347, editorial note).

[2] Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 720. The following is the full title of the publication: "The Use and Abuse of Freemasonry: a work of the greatest utility to the Brethren of the Society, to Mankind in general, and to the Ladies in Particular, 1783."

Lodge, No. 371, at Woolwich, adjourned with their Constitution for that purpose to the King's Bench Prison (Captain Smith being Master thereof), being one of those itinerant Lodges which move with the Regiments, the Master of which, wherever he is, having the Constitution of the Lodge, was by Captain Smith judged to have a right to hold a Lodge, make Masons, etc. That this happened previous to B^ro^ Thomas Brooke coming to the prison, but that he afterward attended their meetings, not thinking it any harm." The two brethren concluded their defence by "begging pardon of the Grand Lodge for any error they had committed," and expressing a hope, "that grace would be granted to them." Whereupon it was resolved: "That it is the opinion of this Grand Lodge, that it is inconsistent with the principles of Masonry, that any Free Mason's Lodge can be regularly held for the purposes of making, passing, or raising Masons in any Prison or Place of confinement."[1] At the next Quarterly Communication—February 11, 1784—the Royal Military Lodge, No. 371, was erased from the list, and in the following November it was ordered that Captain Smith—whose name disappears from the calendar of that year as a Provincial Grand Master—should be summoned before the next Committee of Charity to answer for his complicity in a misdemeanor of a still graver character. The charge was proved to the satisfaction of that tribunal, and at a Quarterly Communication, held February 2, 1785, "Captain John George Smith, late Provincial Grand Master for the County of Kent, having been charged with uttering an Instrument purporting to be a certificate of the Grand Lodge, recommending two distressed Brethren; and he not appearing, or in any Manner exculpating himself, though personally summoned to appear for that Purpose, was duly expelled the Society."

A new edition of the "Constitutions," which had been sanctioned in 1782, was brought out in 1784, under the direction of the Hall Committee, who secured the services of John Noorthouck,[2] as editor or compiler. The work reflects credit on all who were concerned in its publication, the constant repetition of mere formal business, and of the names of stewards and members present at the stated meetings of the Society, are very properly omitted, whilst it possesses a full index, "without which," as rightly observed by the editor, "no publication beyond the size of a pamphlet, can be deemed compleat."

At the Grand Feast, in this year, James Heseltine, declining a reappointment, William White became sole Grand Secretary. The services of the former were gracefully recognised in 1785 by his appointment as Senior Grand Warden, a position, however, which he resigned six months later, on being unanimously elected to the office of Grand Treasurer, November, 23, 1785, vacant by the death of Rowland Berkeley.

The same evening a new office was created, that of Grand Portrait Painter, and conferred on the Rev. William Peters, in acknowledgment of his elegant present of the portrait of Lord Petre, which, it was considered, "opened a Prospect to the Society of having its Hall ornamented with the successive Portraits of the Grand Masters in future."

The Grand Portrait Painter ranked after the Grand Architect, and before Grand Sword-Bearer. The office was regarded as a purely personal one, to be held by Peters, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and though his name is not included in the list of annual ap-

[1] The following note appears in the *Freemason* for July 2, 1770: "*John Wilkes*—the members of the Lodge held at the Jerusalem Tavern, St John's Gate, attended at the King's Bench Prison, and made Wilkes a Mason, March 3, 1769."

[2] Author of the "New History of London," 1773, and an "Historical and Classical Dictionary," 1776. *Cf. ante*, pp. 173, note 4; 176.

pointments declared on the Grand Feast Day, it duly appears among those of the Grand officers of the Society published in successive editions of the "Freemasons' Calendar," from 1787 to 1814.[1] The new Grand officer proved himself to have been in every way worthy of the mark of distinction conferred by the Grand Lodge; and on November 28, 1787, a resolution was passed, conveying the thanks of that body to the Rev. W. Peters, G.P.P., for "his kind Superintendance and great Liberality, in the beautifying and ornamenting of the Hall."

On April 12, 1786, complaint was made of the intolerant spirit of some of the regulations of the Grand Lodge at Berlin, and the Grand Master and the Grand officers were empowered to take such measures as they thought necessary for abrogating or altering the compact between the two Grand Lodges, entered into in 1773. The subject does not appear to have been further discussed at any subsequent communication of Grand Lodge, until November 26, 1788, when it was stated that the Grand Master and Grand officers had found it expedient to dissolve and annul the compact referred to.[2] At the same meeting a provisional agreement, entered into with the Provincial Grand Lodge of Frankfort, was laid before and ratified by Grand Lodge.

In November, 1786, Admiral Sir Peter Parker was appointed to the office of Deputy Grand Master, which had become vacant by the death of Rowland Holt.[3] The new Deputy, who was a distinguished naval commander, had previously served as Grand Steward and Grand Warden,[4] and then held the office of Provincial Grand Master for Jamaica. At this Grand Lodge also a motion passed, that "in future the Grand Secretary be allowed a salary of £100 per annum for himself and clerks, exclusive of the usual fees;" and it was resolved unanimously "That the Rank of a Past Senior Grand Warden (with the Right of taking Place immediately next to the present Senior Grand Warden) be granted to Thomas Dunckerley, Esq., Pro. G.M. for Dorset, Essex, Gloucester, Somerset, and Southampton, with the City and County of Bristol and the Isle of Wight, in grateful Testimony of the high Sense the Grand Lodge entertains of his zealous and indefatigable Exertions, for many years, to promote the Honor and Interest of the Society."

The story of Dunckerley's life is not an easy one to relate. According to one set of biographers, his mother was the daughter of a physician;[5] and according to another, she was a servant girl in the family of Sir Robert Walpole.[6] By the former he is said to have been a natural son of King George II.; whilst by the latter he is alleged to have availed himself of the remarkable likeness he bore to the Royal Family, to get it represented to George III. that the previous king was in truth his father. These accounts of his parentage are irreconcilable, and some other difficulties present themselves when we collate the two biographies. Certain facts, however, are free from dispute. Born October 23, 1724, he was apprenticed to a barber, and very shortly afterward entered the naval service, from which he retired, with the rank of gunner, about 1764. His mother's apartments at Somerset House—where her husband, his putative father, had been a porter—were con-

[1] The appointment took place too late in the year (1785) to find a place in the edition for 1786.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 228.

[3] Grand Steward, 1768; S.G.W., 1768–70; D.G.M., 1775–86.

[4] In 1772. Both Rowland Holt and Sir Peter Parker served these offices concurrently.

[5] Freemason's Magazine, vol. i., 1793, p. 378; vol. iv., 1796, p. 96.

[6] Gentleman's Magazine, vol. lxv., 1795, pt. ii., p. 1052.

tinued to him, by order (it is said) of the Duke of Devonshire. On May 7, 1767, a pension of £100 a year was assigned to him by the king, from his privy purse, which was afterward increased to £800, though with regard to the latter amount the evidence is hardly conclusive.

According to the stream of Masonic writers, who all derive their information from the same fount—the *Freemasons' Magazine*, vols. I. to IV.,[1] published in the last century—Dunckerley was first told of his close relation to George II., in 1760, by a Mrs. Pinkney, for many years his mother's neighbor in Somerset House, and to whom the secret had been confided by the latter. He was then on leave of absence from H.M.S. "Vanguard," which had just arrived from Quebec; and it has been asked, with much force, why he made no effort to communicate with any of the Royal Family until after the death of Mrs. Pinkney, the sole witness he had to verify his singular story.[2] But whatever may be the true explanation of this mystery, he apparently at once rejoined his ship, which forthwith sailed for the Mediterranean. According to his own account, he was appointed gunner of the "Vanguard" by Admiral Boscawen, and to the same position in the "Prince" by Lord Anson. The dates he gives as to these appointments are a little confusing; but there can be no doubt that he served in both vessels, and "on board of" each there was a Lodge, as I have already had occasion to relate.[3] As one of these (in the "Prince") ultimately became the "Somerset House Lodge," of which Dunckerley was undoubtedly a member, it is at least a reasonable supposition that he was in some way connected with the other.[4] Indeed, we may go still further, and assume, if we do no more, the strong probability of his having been the originator and founder of the Lodge "on Board H.M.S. 'Canceaux,' at Quebec," No. 224, which, together with five other Lodges in Canada,[5] appears for the first time on the roll, in the Engraved List for 1770, immediately below the "Merchant's Lodge," Quebec, No. 220, constituted in 1762, and next but one to the "Somerset House Lodge," formerly "on Board the 'Prince,'" also dating from 1762.

No other "Sea Lodges" than these three were constituted either before or since. One we know him to have been a member of. Another was held in the "Vanguard," No. 254, constituted January 16, 1760—in which, at the time, he held the position of gunner and "teacher of the mathematicks"—whilst the third was very possibly an offshoot of the other two. The Lodge, No. 224, is described in the official list as being on board a ship of war "*at Quebec.*" This must have been in some sense a *stationary* vessel, otherwise the words here shown in italics would be meaningless. It may have been a guard-ship, or perhaps bore the flag of the senior naval officer; but whatever function it discharged, we may conclude that the crew afloat were on intimate terms with the garrison ashore.

Now it is a little curious that one of the *five* Lodges—No. 226—placed on the roll at the same time as No. 224, is there described as "In the 52d Regt. of Foot,[6] *at Quebec.*" Thus at what has been termed "the Gibraltar of America," we find that in 1762 there was both a "Sea" and a "Field" Lodge; and it is almost certain that some others of the latter character had accompanied the expedition under General Wolfe (1759). Dunckerley, whilst

[1] Vol. i. contains a biography of Dunckerley by the editor; vol. iv., a narrative in his own handwriting, communicated by his executors; and the intermediate volumes, miscellaneous matters.

[2] Freemasons' Chronicle, December 7, 1878.

[3] *Ante*, p. 97.

[4] No. 254, *now* 108, the "London Lodge."

[5] Nos. 221–226, all of which, with the exception of No. 223 (Montreal), were held at Quebec.

[6] In the previous year (1761) an Irish Lodge, No. 370, was established in this regiment.

on the North American station, and indeed throughout the whole period of his service afloat—after his admission into the Craft—was doubtless an occasional visitor at Army Lodges. Most of these were under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which issued no less than fifty-one military warrants between 1732 and 1762 inclusive. The profound knowledge, therefore, of Royal Arch Masonry, which has been traditionally ascribed to Thomas Dunckerley, *may* have been acquired in Irish Lodges, which doubtless worked the degree in his time—though it must be freely confessed that the common belief in the profundity of his masonic learning is altogether destitute of evidence to support it. He was initiated into masonry on January 10, 1754, a date I derive from the Grand Lodge books, and is *said* to have delivered a lecture "on Masonic Light, Truth, and Charity,"[1] at Plymouth in 1757, which is not so well substantiated. But even if we concede that the lecture in question was really given as alleged it proves very little,—merely that Dunckerley was capable of stringing together a quantity of platitudes, and constructing a sort of masonic oration rather below than above the ordinary level of such performances.

The rank of Grand Warden must have been conferred, I think, out of respect to the Duke of Cumberland, Grand Master, whose uncle he was very generally supposed to be.

Dunckerley, who died in 1795, was a very worthy member of the Craft; but the loose statements of Dr. Oliver that "he was the oracle of the Grand Lodge, and the accredited interpreter of its Constitutions;" also that "his decision was final on all points, both of doctrine and discipline," are simply untrue—which is the more to be regretted, as they have been copied and re-copied by the generality of later writers.

At the next Quarterly Communication, held February 7, 1787, it was resolved that the sum of £150 be paid annually to the Grand Secretary and his clerks, and that all fees should be carried to the account of the Society.

At the same meeting the Grand Master (who presided) stated that the Prince of Wales had been initiated into Masonry at a special Lodge held for that purpose at the Star and Garter, Pall Mall, on the previous evening. Whereupon the following resolution was passed by an unanimous vote: "That in testimony of the high sense the Grand Lodge entertains of the Great Honor conferred on the Society by the Initiation of the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness shall be a member of the Grand Lodge, and shall take Place next to, and on the Right Hand of, the Grand Master."

A resolution of a similar, though not quite identical character, was passed at the next meeting of Grand Lodge, when it being announced that Prince William Henry—afterward King William IV.—had been received into Masonry[2] in the Prince George Lodge, No. 86,[3] Plymouth, it was proposed, and carried without a dissentient vote, that an Apron lined with blue silk should be presented to His Royal Highness, and that in all future Processions he should rank as a Past Grand Master of the Society.

Precisely the same compliment was paid to other sons of King George III., all of whom, with the exception of the Duke of Cambridge, became members of the Craft—the Duke of York, in the Britannic Lodge, No. 29, November 21, 1787; Prince Edward, afterward

[1] Printed by Dr. Oliver in his "Masonic Institutes," vol. i., 1847, p. 137.

[2] March 9, 1786.

[3] Originally constituted as No. 203, became No. 134 in 1756, and 106 in 1770. *Not* carried forward at the change of numbers in 1781, but interpolated in the list for 1782 as No. 86—most of the lodges of later date, shown in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for the former year, being pushed down one number in the edition for 1782.

Duke of Kent, in the "Union Lodge," Geneva;[1] Prince Ernest, afterward Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover,[2] at the house of the Earl of Moira, May 11, 1796; and Prince Augustus, afterward Duke of Sussex, in the "Royal York Lodge of Friendship," Berlin, in 1798. Prince William, afterward Duke of Gloucester, the King's nephew and son-in-law, was also a Freemason, having been initiated in the Britannic Lodge May 12, 1795. He was accorded the usual privileges voted to brethren of the Blood Royal, April 13, 1796.

On March 25, 1788, "the Royal Freemasons' Charity for Female Children"—now called the Royal Masonic Institution for Girls—was established for maintaining, clothing, and educating the female children and orphans of indigent Brethren. This Charity owes its existence mainly to the benevolent exertions of the Chevalier Bartholomew Ruspini.[3] The number of children to be received was at first limited to fifteen, which had increased to sixty-five in 1821, but the fortunes of this most meritorious Institution will be again referred to in some later observations on the general scope and utility of the three English Masonic Charities. Here, therefore, it will be sufficient to remark, that at a Grand Lodge, held February 10, 1790, an annual subscription of £25 was voted to the Institution; and on a motion by the Grand Treasurer, it was resolved unanimously,

"That the charitable Institution, called THE ROYAL CUMBERLAND FREEMASONS' SCHOOL, established for the Support and Education of the Daughters of indigent Free-Masons, be announced in the Grand Treasurer's printed Accounts, and also in the Free-Masons' Calendar, and that it be recommended to the Attention of the Society at large, as a Charity highly deserving their Support."

On February 6, 1793, a donation of twenty guineas was voted to the school, and it was again recommended "as an Institution *highly deserving the most effectual Support* of the Lodges and Brethren in general;" also, in almost identical terms, on February 8 1804.

On May 4, 1789, the annual Feast of the Society was attended by the Duke of Cumberland—Grand Master—the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, Prince William Henry, and above five hundred other brethren.

In the following year, at the recurrence of the same Festival, Lord Rawdon—afterward Earl of Moira, and later, Marquess of Hastings—was appointed Acting Grand Master in the room of the Earl of Effingham, and retained that position under the Prince of Wales, who was elected Grand Master, November 24, 1790.

On April 18, 1792, the Lodges were again ordered to be renumbered, and in the following May, at the Grand Feast, the Prince of Wales was installed Grand Master in the presence of the Duke of York, Lord Rawdon, and a numerous company of brethren.

The first number of the *Freemasons' Magazine or General and Complete Library*, appeared in June, 1793, and was continued monthly till the close of 1798, when its title was changed. During a portion of its brief existence, it was published with the sanction of Grand Lodge.

[1] The circumstance was announced in Grand Lodge, February 10, 1790, but the date of initiation is nowhere named in the records of the same body. *Cf. ante*, p. 206.

[2] *Cf.* G. W. Speth, Royal Freemasons, p. 7.

[3] G.S.B., 1791–1813, Dentist to the Prince of Wales, and a founder of the Lodge named after His Royal Highness, *present* No. 259.

The Prince of Wales again presided at a Grand Feast, held May 13, 1795. The Grand Master was supported by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, and his cousin, Prince William, afterward Duke of Gloucester. His Royal Highness expressed his warmest wishes for the prosperity of the Society, and concluded with a graceful compliment to the Acting Grand Master, the Earl of Moira, whom he styled "the man of his heart, and the friend he admired," hoping "that he might long live to superintend the government of the Craft, and extend the principles of the Art."[1]

In the expression of these sentiments, the Grand Master constituted himself, as it were, the mouthpiece of the brethren at large, who were overjoyed at the safe return of their respected Acting Grand Master, from a mission of equal hazard and responsibility.

In 1794, when the situation of the British army and that of the allies in Flanders was extremely critical, the Earl of Moira—who, in the previous year, had succeeded to the title, and been promoted to the rank of major-general—was despatched with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, and most fortunately succeeded in effecting a junction with the Duke of York, then nearly surrounded by hostile forces much superior in numbers. The French general, Pichegru, who was in the vicinity of Bruges with a force much greater than the British, was completely out-generalled.

This was one of the most extraordinary marches of which military history affords an example. After the Earl of Moira had cleared the French armies, and was passing the Austrian corps under Field-Marshal Clarfayt, the latter said to him, "My Lord, you have done what was impossible."

Two works were published in 1797, which, though now seldom read, and never cited in Masonic controversies, produced an immense sensation at the time, and evoked an elaborate defence of the Society from the Earl of Moira. That illustrious brother, however, in 1809, practically admitted the justice of the strictures, which nine years previously he had applied himself to refute by speaking of "mischievous combinations *on the Continent*, borrowing and prostituting the respectable name of Masonry, and sowing disaffection and sedition through the communities within which they were protected."[2]

The publications to which reference has been made, were written by the Abbè Barruel and Professor Robison, both of them Freemasons, in the same year, and without mutual consultation.

The former writer was the author of "Mèmoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme"—translated into English by the Hon. Robert Clifford, in 1798—and the latter of "Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies."

Both works aim at proving that a secret association had been formed, and for many years carried on, for rooting out all the religious establishments, and overturning all the existing governments of Europe; and that this association had employed, as its chief instruments, the Lodges of Freemasons, who were under the direction of unknown superiors, and whose emissaries were everywhere busy to complete the scheme.[1] The Abbè had the candor to admit, that the occult Lodges of the Illuminati were unknown in the British

[1] Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, edit. by Stephen Jones, p. 301.

[2] Speech at Leith, Scotland (Laurie, *op. cit.*, p. 179).

[1] Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, p. 308.

Isles, and that the English Freemasons were not implicated in the charges he had made—but the Professor did not think it worth while to except the English Lodges from the reproach of being seditious, until his work reached a second edition, when he admits that "while the Freemasonry of the Continent was perverted to the most profligate and impious purposes it retained in Britain its original form, simple and unadorned, and the Lodges remained the scenes of innocent merriment, or meetings of charity and beneficence."[1] So that, after all, his charges are not against Freemasonry in its original constitution, but against its corruption in a time of great political excitement.[2] Indeed, to use the well-chosen words in which the author of the famous "Illustrations of Masonry" sums up the whole controversy: "The best of doctrines has been corrupted, and the most sacred of all institutions prostituted, to base and unworthy purposes. The genuine Mason, duly considering this, finds a consolation in the midst of reproach and apostasy; and while he despises the one, will endeavor by his own example to refute the other."[3]

On July 12, 1799, an Act of Parliament was passed, "for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for preventing treasonable and seditious practices."

By this Statute—39 Geo. III., c. 79—it was enacted that all societies, the members whereof are required to take any oath not authorized by law, shall be deemed unlawful combinations, and their members shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful combination and confederacy, and shall be liable to a penalty of £20.

Societies, however, "held under the Denomination of *Lodges of Freemasons*," were expressly exempted from the operation of the Act[4] because their meetings "have been in great measure directed to charitable Purposes;" but it is "Provided always, That this Exemption shall not extend to any such Society unless Two of the Members composing the same shall certify upon Oath . . . that such Society or Lodge has before the passing of this Act been usually held under the Denomination of a *Lodge of Freemasons*, and in conformity to the Rules prevailing among the Societies or Lodges of Free Masons in this Kingdom. . . . Provided also, that this Exemption shall not extend to any such Society or Lodge, unless the Name or Denomination thereof, and the usual Place or Places and the Time or Times of its Meetings, and the Names and Descriptions of all and every the Members thereof, be registered with such Clerk of the Peace as aforesaid, within two months after the passing of this Act, and also on or before the Twenty-fifth Day of *March* in every succeeding Year."

The insertion of these clauses was due to the combined efforts of the Duke of Atholl[5] and Lord Moira. Indeed, the latter subsequently affirmed[6] that the exemption in favor of Masonic meetings was admitted into the Act in consequence of his assurance to Mr. Pitt "that nothing could be deemed a Lodge which did not sit by precise authorization from the Grand Lodge, and under its direct superintendence."

But this statement, though emanating from the "Bayard" of the English Craft, is a little misleading. Doubtless the Freemasons were chiefly beholden to the Earl of Moira for the saving clauses of the Act—an obligation most amply acknowledged by the Society

[1] P. 522.
[2] *Cf.* Mackey, *op. cit.*, p. 651.
[3] Edit. 1821, p. 312.
[4] §§ 5, 6.
[5] Ahiman Rezon, 1807, p. 118. *Cf. ante*, p. 204.
[6] In a letter to the Sheriff-Depute, Edinburgh, dated August 11, 1808 (Lyon, *op. cit.*, p. 265).

at large.[1] But, nevertheless, the letter of the Acting Grand Master, as he then was in both kingdoms, was based on wrong premises, and suggested to the civil authorities a course not in keeping with the principle of the Statute to which it referred.[2] The Bill was much modified in its passage through Committee; but "the Act was ultimately framed so as to embrace as participants in its immunities ALL Lodges of Freemasons complying with its requirements, irrespective of any Grand Lodge control."[3]

On the passing of the Statute, it was assumed that no *new* Lodges could be constituted, and at a Grand Lodge, held November 20, 1799, the common threat of erasure from the list for non-compliance with its arbitrary regulations, was invested with new terror. The necessity of conforming to the laws was once more laid down, followed by this note of warning:—

"It behoves every Lodge to be particularly careful not to incur a Forfeiture of its Constitution at the present Period, as, in Consequence of the late Act of Parliament, no new Constitution can be granted."

Immediately after the passing of the Act, the Grand Lodge of Scotland consulted the Lord Advocate as to whether they might interpret the Act as applying to *Grand* Lodges, and therefore enabling new *subordinate* Lodges to be constituted. He replied—"It appears to me impossible to maintain . . . that a Lodge of Free Masons, instituted since the 12th of July last, can be entitled to the benefit of the Statute. . . . The interpretation suggested cannot be adopted;" and he concluded by advising them to go to Parliament for powers to establish new Lodges.[4] Ultimately—as we are told by Laurie—the Grand Lodge "agreed, in 1806, upon the recommendation of the Earl of Moira, then Acting Grand Master Elect (of Scotland), to adopt the practice of the Grand Lodge of England, viz., to assign to new Lodges the numbers and charters of Lodges that had become dormant, or had ceased to hold regular meetings."[5]

The practice, however, of the Grand Lodge of England, in this respect, has been slightly misstated. The Grand Master was frequently authorized to assign the warrants of erased Lodges "to other Brethren," but there was always the proviso, "with Numbers subsequent to the last on the List of Lodges."[6]

By a further Statute, 57 Geo. III., c. 19, passed on March 31, 1817, it was enacted that all Societies, the members whereof are required "to take any Oath not required or authorized by Laws, . . . shall be deemed and taken to be unlawful Combinations and Confederacies," and the members thereof "shall be deemed guilty of an unlawful Combination and Confederacy," and shall be punished as provided by 39 Geo. III., c. 79.[7]

But by the next clause of the same Act,[8] all societies "holden under the Denomination of Lodges of Free Masons, in conformity to the Rules prevailing in such Societies of Freemasons," are exempted from the operation of the Act, "provided such Lodges shall comply with the Rules and Regulations contained in the said Act of the Thirty-ninth Year of His present Majesty, relating to such Lodges of Freemasons."

[1] *Cf.* the speech of the Duke of Sussex, January 27, 1813, *post*, p. 242.
[2] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 267.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Laurie, History of Freemasonry, 1859, p. 161.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Cf.* Freemasons' Calendar, 1810, p. 34.
[7] § 25.
[8] § 26.

It has been judicially determined,[1] that an association, the members of which are bound by oath not to disclose its secrets, is an unlawful combination and confederacy—unless expressly declared by some statute to be legal—for whatever purpose or object it may be formed; and the administering an oath not to reveal anything done in such association is an offence within the Stat. 37 Geo. III., c. 123, § 1.[2]

At a Grand Lodge, held April 10, 1799, the Baron de Silverhjelm, Minister from the King of Sweden to the Court of Great Britain, presented to the Grand Master in the chair a letter[3] from the National Grand Lodge of Sweden, soliciting a social union and correspondence, which was unanimously acceded to.

At the same meeting, the Earl of Moira, who presided, "acquainted the Grand Lodge that several Brethren had established a *Masonic Benefit Society*, by a small quarterly contribution, through which the members would be entitled to a weekly Allowance in Case of Sickness or Disability of Labor, on a Scale of greater Advantage than attends other Benefit-Societies; representing that the Plan appeared to merit not only the Countenance of Individuals, but of the Grand Lodge, as it would eventually be the Means of preventing many Applications for Relief to the Fund of Charity, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the *Masonic Benefit Society* meets with the Approbation of the Grand Lodge, and that notice thereof be inserted in the printed Account of the Grand Lodge."[4]

In the following year—April 9, 1800—a further resolution was passed recommending to the Provincial Grand Masters "to give every Aid and Assistance in their Power, within their respective Provinces, to promote the Object and Intentions of the *Masonic Benefit Society*."

The institution of this Society is included among the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry" printed in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1801, and is continued in subsequent editions down to the year 1814, and possibly later; but the earliest *post*-Union calendar available for present reference is the edition for 1817, in which there is no mention of the Benefit Society.[5]

On May 15, 1800, the King was fired at from the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, and at a Special Grand Lodge, held June 3, the Earl of Moira informed the brethren that it had been convened for the purpose of considering a suitable address to be presented to His Majesty.

[1] In Rex *v.* Lovelass, *per* Baron Williams, who said, "The Preamble of Stat. 37 Geo. III., c. 123, refers to seditious or mutinous societies; but I am of opinion that the enacting part of the statute extends to all societies of an illegal nature; and the second section of the Stat. 39 Geo. III., c. 79, enacts that all societies shall be illegal, the members whereof shall, according to the rules thereof, be required to take an oath or engagement not required by law (C. and P. Reports, vol. vi., p. 599). *Cf.* the remarks of the same judge in Rex. *v.* Brodribb (*Ibid.*, p. 570).

[2] It has been contended, that by 31 and 32 Vict., c. 72, the administration of oaths of any kind in Masonic Lodges is forbidden. Part ii. of this Statute is headed "Oaths to be Abolished," and the third paragraph reads: "Where before the passing of this Act, an Oath was required to be taken on, or as a condition of, admission to Membership or Fellowship or participation in the Privileges of any Guild, Body Corporate, Society, or Company, a declaration to the like effect of such oath shall be substituted."

[3] This letter, and the Prince of Wales' reply, are given in the "Illustrations of Masonry," 1821, p. 320, *et seq.*

[4] This was done, and the above extract is taken from the published proceedings of Grand Lodge, transmitted to the private Lodges on record.

[5] The curious reader will find an abstract of its Rules and Orders in the "Illustrations of Masonry," 1821, pp. 319, 320.

The Acting Grand Master "took occasion, in the course of his Speech, to allude to certain modern Publications holding forth to the World the Society of Masons as a League against constituted Authorities: An Imputation the more secure because the known Conditions of our Fellowship make it certain that no Answer can be published. It is not to be disputed, that in countries where impolitic Prohibitions restrict the Communication of Sentiment, the Activity of the human mind may, among other Means of baffling the Control, have resorted to the Artifice of borrowing the Denomination of Free-Masons, to cover Meetings for seditious Purposes, just as any other Description might be assumed for the same object: But, in the first place, it is the invaluable Distinction of this free country that such a just Intercourse of Opinions exist, without Restraint, as cannot leave to any Number of Men the Desire of forming or frequenting those disguised Societies where dangerous Dispositions may be imbibed: And, secondly, profligate Doctrines, which may have been nurtured in any such self-established Assemblies, could never have been tolerated for a Moment in any Lodge meeting under regular Authority. We aver that not only such Laxity of Opinion has no Sort of Connexion with the Tenets of Masonry, but is diametrically opposed to the Injunction which we regard as the Foundation-Stone of the Lodge, namely, 'Fear God and Honor the King.' In Confirmation of this solemn Assertion, what can we advance more irrefragable, than that so many of His Majesty's illustrious Family stand in the highest Order of Masonry, are fully instructed in all its Tendencies, and have intimate Knowledge of every Particular in its current Administration under the Grand Lodge of England."

Lord Moira then produced an Address, which was read and unanimously approved, and afterwards personally presented to the King by his son, the Prince of Wales, Grand Master of the Society.

Another Address, couched in similar terms of loyalty and affection, was voted by the Fraternity under the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Atholl, and signed by order of that Grand Lodge—June 24, 1800—by "Wm. Dickey, Deputy Grand Master."

On February 10, 1802, a friendly alliance was resumed with the Lodges in Berlin, and at the Grand Feast—May 12—on the application of four Lodges in Portugal, it was agreed to exchange representatives with the Grand Lodge there, and that the Brethren belonging to each Grand Lodge should be equally entitled to the privileges of the other.

In 1805 the Earl of Moira, who then combined the functions of Acting Grand Master of English Freemasons with those of Commander of the Forces in Scotland, became the happy medium through which his own and the Grand Lodge of the Northern Kingdom were brought into fraternal union. In the same year—November 27—and through the same channel, a correspondence on terms of amity and brotherly communication was arranged with the Grand Lodge of Prussia.

Also at this Grand Lodge, the brethren, to mark their sense of the services rendered to Masonry by the Acting Grand Master, "agreed that the Fraternity should dine together on December 7, it being the birthday of Earl Moira."

This practice continued to be observed by a large number of the metropolitan Lodges, until the departure of that nobleman for India; and a survival of it still exists in the Moira Lodge, No. 92,[1] which holds its annual festival on December 7, when the toast of the evening is, "the memory of Earl Moira, the patron of the Lodge."

[1] Constituted June 17, 1755, and styled, about twenty years later, "The Lodge of Freedom and Ease," a title it discarded in 1803, for its present designation.

On December 31, 1809, the foundation-stone of Covent Garden Theatre was laid by the Prince of Wales, as Grand Master of England and Scotland.[1] Passing over those events which formed any part of the protracted negotiations that preceded the Union, we are brought down to 1812, on February 12 of which year the Duke of Sussex was appointed Deputy Grand Master, in succession to Sir Peter Parker, Admiral of the Fleet, who died in the previous December. At the ensuing Grand Feast, May 13, the Grand Lodge having resolved that a Grand Organist should be appointed, the Acting Grand Master accordingly nominated Mr. Samuel Wesley to that office.

In the course of this year the Earl of Moira was appointed Governor-General of India, and it was considered by the Fraternity as only due to his exalted merit, to entertain him at a farewell banquet before his departure from England, and to present him with a valuable Masonic jewel, as a memorial of their gratitude for his eminent services.

January 27, 1813, was the day appointed, and more than five hundred brethren attended, including six royal dukes.[2] The Duke of Sussex, as Deputy Grand Master, took the chair, being supported on the right by the Earl of Moira, and on the left by the Duke of York.

The speeches were far above the ordinary level of such performances. In happy terms, the chairman characterized the exertions of the earl as having saved the Society from total destruction;[3] whilst in terms still happier, the guest of the evening acknowledged the compliment. The speech is too long for quotation, but I shall cull one extract, which is an excellent sample of the whole.

"The prominent station which I hold here," observed Lord Moira, "concentrates all the rays of the Craft upon my person, as it would upon the person of any other placed in the same elevation; and the illustrious Deputy Grand Master makes an effort to persuade himself that this lunar brilliancy is the genuine irradiation of the sun. My real relation to you may be best explained by an Asiatic apologue.[4] In the baths of the East, perfumed clay is used instead of soap. A poet is introduced, who breaks out into an enthusiastic flow of admiration at the odour of a lump of clay of this sort. 'Alas!' answers the clay, 'I am only a piece of ordinary earth, but I happened to come in contact with the rose, and have borrowed some of its fragrance.' I have borrowed the character of the virtues inherent in this institution; and my best hope is that, however minute be the portion with which I have been thus imbued, at least I am not likely to lose what has been so fortuitously acquired. Gratitude holds a high rank among those virtues; and if I can be confident of anything, it must be of this, that earnest gratitude toward you cannot depart from my breast but with the last pulse of life."[5]

On Lord Moira's passage to India, the vessel in which he had embarked, calling at the Mauritius—at the head of the Masons of that island, he laid the first stone of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Port Louis.[6]

[1] The Prince of Wales was elected Grand Master and Patron, and the Earl of Moira Acting Grand Master Elect, by the Grand Lodge of Scotland, December 2, 1805.

[2] Sussex, D.G.M., York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, and Gloucester. [3] *Ante*, p. 238.

[4] The Prophecy of Sadi.

[5] An account of the Proceedings at the Festival of January 27, 1813, taken in Short-Hand by Alexander Fraser, pp. 47, 48.

[6] Daruty, from whom I quote, adds, "La Loge *La Paix*, posséde de lui un trés beau portrait dû au pinceau du peintre Cazanova qui suivit le noble Lord dans l'Inde pour arriver à remplir sa mission. Ce portrait coûta, dit-on, à cause des frais de voyage qu'il occasionna, quarante mille roupies [*rupees*],—que paya M. A. Maure, alors Vénérable de la Loge *La Paix*" (Recherches sur Le Rite Ecossais Ancien Accepté, 1879, p. 65).

The Earl of Moira remained nine years in India, and brought two wars to a successful termination. On his arrival at Calcutta (to use his own words), "there were made over to him no less than *six* hostile discussions with native powers, each capable of entailing a resort to arms;" and at that time "the independent powers of India were so numerous and strong, as to conceive themselves equal to expel the British;" whilst at the termination of Earl Moira's rule, every native state in that vast region was in either acknowledged, or essential subjugation, to our Government. James Mill, the historian of British India, says, "The administration of the Marquess of Hastings, may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the Marquess of Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings, and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India finally established." In 1823, having in the meantime been created Marquess of Hastings, he returned to England, whence, in the following year, he proceeded to Malta as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and died November 28, 1826, on board H.M.S. "Revenge," at Baiæ Bay, near Naples.

Contemporary records state, that his excessive liberality and unbounded generosity had so impoverished him, that his ample fortune absolutely sank under the benevolence of his nature.

Before leaving Calcutta, he was presented with an address by the Freemasons,[1] and the late Sir James Burnes has placed on record, "how his Lordship, impressed with devotion for the Craft, and love for all the brethren, descended from his high estate as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in India, and within the halls of his own palace offered the right hand of fellowship, with his parting benediction, to every soldier, individually, who wore an apron; acknowledging,[2] also, his pride, that Masonic principles had influenced him in the exercise of his authority."

Whilst in the East, Lord Moira—created Marquess of Hastings, December 7, 1816—was styled "Acting Grand Master in India."

The Regency of the United Kingdom was conferred by parliament upon the Prince of Wales, in February, 1811, who, however, continued to preside over the Fraternity until 1813, when, declining a re-election, the Duke of Sussex was unanimously chosen as his successor—the Prince Regent shortly afterwards accepting the title of Grand Patron of the Society.

The Duke of Sussex was installed at the Grand Feast, held May 12, 1813, and the following brethren were also invested as Grand officers: Lord Dundas, Deputy; John Aldridge and Simon M'Gillivray, Wardens; John Bayford, Treasurer; W. H. White, Secretary;[3] Rev. Lucius Coghlan, Chaplain; Chevalier Ruspini, Sword Bearer; and Samuel Wesley, Organist.[4]

It has been truly said, "that the Duke of Sussex's whole heart was bent on accomplishing that great *desideratum* of Masons, the Union of the Two Fraternities who had been mistermed *Ancient* and *Modern;*[5] and his high station in life certainly carried with it an influence which could not have been found in a humbler individual."[6]

[1] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1836, p. 53. [2] *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 129.

[3] Appointed Grand Secretary jointly with his father, May 10, 1810.

[4] Originally appointed May 13, 1812, when the office was created. *Cf. ante*, p. 242.

[5] Preston observes, "to be explicit without circumlocution, we must, at present, make use of these terms relatively" (Illustrations of Masonry, 1821, p. 367). The same reflection has occurred to all later Masonic writers. [6] *Ibid.*

But before proceeding to narrate the share borne by the Duke in the grand achievement of re-uniting the Freemasons of England within a single fraternity, it will be requisite to retrace our steps and turn to the succession of events which culminated in the Masonic Union of December, 1813.

Inasmuch, however, as I have already brought down the annals of the *two* societies, to the year of the fusion, some matters of detail connected with the older system—which, if previously introduced, would have interrupted the sequence of the narrative—will be briefly dealt with, before passing away to the story of the Union.

On November 4, 1779, the laws for the contribution of Lodges to the Hall Fund, were ordered to be enforced, and at a Grand Lodge Extraordinary, consisting of the actual and past Grand officers, and the Masters of Lodges, held January 8, 1783, a variety of resolutions were passed imposing further regulations of a most onerous character, which have been already referred to.[1]

"How far," observes Preston, "they are consistent with the original plan of the Masonic institution, must be left to abler judges to determine. In earlier periods of our history, such compulsory regulations were unnecessary."[2]

At a special Grand Lodge, held March 20, 1788, it was resolved to pull down and rebuild Freemason's Tavern, and in order to augment the finances of the Society, it was ordered, that in London and within ten miles thereof, the fee for registry should be half a guinea, instead of five shillings, as stipulated by the regulation of October 28, 1768.[3]

At this meeting also, a very extraordinary resolution was passed, that Lodges omitting for twelve months to comply with the preceding regulation, should not be permitted to send Representatives to, or have any Vote in, the Grand Lodge.

On February 7, 1798, on the ground that debts had acccumulated to the amount of £7000, on account of the Hall and Tavern, and that the sum of £250 was payable yearly under the Tontine, it was ordered, that every Lodge do pay, at the Grand Lodge in February, yearly to the account of the Hall Fund, two shillings for every subscribing member, over and besides all other payments directed to be made.

This regulation not being generally complied with, a committee was appointed to consider the best means of giving it due effect, on whose recommendation it was resolved—November 20, 1799—that it was the duty of Lodges to expel such of their members as neglected to make the prescribed payments, for which the former were accountable to the Grand Lodge, and would be erased from the list for withholding, after February 12, then ensuing.

Country Lodges were afterwards given until November, 1800, to pay their arrears, but the additional fee imposed February 7, 1798, was not abolished until the same date in 1810.

According to Preston, "the Lodges readily concurred in the plan of liquidating the debts,"[4] but this was not so. The number of Lodges erased from the list was very great. No less than nine in the metropolitan district were struck off at one swoop on February 12, 1800; and in previous years, from 1768,[5] in which nineteen Lodges were removed from the roll, down to the close of the century, the erasures mount up to a total of two hundred and forty-seven. Some of these, it is true, lapsed in the ordinary way, but the greater number were summarily struck out for not contributing to the Hall Fund. Others were restored; for instance, on November 17, 1784, five Lodges were reinstated in their rank—

[1] *Ante*, p. 225. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 337. [3] *Ante*, p. 224. [4] Edit. 1821, p. 328.

[5] *Cf.* The Regulation passed on October 28 of that year, *ante*, p. 224.

four of which had been deprived of it in the previous April—"having satisfied the G. Lodge with their Intentions of discharging their Arrears."

But in the great majority of cases, the erased Lodges ceased to exist, or went over to the "Ancients," and the sentiments of the Sarum Lodge, No. 37,[1] with regard to the arbitrary measures pursued by the Grand Lodge were, without doubt, shared by many other Lodges of that era, whose records have not yet fallen in the way of an equally competent investigator.

Besides the Lodges that have been incidentally referred to, we find from the official calendars, that warrants of constitution, under the authority of the Original Grand Lodge of England, found their way into North Carolina, 1755; Quebec, 1762; Honduras, 1763; Maryland, 1765; Bordeaux[2] and Normandy, 1766; Grenoble, Canton (China), and Berlin, 1767; Naples, 1768; Sweden, 1769; the Austrian Netherlands, 1770; Leghorn and St. Petersburg, 1771; Strasbourg, Venice, Verona, and Turin, 1775; Sicily, 1778; Malta, 1789;[3] and Sumatra, 1796.

"Sea and Field" Lodges, as they are happily termed in "Multa Paucis," were constituted in 1760 and 1755 respectively, the former "on Board His Majesty's ship the Vanguard," and the latter in the 8th or "King's Regiment of Foot."

In the preceding summary, as well as those of a like character given in previous chapters,[4] I have, as a rule, only named the first town in each country where a Lodge was established. It may therefore be convenient to add, that at the date of the Union (1813) the number of Continental Lodges—active or dormant—shown on the roll of the Grand Lodge of England, was as follows, viz.: in Germany, 35; Italy, 11; Russia, 8; Holland, 5; Flanders, 4; France and Sweden, 3. At the same period there were 15 Lodges "in Military Corps, *not stationary.*"

The foreign "deputations" granted by this Grand Lodge have not been recorded with precision. Most of them, however, will be cited in connection with the countries to which they were issued, and all that I can succeed in tracing will be found tabulated in the Appendix.

Numerous Lodges were established for the association of particular classes of Masons. Thus the Grand Stewards were formed into a Lodge in 1735, and we find Lodges existing in the Army, Navy, and Marines, in 1755, 1761, and 1759 respectively. A "Sea Captain's Lodge" was constituted at Wapping in 1751, and another at Yarmouth in 1759. The former afterwards moved to Fenchurch Street, and a "Mariner's Lodge" was forthwith set up in its place. Lodges composed of "operative Masons" were formed—or received constitutions—in 1764 and 1766.[5]

The "Country Steward's Lodge," No. 540, was constituted July 25, 1789, and on November 25 following, it was resolved in Grand Lodge, "that in consequence of the trouble attending the office of Steward for the Country Feast of the Society, the brethren who have served that office be permitted to wear a suitable jewel pendant to a green collar."

[1] *Ante*, p. 150.

[2] "[No.] 363, English Lodge at Bordeaux, have met since the year 1732, Mar. 8, 1766" (Engraved List, 1769).

[3] No. 539, St. John's Lodge of Secrecy and Harmony, constituted March 30, 1789.

[4] *Ante*, pp. 150, 190, 194, 195, 202.

[5] Nos. 335, *now* extinct; and 364, *now* the Bedford Lodge, No. 157. See Chap. II., pp. 79, 108.

The Country Feast was notified as taking place July 5, in the "Freemason's Calendar" for 1785 and the two following years, and a still earlier notice of it—which escaped my own research—has recently been discovered by Mr. H. Sadler, Grand Tyler, in the Grand Lodge minutes for May 4, 1772, where it is recorded "that the Deputy Grand Master acquainted the brethren that the Country Feast was to be held at the long room at Hampstead on the 25th June next."

It appears to have been known as the "Deputy Grand Master's," or "Annual Country Feast" of the Society.

On November 25, 1795, the members of No. 540 were granted permission to line their aprons with green silk, or, in other words, to become a "Green-apron-lodge," but the privilege was withdrawn at the next Communication—February 10, 1796—by a majority of five votes, the numbers being 53 to 48.

The Country Stewards renewed their application to Grand Lodge, November 23, 1796, and the vote passed in their favor by a majority of 20, the numbers being 73 for, to 53 against.

The question of the "Green Apron" was again brought up, February 7, 1797—"Upon which Debates arose, but it being found difficult to ascertain the Sense of Grand Lodge by the holding up of Hands, a Division was proposed, but from the confusion, tumult, and irregularity which took place thereon, the Grand Master in the Chair,[1] found himself under the necessity, at a very late hour, of closing the Grand Lodge and Adjourning the whole of the Business."[2]

At the next Communication, held April 12, on the motion of the Earl of Moira, who presided, the resolution passed in the previous November, was annulled by a majority of 95, 54 brethren voting that it should stand, and 149 against, upon which, on a proposal made and seconded by members of the Country Steward's Lodge, it was resolved, that the grant in November, 1789, of a green collar and medal, be also rescinded. The latter privilege, however, was restored to the Lodge in the February ensuing.

The Lodge, which became No. 449 in 1793, died out about 1802, and is described in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1803 as the Lodge of "Faith and Friendship" meeting at Berkeley, Gloucestershire, whither the "Constitution" had evidently found its way from London, in conformity with a usage of which many illustrations might be given.[3] The names of members of Lodges were then registered in two books—one for London, and the other for the country. The last entry—under the No. 449—in the former bears date 1793,[4] and the earliest in the latter, November 4, 1802, when the name appears of "W^m^ Fitzharding, L^d^ Viscount Dursley, Berkley Castle (age 17)." ."Ed. Jenner, M.D., Berkly," seems to have joined or been initiated "Dec. 30, 1802."

But perhaps the most remarkable of the different kinds of Lodges, established for class purposes, were those formed for the association of foreign brethren residing in this country. The earliest of these, held at the "Soloman's Temple," Hemmings Row, in 1725,

[1] George Porter, S.G.W. *as* G.M.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 144.

[3] *E.g.*, "The Amphibious Lodge," No. 407, is described in the "Freemasons' Calendar" for 1804 as being held "at the Marine Barracks, Stonehouse, near Plymouth," and in the next edition (1805), as meeting at "High Town, Yorkshire."

[4] The Grand Tyler, however, has traced the attendance of representatives of the "Country Steward's Lodge" at Grand Lodge, down to April, 1799.

has been already referred to.[1] Next in point of date comes the "French Lodge" at the Swan, Long Acre,[2] No 20, apparently so styled about 1732. This, which became the "French Swan Lodge" in 1736, was carried forward in the numeration of 1740 as the "French Swan" No 19, and erased March 25, 1745.

Another French Lodge existed about the same time, No. 98, meeting at the Prince Ugen's [*Eugene's*] Head in 1732, and at the "Duke of Lorraine" in 1734. In 1740 the Lodge met at the "Union Coffee House" in the Haymarket, and was numbered 87. It would seem to have constituted the Lodge "Union of Angels" at Frankfort, in 1743, as the latter is "acknowledged" as "daughter of the Union Lodge of London" in the warrant, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.[3] Curiously enough, by that official document, permission is given for "the masons of one and the other Lodges, to be members respectively of both." No. 87 died out before the change of numbers in 1756.

In 1759 we meet once more, at the No. 122, with the "Swan, the old French Lodge," in Grafton Street, but this title, acquired *after* 1756, was lost by 1764, in which year the Lodge assembled at the "Two Chairmen," Charing Cross. In the Engraved List for 1778, it is described as the Lodge of Unity, a title it still retains as present No. 69.[4]

On January 29, 1765, a French Lodge was constituted at the "Horn," in Doctors Commons, as No. 331, which became No. 270, in 1770, but was extinct before 1778.

In the following year, on June 16, a conference was held at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand, at which it was determined to establish a new Lodge, to be composed of foreign brethren, and to work in the French Language. The first master was J. J. de Vignoles,[5] who, at the next meeting, stated that he had received from the Grand Master a letter complying with their request, except as to the designation of the Lodge. This, Lord Blayney thought, "should be changed from 'L'Immortalité des Fréres,' to 'L'Immortalité de L'Ordre' (as a more modest title)," which suggestion was adopted.

The Lodge of Friendship appears to have cultivated a very intimate acquaintance with this French Lodge, for a particular minute of the latter records, under April 20, 1768, that "No. 3 have agreed to receive regularly the brethren of 'L'Immortalité de L'Ordre,' on payment of the same nightly dues as their own members, namely, five shillings each; and finally, the brethren of the two Lodges were considered as partaking of the advantages of membership of both."[6] The Lodge was originally numbered 376, became No. 303 in 1770, and was erased April 28, 1775. The establishment of another French Lodge in 1774, the "Lodge des Amis Réunis," No 475, at the Turk's Head, Gerrard Street, Soho, may have brought about this catastrophe. This, however, did not remain long on the roll, from which it was struck out, February 7, 1777. The next French Lodge, "L'Esperance," No. 434, was constituted in 1768, and met at Gerrard Street, Soho, where, on a removal to St. James Street in 1785, its place was taken by a new Lodge formed in that year, "L'Egalité," No. 469.

But in order to be clear, I must now invite attention to the Engraved List for 1770,

[1] *Ante*, p. 128, note 3.

[2] An *English* Lodge, No. 44, was held at the same tavern, erased April 4, 1744.

[3] *Ante*, p. 219, note 1.

[4] The existing records of No. 69 do not extend beyond 1764, at which date it had ceased to be a French Lodge.

[5] *Ante*, p. 226.

[6] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1845, p. 83.

where at the No. 153, we find the "Ancient French Lodge, White Swan, Grafton Street," which thus reappears upon the scene, its members having purchased their "constitution" between 1759 and 1763, in which latter year they met under it at the "Fountain," on Ludgate Hill, the Lodge being then numbered 193.[1]

In 1781 the Lodge became No. 122—a namesake having borne, singularly enough, the exact numerical position in 1759—and in 1792, No. 110. On April 9, 1794, it united with No. 380, "Lodge Egalité" (constituted 1785), under the title of "Loge des Amis Réunis," and on April 10, 1799, with "L'Esperance," No. 238 (constituted 1768 as No. 434), under that of "Lodge de L'Espérance." It was placed on the Union Roll as No. 134, but died out before 1832.[2]

The experiment of founding a Lodge, to be composed of Germans, and in which the ceremonies should be conducted in their national tongue, has proved a more successful one. The Pilgrim Lodge, *now* No. 238, was established on these lines on August 25, 1779, and celebrated its centenary October 1, 1879. Not only are the proceedings carried on in the German language, but the method of working is also German. The Lodge possesses a choice library, and is justly renowned for its excellent working and lavish hospitality.

It has been shown that an earnest desire for a Masonic Union was expressed by the Masons of Lower Canada in 1794;[3] also that a proposal to that effect was actually made in the Grand Lodge under the Duke of Atholl in 1797.[4] The prominent position occupied by the Prince of Wales in the older Society doubtless encouraged this feeling, which must have received a still further impetus from the popularity of his *locum tenens*, the Earl of Moira—a nobleman, in whom, as proved by later events, all parties reposed the fullest confidence. By the Scottish and Irish Masons the Schism in the English Craft was always regarded with pity and indignation;[5] and though a closer intercourse had been maintained by their *Grand Lodges* with one moiety of it, than with the other, this arose from the election of Irish and Scottish noblemen as Grand Masters, by the "Ancients," rather than from any special predilection on the part of Masons of those nationalities for that Society.

The first proposal for a Union, made in either of the two Grand Lodges, took place in 1797, and as we have seen, fell to the ground.[6] The next attempt, to heal the Schism, came from the other side, and was equally unsuccessful, though the negotiations which then proceeded and lasted for a year or two, made it quite clear that the rank and file of the Craft were bent on a thorough reconciliation, which the misdirected efforts of the Masonic authorities had only retarded for a time.

At the Committee of Charity, held April 10, 1801, "a complaint was preferred by Br W. C. Daniel, Master of the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57, Wapping, against Thomas Harper of Fleet St., jeweller, Robert Gill, and William Burwood, for encouraging irregular meetings and infringing on the privileges of the Ancient Grand Lodge of all England, assembling under the authority of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales."

The inquiry was adjourned, in the first instance until the following November, and

[1] *Ante*, p. 223.

[2] The "Lodge of St George de l'Observance," No. 49, erased April 9, 1794, may have been French. But its then title was assumed *after* April 24, 1776, on which date it was reinstated "as the Lodge, No. 68, at the Globe in Litchfield St.," having been erased for the first time in the previous April.

[3] *Ante*, p. 215.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 204.

[5] Lawrie, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[6] *Ante*, p. 204.

again until February 5, 1802, when, on the representation of the Grand Treasurer, "that having recently conversed with Br Harper and James Agar, Esq., it has been suggested that a Union of the two Societies upon liberal and constitutional grounds might take place," the complaint was "dismissed."

In order to pave the way for the intended Union, a committee was appointed, and the Earl of Moira, on accepting his nomination as a member, declared that he should consider the day on which a coalition was formed as one of the most fortunate in his life.

It is alleged that although pledged to use his influence to effect a union, Harper covertly exerted himself to prevent it, being afraid of losing the power he possessed, and the profit he derived from the sale of articles belonging to his trade. It is further said that, on two occasions in 1802, when proposals were made in the "Atholl" Grand Lodge with reference to a fusion of the two Societies, he "violently" closed the proceedings of the meeting.[1] The records of the Seceders leave these points undecided, but they prove at least that a very inflammatory address, eminently calculated to stir up strife, and to defeat any attempt to promote a reconciliation, was read and approved in Grand Lodge—December 1, 1801—and "ordered to be circulated throughout the whole of the Ancient Craft."[2]

At the Committee of Charity, held November 19, 1802, the Earl of Moira in the chair, it was ordered "that the Grand Secretary do write to Mr Thomas Harper, and acquaint him that he is to consider himself as standing under a peculiar engagement toward the Grand Lodge;" also, that his "non-attendance at this Committee appears an indecorous neglect. In consequence of which an explanation is required from him before Wednesday next, such as may determine the procedure which the Grand Lodge shall at that meeting adopt."

Harper's reply was read in Grand Lodge, November 24, in which, after expressing surprise that "the very frivolous charge brought against him" had been renewed, he states—"That I was an Ancient Mason has long been known to many, to Mr Heseltine particularly, as also to yourself [W. White], having frequently referred persons to me in that capacity. I stated the fact to Mr Heseltine at the Committee of Charity previous to my taking upon myself the office of Grand Steward, and it was then publicly declared by him to be no impediment." Untoward circumstances, he continues, had precluded his attendance on November 19, and, in conclusion, he remarks, "that feeling the rectitude of his conduct during a period of thirty-five years devoted to Masonry, without having in any instance impinged upon its laws, should the Grand Lodge be disposed to revive the charge against him, he would bow with the utmost deference to the decision."

The "consideration of what censure should pass against Mr Harper" was deferred until February 9, 1803, when, by a unanimous vote, he was expelled the Society, and it was ordered that the laws should be strictly enforced against all who might countenance or attend the Lodges or meetings of persons calling themselves Antient Masons.

This, for a time, put an end to the project of a union, as in the following month—March 3—a manifesto was drawn up by the Atholl Grand Lodge, which was ordered "to be forthwith printed (signed by the Secretary), and circulated throughout the whole extent of its Masonic communion and connection."

[1] An Address to the Duke of Atholl on the Subject of an Union with the Regular Masons of England, 1804. The author is supposed to have been W. C. Daniel, of the Royal Naval Lodge, No. 57. *Cf. ante*, p. 204.

[2] Printed in "Ahiman Rezon," 1807, pp. 121-125.

Here we meet—happily for the last time—with the familiar allusion to the "variations in the established form;" but though the address fills nearly six pages of "Ahiman Rezon," there is nothing else in it worth noticing, except the concluding paragraph, which enjoins that no one is to be received into a Lodge or treated as a brother "who has not received the obligations of Masonry according to the Ancient Constitutions."[1]

Negotiations for a union were not resumed until 1809, when it became apparent to all candid minds that the breach would soon be repaired which had so long separated the two Societies. In the interim, however, the position of the elder Grand Lodge had been strengthened by fraternal alliances entered into with the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland, the former of which was ruled by the same Grand and Acting Grand Master, whilst the latter had pledged itself in 1808 not to countenance or receive as a Brother any person standing under the interdict of the Grand Lodge of England for Masonic transgression.

On April 12, 1809, a very remarkable step was taken by the senior of the rival bodies, and at a Quarterly Communication held that day it was resolved,

"That this Grand Lodge do agree in Opinion with the Committee of Charity that it is not necessary any longer to continue in Force those Measures which were resorted to, in or about the year 1739, respecting irregular Masons, and do therefore enjoin the several Lodges to revert to the Ancient Land Marks of the Society."

This tacit admission of the propriety of the epithets—"Ancients" and "Moderns"—by which the members of the two fraternities had so long been distinguished, fully justified the sanguine forecast of the brethren by whom it was drawn up.

At an (Atholl) Grand Lodge, held September 6, 1809, "Bro Jeremiah Cranfield, P.M., 255"—now the Oak Lodge, No. 190—brought forward a renewed motion (presented, but afterward withdrawn, in the previous June) that a Committee should be appointed to consider and adopt prompt and effectual measures for accomplishing a Masonic Union. But after a long debate, Harper, "according with his duty as Deputy Grand Master, peremptorily refused to admit the Motion, and afterward closed and adjourned the Grand Lodge, past 12 o'clock at night."

A committee, however, was appointed to report as to the propriety and practicability of a Union by a vote of the same body, in the following December, whilst on February 7, 1810, the resolution passed in 1803, by the older Grand Lodge, for the expulsion of Thomas Harper, was rescinded.

After two meetings, the "Atholl" Committee made a report to their Grand Lodge, by which body it was resolved—March 7, 1810—"that a Masonic Union on principles equal and honorable to both Grand Lodges, and preserving inviolate the Land Marks of the Ancient Craft, would, in the opinion of this Grand Lodge, be expedient and advantageous to both."

This resolution was enclosed in a letter to the Earl of Moira, who, on April 10, informed the Grand Lodge over which he presided, "That in conference with the Duke of Atholl, they were both fully of opinion, that it would be an event truly desirable, to consolidate under one head the two Societies of Masons that existed in this country. . . . In consequence of the points then discussed, and reciprocally admitted, the result was a resolution

[1] Edit. 1807, p. 125, *et seq.*



Fraternally Yours.

Hugh McCurdy.

Grand Captain General of G. Encampment of K.T.
of the U.S.

in the Grand Lodge under the Duke of Atholl"—which being read, it was thereupon resolved, "that this Grand Lodge meets with unfeigned cordiality, the desire expressed by the Grand Lodge under his Grace the Duke of Atholl for a Re-Union."

"That the Grand officers for the year, with the additions of the R.W. Masters of the Somerset House, Emulation, Shakespeare, Jerusalem, and Bank of England Lodges, be a committee for negotiating this most desirable arrangement."

The Masters thus nominated were respectively the Earl of Mount Norris, W. H. White (Master, both of the "Emulation" and the "Shakespeare"), James Deans, and James Joyce, all of whom are named in a warrant granted by Lord Moira, October 26, 1809, constituting a "Lodge of Masons, for the purpose of ascertaining and promulgating the Ancient Land Marks of the Craft."

The proceedings of the Grand Lodge, held April 10, 1810, were communicated to Mr. Harper by the Earl of Moira, and in the following July a letter, signed by the D.G.M., was written to the latter from the "Grand Lodge of Ancient Masons," enclosing sundry resolutions passed by that body on May 1, and requesting his "Lordship to appoint a day and middle Place for the meeting of the two Committees."

The resolutions stipulated: "That the Prince of Wales' Masons were to consent to take the same obligations under which the other three Grand Lodges were bound, and to work in the same forms.

"That Pastmasters should sit in the United Grand Lodge; and that Masonic Benevolence should be distributed monthly.

"Also, the following were appointed members of the 'Atholl' Committee, viz., the Present and Past Grand officers, with Brothers Dewsnap, Cranfield, M'Cann, Heron, and Ronalds."

In reply to this communication, Grand Secretary White was directed to invite the "Atholl" Committee to dine with the Committee of his own Grand Lodge on July 31, at 5 o'clock, "for the purpose of conferring on the subject of the said Letter and Resolution," and the former body, though it "was not the Answer they expected," nevertheless, "to expedite the business," accepted the invitation to dine, but "earnestly requested that the other Committee would meet them at three o'clock on the same day, *previous to dinner*, for the purpose of conferring together."

The Committee duly met, but owing to the absence of the Earl of Moira, nothing definite could be arranged with regard to the resolutions of May 1. Ultimately, however, all difficulties were overcome, though the question of admitting Past Masters into the United Grand Lodge was only settled by a compromise, the privilege being restricted to all who had attained that rank, but to one Past Master only for each Lodge after the Union.

On the important point of ritual the Committee of the Grand Lodge under the Prince Regent, gave a distinct assurance that it was desired "to put an end to diversity and establish the one true system. They [the older Society] have exerted themselves to act by the ancient forms, and had formed a Lodge of Promulgation, whereat they had the assistance of several ancient Masons. But, in short, were ready to concur in any plan for investigating and ascertaining the genuine course, and when demonstrated, to walk in it."

The members of the "Lodge of Promulgation" were, in the first instance, only empowered to meet until December 31, 1810, but this period was afterward extended to the

end of February, 1811. The minutes begin November 21, 1809, when James Earnshaw, J.G.W., was elected W.M., and appointed James Deans and W. H. White as his Wardens. The Lodge being empowered "to associate with them, from time to time, discreet and intelligent Brethren," then proceeded to elect as members, thirteen Grand officers, two Past Masters of the Grand Steward's Lodge, the Master (Duke of Sussex), and the S.W. (Charles Bonnor), of the Lodge of Antiquity, and the Masters of eight other London Lodges.[1]

According to the warrant of the Lodge, it was constituted for the purpose of promulgating the Ancient Land Marks of the Society, and instructing the Craft in all such matters as might be necessary to be known by them, in consequence of, and in obedience to, the Resolution passed by Grand Lodge, April 12, 1809.

The members proceeded, in the first instance, to consider "the principal points of variation between the Ancient and the Modern practice in the several degrees of the Order," but their labors ultimately assumed a much wider scope. Thus, on December 29, 1809, "A particular explanation of the Ancient practice of a respectable community of the Craft, who have never entertained the Modern practice, was minutely set forth by the Secretary (Bonnor), so far as relates to the ceremonies of constituting a Board of Trial, with the entire series of proceedings in raising a candidate from the 2^{d} to the 3^{d} Degree. Whereupon certain deviations from the practice so explained were pointed out, agreeable to the proceedings of the Athol Lodges, which deviations were ably descanted upon and discussed. B^{ro} H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex was pleased to contribute to the accumulation of information, by a luminous exposition of the practice adhered to by our Masonic Brethren at Berlin."

The ceremonies were "settled" with great care and deliberation, after which they were rehearsed in the presence of the Masters of the London Lodges, who were duly summoned to attend. At an early stage it was resolved, "that Deacons (being proved, on due investigation, to be not only Ancient, but useful and necessary officers) be recommended."

As the word "Ancient" is used throughout in a double sense, both as relating to the practice of the Seceders, and the immemorial usage of the entire Craft, it is not easy, in all cases, to determine from the minutes of the Lodge, the precise extent to which the Society under the Prince Regent, borrowed from that under the Duke of Atholl. In substance, however, the method of working among the "Ancients"—to use the hackneyed phrase—was adopted by the "Moderns."

This was virtually a return to the old practice, and it will be sufficient to remark, that with the exception of the opportunities selected under the two systems for the communication of secrets, there appears to have been no real difference between the procedure (or ceremonial) of the rival fraternities.[2]

On October 19, 1810, it was resolved, "that it appears to this Lodge, that the ceremony of Installation of Masters of Lodges, is one of the two Land Marks of the Craft and ought to be observed."

[1] *Present* Nos. 8, 18, 23, 28, 92, 96, and 108. The Lodge of Sincerity (extinct), *then* No. 66, was also represented.

[2] This point is well illustrated by Dalcho (Orations, p. 84); Hughan (Origin of the English Rite of Freemasonry, pp. 56, 57); and in the "Address to the Duke of Atholl," *passim*. *Cf. ante*, p. 249 note 1.

At the next meeting—November 16—the Grand Treasurer and four others, "being Installed Masters, retired to an adjoining chamber, formed a Board of Installed Masters according to the Ancient constitution of the order, and forthwith installed Bro Jas. Earnshaw, R.W.M.," and the Masters of ten other lodges.

On December 28, 1810, "the Masters of Lodges were informed that they would, at the two next meetings, be summoned for the purpose of being regularly Installed as Rulers of the Craft," and accordingly one-half of the Masters of London Lodges were installed on the 18th and the other half on the 25th, January.

In the following month, at a Quarterly Communication held February 6, "the M.W. Acting Grand Master, the Earl of Moira, having signified his directions to the R.W. Master and officers of the Lodge of Promulgation, was Installed according to ancient custom (such members of the Grand Lodge as were not actual Installed Masters having been ordered to withdraw)." At the same meeting the thanks of Grand Lodge were conveyed to the Lodge of Promulgation, and blue aprons were presented to Bros. Deans and Bonnor, "the other leading officers of the Lodge already possessing such aprons as Grand Officers."

A petition was signed by seven, on behalf of twenty-eight Masters of Lodges, praying that the Earl of Moira would renew the Lodge of Promulgation for another year; but on March 5, 1811, the Grand Secretary reported that his lordship conceived it would not be advisable to authorize the further continuance of its labors.

Before, however, passing from the minutes of this lodge, it may be interesting to state, that among them is a report to Lord Moira, suggesting "the propriety of instituting the office or degree of a Masonic Professor of the Art and Mystery of Speculative Masonry, to be conferred by diploma on some skilled Craftsman of distinguished acquirements, with power to avail himself occasionally of the assistance of other skilled Craftsmen, and to be empowered to instruct publicly or privately." The assistant professors, it was recommended, should be distinguished by a medal, ribbon, or a sash. The reply of the Acting Grand Master—if he made one—is not recorded.

The Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of one Fraternity, and the Duke of Kent, Grand Master of the other, were installed and invested on May 13 and December 1, 1813, respectively. On the former occasion the Duke of Kent acted as Deputy Grand Master, and on the latter, the Duke of Sussex was made an *Ancient Mason* (in a room adjoining) in order to take part in the proceedings.

The Articles of Union were signed and sealed on November 25, 1813, by the Duke of Sussex; W. R. Wright, Provincial Grand Master in the Ionian Isles; Arthur Tegart and James Deans, Past Grand Wardens—on the one part; and by the Duke of Kent; Thomas Harper, Deputy Grand Master; James Perry and James Agar, Past Deputy Grand Masters —on the other part.

These are in number XXI. Article II., the most important of them all, has been already quoted.[1] Article V. enjoins that the two Grand Masters shall appoint each nine Master Masons or Past Masters of their respective Fraternities, with warrant and instructions to either hold a lodge, to be entitled the LODGE OF RECONCILIATION, or to visit the several lodges for the purpose of obligating, instructing, and perfecting the members. The remainder will be found in the Appendix.

[1] *Ante*, p. 181.

On St. John's Day, December 27, 1813, the brethren of the several lodges who had been previously re-obligated and certified by the Lodge of Reconciliation were arranged on the two sides of Freemason's Hall, in such order that the two Fraternities were completely intermixed. The two Grand Masters seated themselves in two equal chairs, on each side of the throne. The Act of Union was then read—and accepted, ratified, and confirmed, by the Assembly.

One Grand Lodge was then constituted. The Duke of Kent then stated that the great view with which he had taken upon himself the important office of Grand Master of the Ancient Fraternity, as declared at the time, was to facilitate the important object of the Union, which had been that day so happily consummated. He therefore proposed His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex to be Grand Master of the United Grand Lodge of Ancient Freemasons of England for the year ensuing. This being put to the vote, was carried unanimously, and the Duke of Sussex received the homage of the Fraternity.

CHAPTER XXI.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND—1814–85.

BY the Union of the two English Societies a great work was accomplished, although the terms on which it was effected, left many things to be desired. "Neither the English writer nor the English reader," it has been observed with some justice, "can keep clear from the egotistical insular tendency to look upon England as the central point of the whole system of events in this wide world." Animated by this proclivity, our native historians have too rashly assumed that the termination of the Great Schism—which restored peace and concord to the English Craft—has been as favorably criticised by foreign writers as by themselves. Not indeed that the authors of our text-books are alone in this misapprehension. The fact that Masonry has a general, as well as a national, character, has been but too often forgotten by the legislators as well as by the students of the Craft. Foreign commentators, however, have regarded the mutual concessions of 1813 as involving a great sacrifice of principle—to say nothing of a loss of dignity—on the part of the older—and as they rightly style it—legitimate Grand Lodge of England. Thus, by Rebold the recognition of the Royal Arch degree has been termed an act of feebleness on the part of that body, which has destroyed, to a great extent, the unity and the basis of true Masonry, as it had been practised by them up to that time with a laudable firmness.[1] The admission of Past Masters to a seat in, and a life membership of, Grand Lodge, has been denounced in equally strong terms by Mitchell[2]—whilst Krause, writing shortly after the Union, boldly affirms that the New Grand Lodge of London has not only retained the ancient restrictions and impediments which obstructed the progress of the Fraternity, but has actually imposed even further *new* regulations, which will have precisely the contrary effect[3] [to what might have been hoped and expected]. Between the English Masonic usages and those existing in the United States, there are now some remarkable discrepancies. These—according to writers of the latter country—arise from the fact that Masonry was planted in America much more than a century ago, and has never been altered by *law* since, while Masonry in England *has*. True, they say, Webb re-shaped it slightly, and Cross still more, whilst later lecturers have done what they could to make

[1] General History of Freemasonry, trans. by J. F. Brennan, 1875, p. 105.

[2] History of Masonry (12th edit.), 1871, p. 383.

[3] Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 398; German edit., 1878, p. 219.

their marks upon it, but no Grand Lodge has attempted an innovation of any sort, and the Constitutions of the United States to-day contain all the features, with but few original ones, of the Ancient Charges and Anderson's Constitutions, so-called, of 1723. Widely divergent (they argue) has been the practice of English Masons. Within fifteen years of the time of publishing their first Constitutions—the basis of all the American Grand Lodge Constitutions—they had authorized a second edition, more adverse to the first than any one Grand Lodge Constitution in the United States differs from another. And so they went on, each edition at variance with the last, until the year 1813. Then the two opposing Grand Lodges, that had warred for about sixty years, united under a new Constitution, more diverse, more anomalous, more filled with innovations than all that had preceded it.[1]

There is a great deal of truth in this formidable indictment, though, as my present purpose is not so much to moralize upon the terms of the Treaty of Union as to proceed with my narrative, I shall pass on to those subsequent events that will bring us down, in due sequence, to the present time.

In accordance with the Articles of Union (VIII.), the "Lodge of Antiquity" and the "Grand Master's Lodge," each No. 1 on its respective roll, drew lots for priority, and the distinction of heading the new list of Lodges fell to the latter. The remaining Lodges, of which there *had been* 641 under the older, and 359 under the junior sanction respectively, were allotted alternate numbers, the No. 2 of the latter becoming No. 3, and the No. 2 of the former (anciently the "Old Lodge at the Horn") No. 4, and so on throughout the two lists. Many Lodges, however, under both Societies, had become extinct, as the total number carried forward on the Union roll was only 647, exclusive of the Grand Steward's Lodge, which was allowed to retain its old position at the head of the list without a number.

By Article XIII. the Grand Master was empowered to nominate and appoint a Deputy, Grand Wardens, and Secretary, and to select a Treasurer, Chaplain, and Sword Bearer from three persons, nominated for each of those offices by the Grand Lodge. At the "Order of Proceedings," however, adopted at Kensington Palace, December 9, 1813, by the Dukes of Kent and Sussex, the former with Thomas Harper and James Perry, and the latter with Washington Shirley and James Deans, as assessors, the Grand Master, in addition to the foregoing, was authorised (*by that Assembly*) to nominate a Grand Registrar, Joint Grand Secretary, "and such other Officers as may be deemed necessary for the Administration of the United Craft." Accordingly, on December 27, 1813, the following Grand Officers were appointed:—Senior and Junior Wardens; Treasurer; Registrar;[2] Joint Secretaries (W. H. White and Edwards Harper); two Chaplains; Deputy Chaplain; Superintendent of Works; Director of Ceremonies; Sword-Bearer; Organist; Usher; and Tyler.

At the same meeting, the Commissioners for the Union were directed to prepare with all convenient speed a new Code of Regulations for the whole government of the Craft. Also four Committees or Boards "for the administration of Finances, of the Works, of the

[1] *Cf.* Freemasons' Magazine, 1863, pt. i., p. 466.

[2] In a letter, dated March 7, 1822, placing William Meyrick in charge of the Province of Lancashire, he is styled by Grand Secretary White—"Grand Registrar or Chancellor of the United Grand Lodge of England."

Schools, and of General Purposes," were established, the Senior Grand Officer present at any meeting to take the chair.

Ultimately (1815) a President was annually appointed to preside over each Board, who, with half the members, was nominated by the Grand Master, whilst the remaining half were elected by Grand Lodge from among the actual Masters of Lodges. The Board of General Purposes,[1] as its name imports, was the most important of these Committees, and ultimately absorbed all the others, the Boards of Works and Schools ceasing to meet after 1818, and that of Finance after 1838.

In addition to a President, the several Boards were thus constituted in 1815:—General Purposes, twenty; Finance, Works, and Schools, twelve members each. Of the Board of General Purposes, but of no other committee, the Grand Master, his Deputy, and the Grand Wardens were members *ex officio*.

Long reports were made by all four Boards on March 2, 1814, the first meeting of Grand Lodge, or Quarterly Communication, held subsequently to the Union. Of these it will be sufficient to record, that on the recommendation of the Board of Finance the Quarterage of London Lodges, payable per member toward the fund of Benevolence, was fixed at one shilling, and that of all other Lodges at sixpence, amounts which, with the exception of Lodges beyond the seas,[2] still continue to be paid.

The Board of Schools reported as to the condition of the girls' and boys' schools; at the former there being then 62 children, and at the latter 55, the annual expense of clothing and educating each girl being £23 10s., and of each boy £7 10s. At the recommendation of this committee it was resolved—

"That the children of Masons properly qualified should in future be received into either Institution without distinction as to which of the Societies they may have formerly belonged."

A Senior and Junior Grand Deacon were present at the next Quarterly Communication —May 2—and ranked immediately below the Grand Sword-Bearer. Of their original appointment no record has been preserved, but their successors were duly nominated by the Grand Master in the following December, with precedence after the Grand Secretaries.

Meetings of the Committee or Lodge of Benevolence for the distribution and application of the Charitable Fund were held monthly from January, 1814. It was composed in the first instance of twelve Masters of Lodges (within the Bills of Mortality) and three Grand Officers, an arrangement which gave place in 1815 to a Lodge consisting of thirty-six Masters of Lodges (within the London district), three members of the Grand Steward's Lodge, and nine Grand Officers, one of whom was to act as President.

The following brethren were nominated as members of the Lodge of Reconciliation in pursuance of the fifth Article of Union:[3]—

[1] "Resolved that all the powers and duties heretofore exercised and belonging to the former Steward's Lodge or Committee of Charity now belong to this Board, except only such powers and duties as are specially vested in, or properly belong to, the several other Boards now constituted" (Grand Lodge Minutes, March 2, 1814).

[2] The payment of Quarterage, by Colonial Lodges, was rendered optional in 1819.

[3] Chap. XX., p. 253.

By the Duke of Kent.	By the Duke of Sussex.
R. F. Mestayer, . . Grand Master's Lodge, No. 1.	Rev. S. Hemming, D.D. (*present*), L. of Harmony, No. 255, R.W.M.
T. Harper, Jun., . . Do. Do.	W. Meyrick (*do.*), Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2, S.W.
J. H. Goldsworthy (*present*), Lodge of Fidelity, No. 3.	W. Shadbolt, G. Steward's Lodge, J.W.
W. Fox, (*do.*), Royal York L. of Perseverance, No. 7.	S. Jones (*present*), Lodge of Antiquity, No. 2.
J. Ronalds (*do.*), Robert Burns Lodge, No. 25.	L. Thompson, (*do.*), Lodge of Felicity, No. 58.
W. Oliver (*do.*), Royal Jubilee Lodge, No. 72.	J. Jones (*extinct*), L. of Sincerity, No 66.
M. Corcoran (*do.*), Middlesex Lodge, No. 143.	J. H. Sarratt (*present*), Moira Lodge, No. 92.
R. Bayley, (*extinct*), L. at the Ld. Cochrane, No. 240.	T. Bell, (*do.*), Caledonian Lodge, No. 134.
J. M'Cann (*present*), Lodge of Tranquillity, No. 185.	J. Joyce (*do.*), Bank of England Lodge, No. 263.
Edwards Harper, *Secretary.*	William Henry White, *Secretary.*

By a circular dated January 10, 1815, Provincial Grand Masters and Masters of Lodges at a distance from London, were earnestly recommended to take the earliest opportunity of deputing by written authority, some one or more of the most qualified members of their respective Lodges, to attend the Lodge of Reconciliation. The meetings of that body, they were informed, would be held weekly at Freemasons' Hall, where the acknowledged forms to be universally used would be made known to them for the information of their brothers. In the meantime, however, the members of the two Fraternities were empowered and directed mutually to give and receive, in open Lodge, the respective obligations of each Society.[1]

The meetings of the Lodge were, however, postponed by a circular issued in the following March, it having been deemed advisable to await the presence of delegates from Scotland and Ireland.

The Minutes of the Lodge, which were written on loose papers until December 8, 1814, begin August 4 of that year. On the latter day Dr. Hemming, the W.M., presided, and there were also present the other members of the Lodge, together with the representatives of twelve Lodges, to the number of twenty-six. Two degrees were rehearsed; and at a meeting held on the following day—attended by 74 brethren representing 30 Lodges—three. Among the early visitors to the Lodge were J. G. Godwin, Peter Gilkes (introduced by J. M'Cann), Peter Broadfoot, and Thomas Satterley, all in their day noted preceptors in the Craft. The regular minutes come to an end May 9, 1815; but a loose sheet records the presence of the Duke of Sussex, who was attended by many Grand Officers, on May 3. There is also amongst the papers a letter dated February 11 in the same year, wherein the Master of the Lodge—Dr. Hemming—informs the Grand Master that he has "introduced a trifling variation in the business of the second degree."

At a Grand Lodge held August 23, 1815, the Duke of Sussex referred to certain points connected with Nos. IV., V., and XV. of the Articles of Union.[2] The "Ancient Obliga-

[1] This injunction was faithfully carried out at Manchester on August 2, 1814, when "the Fraternities of Freemasons of the Old and New Systems"—the former title being bestowed by joint consent on the "Atholl" representatives—met at the Talbot Inn in that city "for the purpose of forming a Lodge of Reconciliation." Two lodges were formed, and the W.M.'s having exchanged the "O.B.'s, an O. B. of Reconciliation was repeated by the whole of the Brethren present, and accepted as an act of Union" (Extracted by Mr. J. Gibb Smith, and printed in the *Freemason*, July 5, 1884).

[2] These are given in full in the Appendix.

tions" of the first and second degrees were then repeated—the former from the throne—when it was

"RESOLVED and ORDERED that the same be recognized and taken in all time to come, as the only pure and genuine Obligations of these Degrees, and which all Lodges dependent on the Grand Lodge shall practise."

"Forms and ceremonies" were then "exhibited by the Lodge of Reconciliation for the opening and closing of Lodges in the three degrees," which were "also ordered to be used and practised."

In the following year—May 20, 1816—also in Grand Lodge, "the officers and members of the Lodge of Reconciliation opened a Lodge in the First, Second, and Third Degrees successively, and exhibited the ceremonies of initiating, passing, and raising a Mason as proposed by them for general adoption and practice in the Craft."

On June 5 ensuing, the minutes of the previous Grand Lodge—"when the Ceremonies and Practices, recommended by the Lodge of Reconciliation, were exhibited and explained—were read; and alterations on two Points, in the Third Degree, having been resolved upon, the several Ceremonies, &c., recommended, were approved and confirmed."

The decision on one of those points was, "that the Master's Light was never to be extinguished while the Lodge was open, nor by any means to be shaded or obscured, and that no Lanthorn or other device was to be admitted as a substitute."[1]

The *rationale* of this decision is thus explained by a high authority—"One of the Lights represents the Master, who is always present while the Lodge is open, if not actually in his own presence, yet by a brother who represents him (and without the Master or his representative the Lodge cannot be open), so his Light cannot be extinguished until the Lodge is closed; the other two Lights figuratively represent luminaries, which, at periods, are visible—at other times, not so."[2]

The last mention of the Lodge of Reconciliation, in the official records, occurs in the proceedings of September 4, 1816, when the "W. Master, Officers, and Brethren," were awarded the thanks of Grand Lodge, "for their unremitting Zeal and Exertion in the cause of Free-Masonry."

At the Annual Feast in 1815, eighteen Grand Stewards were nominated by the Grand Master, being an excess of six over the number appointed in the older Grand Lodge before the Union. Although under the old practice the twelve Stewards had the right of nominating their successors, for several years[3] prior to the fusion, the privilege was restricted to members of nine Lodges—The Somerset House, Friendship, Corner Stone, Emulation, Globe, Old King's Arms, St. Albans, Regularity, and Shakespeare;[4] the Somerset House Lodge furnishing three, the Friendship two, and the remaining Lodges one Steward each. Occasionally the persons nominated declined to serve, when the vacancies were filled by the Board of Stewards.

Tickets for the Annual Feast were issued at fifteen shillings each, the Stewards paying the difference between the actual cost of the dinner, and the amount realized by the sale of tickets. This was generally a large sum, and on March 16, 1813, it appears that each member of the Board deposited £35 in the hands of the treasurer, to provide for the

[1] Letter, dated Dec. 7, 1839, from W. H. White, G.S., to Peter Matthew, and published by Mr. Brackstone Baker, P.G.D., in the *Freemason*, March 21, 1885.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *I. e.*, from 1805, and probably much earlier.

[4] *Now* Nos. 4, 6, 5, 21, 23, 28, 29, 91, and 99.

deficiency. Matters were in a transitional state in 1814, for in that year, a Board of Stewards was formed with some difficulty, by the Master of the Grand Steward's Lodge. The Tickets for the Feast on that occasion were issued at a Guinea each, and the Stewards incurred no liability, the deficit, which amounted to £105 14s. 6d., being made good by Grand Lodge.[1]

From each of the eighteen Grand Stewards, however, appointed in the following year, a deposit of £20 was required, whilst the dinner ticket was again lowered to 15s. This Board, so their minutes inform us, "on account of their peculiar situation," were "all admitted to the Grand Steward's Lodge without ballot."

In 1816, the Grand Master—as prescribed by the new Book of Constitutions—selected the Stewards from eighteen different Lodges, each of which Lodges was thereafter to possess the right of recommending one of its subscribing members (being a Master Mason) to be presented, by the former Steward of that Lodge, for the approbation and appointment of the Grand Master.

Accordingly we find, in the year named, the right of wearing the "Red Apron" vested in the following Lodges—the *numbers* given being their present ones—Grand Master's (1), Antiquity (2), Somerset House (4), Friendship (6), British (8), St. Mary-la-bone, *now* Tuscan (14), Emulation (21), Globe (23), Castle Lodge of Harmony (26), Old King's Arms (28), St. Albans (29), Corner-Stone, *now* St. George and Corner-Stone[2] (5), Felicity (58), Peace and Harmony (60), Regularity (91), Shakespeare (99), Pilgrim (238), and Prince of Wales (259).

These Lodges continue to return a Grand Steward at the Annual Festival—except the Pilgrim and the Old King's Arms Lodges, the former of which voluntarily surrendered its right of nominating a Steward in 1834,[3] whilst the latter forfeited the privilege by omitting to make the prescribed return to Grand Lodge in 1852. Their places as "Red Apron" Lodges, were assigned by the Grand Master to the Jerusalem (197), and the Old Union (46) Lodges respectively.

The Laws and Regulations of the two Societies were ultimately referred to the Board of General Purposes,[4] with directions to form one system for the future government of the United Craft; "and the Board having attentively considered all the laws then existing, *as well as those of most of the other Grand Lodges in Europe*,[5] prepared a Code of Laws, which was submitted to the consideration of a Special Grand Lodge, held February 1, 1815, whereupon it was ordered, that copies should be made and left, at two convenient places, for the perusal of all the members of Grand Lodge, for *one* month. During this month, the Board of General Purposes met weekly, to receive and discuss any alterations or amendments

[1] The Grand Steward's Lodge, and with it the Board of Grand Stewards as an institution, was in some danger of lapsing, owing to the Grand Officers being no longer selected from the former body.

[2] St. George's Lodge was originally constituted Aug. 2, 1756, as No. 55 on the Atholl Roll. Became No. 3 by payment of £4 14s. 6d., June 6, 1759, and No. 5 at the Union. Absorbed the Corner-Stone Lodge, *then* No. 37—constituted March 25, 1730—Dec. 6, 1843. The result being that the amalgamated Lodge retained (and retains) the high place and antiquity of its several moieties.

[3] The Pilgrim Lodge relinquished its privilege of nominating a Grand Steward on Feb. 8, 1834, owing to the reduction of its numerical strength. This surrender, it should be added, was accepted by the Duke of Sussex with much regret. *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 248.

[4] *Cf. ante*, pp. 256, 257.

[5] It may be hoped that a careful study of the Laws of *all* Grand Lodges will precede any future revision.

which might be suggested. The Laws thus improved were again read and discussed, at a Special Grand Lodge, on May 31, and were then ordered to lie open for another month, for the perusal of the brethren. At a further Special Grand Lodge, held August 23, these Laws were a third time read, discussed, and unanimously approved, and it was resolved that they should be in force for three years, from November 1, 1815, and then be subject to revision."[1]

It was originally intended to publish the new Book of Constitutions in two parts, and the second part, containing the Laws and Regulations of the Society, was delivered to the subscribers (1815) with an intimation that the first part, comprising the History of Masonry, from the earliest period to the end of the year 1815, would be printed with as little delay as possible.[2] The historical portion, however, was never completed, nor can its loss be regretted, since so far as the proof sheets extend, the part in question is simply a servile copy of Noorthouck's edition of 1784, in which 350 pages were allotted to the History, and 50 only to the Laws, Regulations, and Ancient Charges of the Society.

It has been justly observed that there was "no important yielding of the irregular Grand Lodge, except to throw away their ill-gotten and garbled Book of Constitutions, having the imposing name of *Ahiman Rezon*, and fall back on the highest and only extant code of laws contained in Anderson's *Constitutions*."[3]

In substance, the "Ancient Charges," as given in all the Books of Constitutions, published under the authority of the Original Grand Lodge of England—with the single exception of the edition for 1738—were reproduced in the "Second Part" of the Constitutions for 1815.

Charge I.—"Concerning God and Religion"—sustained the greatest variation. Before the Union, the words ran—"But though in ancient times Masons were charged in every country to be of the Religion of that country or nation, whatever it was, yet it is now thought more expedient only to oblige them to that religion in which all men agree, leaving their particular opinions to themselves."[4] In the Constitutions, however, of 1815, the same Article reads—"Let a man's religion or mode of worship be what it may, he is not excluded from the order, provided he believe in the glorious architect of heaven and earth, and practise the sacred duties of morality."

The remaining Charges, as printed *before* and *after* the Union, are almost, if not quite identical; the "N.B." appended to the fourth Charge (which has been already noticed)[5] alone calling for observation.

The appointment of Grand Officers was vested by the new "General Regulations" (1815) in the Grand Master, subject to no qualification whatever, except with regard to the offices of Chaplain, Treasurer, and Sword-Bearer, for each of which three brethren were required to be nominated by the Grand Lodge in March, from whom the Grand Master was to make his selection. This arrangement, however, giving rise to dissatisfaction, the appointment of Chaplain and Sword-Bearer was left entirely in the hands of the Grand Master at the revision in 1818, at which date also the absolute election of Treasurer was restored to the Grand Lodge

As the practice of the "United Grand Lodge of England," with regard to the selection

[1] Constitutions of the Free and Accepted Masons, pt. ii., 1815.—*Sanction.* [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Mitchell. *op. cit.*, p. 383. [4] See further, Constitutions 1756, p. 34; 1784, p. 38.
[5] Chap. XVI., p. 88, note 6.

of Grand Officers, differs from that of any other Grand Lodge—or at least if there is any other under whose Constitution the Grand Master and Treasurer are the only *elected* officers, it is unknown to me—it will be convenient to state that the "Atholl" custom of *electing* all the Grand Officers, was in closer harmony with the "Ancient Landmarks" as disclosed to us by the "General Regulations" of 1723.

By the Laws of 1815 the Provincial Grand Masters[1] were given precedence above the Grand Wardens, who had previously ranked before them.[2] And *past* rank was not extended to the holder of any Grand office below that of Deacon.

The Master, Wardens, and *one Past Master* to be delegated by the brethren of each Lodge, were admitted to Grand Lodge.[3] No Lodge was allowed to make a Mason for a less consideration than three guineas, exclusive of the registering fee.[4] Military Lodges were restrained from initiating into Masonry any persons not members of the military profession.[5] The tenure of office of a Master in the chair was limited to two years, and the practice of conferring Degrees at a less interval than one month, or any two in one day, was forbidden.

In the "manner of constituting a new Lodge," there occurs a singular innovation, with which I shall take my leave of these regulations. The language employed differs otherwise in no material respect from that used in the earlier Constitutions, but the passage I am about to quote derives an importance to which it is by no means entitled, by being introduced between inverted commas, as the veritable method of constituting a new Lodge "practised by the Duke of Wharton, when Grand Master, in the year 1722, according to the antient usages of Masons."

According to the Constitutions of 1815, lodge is to be formed, an ode sung, the petition and other documents read, and the inevitable "oration" delivered, after which "*the Lodge is then consecrated*, according to ceremonies proper and usual on those occasions."

Now, in the POSTSCRIPT to the Constitutions of 1723—or in the subsequent editions of that work up to, and inclusive of, the one for 1784—there is no mention of an ode, of documents, or even—strange to say—of an oration. But passing these over, as of slight consequence—if, indeed, *any* misquotation in a Code of Laws will admit of color or excuse—the positive statement that, according to the practice of the Grand Lodge of England in 1722, the ceremony of "Consecration" was performed at the inauguration of New Lodges, requires at least to be noticed and refuted. Under both Grand Lodges of England, prior to the Union, Lodges were solemnly *constituted* by the Grand Master or his representative, and although the "Ceremony of Consecration" is described by William Preston in his "Illustrations of Masonry," it was first *officially* sanctioned in the "Book of Constitutions" for 1815.

[1] According to the Constitutions of the older Grand Lodge, for 1756 and 1784, Provincial Grand Masters in the former year ranked after Past Deputy Grand Masters, and in the latter, after the Grand Treasurer.

[2] Articles of Union (VII). [3] *Cf. Ibid.*

[4] This law came into operation September 7, 1814, and remained in force until December 5, 1883, when the *minimum* initiation fee was fixed at five guineas, inclusive of the registration and certificate fees, in England; and at three guineas, exclusive of registration and certificate fees, abroad.

[5] At the Union there were in existence fifty Military Lodges, which, with only six exceptions, held "Atholl" warrants, whilst in the present year there are but six. In other words, the proportion of Military to the other Lodges has fallen off from one in twelve in 1814, to one in three hundred and fifty in 1885.

In the previous history of the Grand Lodge of England, I have, to the best of my ability, divided the general subject into sections, corresponding as nearly as possible with the tenure of office of each Grand Master. The same plan will now be continued, though, for the sake of convenience, and to avoid confusion, where the evidence relating to any topic lies scattered throughout the official records, it will be presented as a whole, either in the course of the chapter, or at its close.

The Duke of Sussex remained at the head of the Society until his death in 1843. Throughout this long administration, however, there are but few stirring events to record. The Duke governed on the whole both wisely and judiciously, and though his idea of the relation in which he stood toward the Craft, may be best summed up in the famous phrase "*L'état—c'est moi!*" there is nothing to show that his encroachments upon their constitutional liberties were distasteful to the general body of those over whom he presided.

To the Duke of Sussex is due the singular merit of cementing, as well as promoting, the Union of the two great divisions of English Freemasonry. Patronage, it has been said, implies subjection, which latter, it is again urged, can work no good to the Fraternity. Starting from these premises, it has been laid down by a writer of distinction, that Royal brethren cannot but make their exalted position felt in the Lodge, and thus affect the brotherly equality existing among the members.[1] But however true this may be as an abstract principle, the Freemasons of England owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Royal Family of this country. Their immunity from the "Secret Societies" Act of 1799[2] was due in great measure to the circumstance of the heir to the throne being at the head of the Older Society—in which capacity, be it recollected, he had nominated as "Acting Grand Master" the chivalrous Earl Moira, by whose tact and address English Freemasonry was saved from extinction, or at the very least from temporary obliteration.[3] Later, when under the combined influence of two Princes of the Blood, discrepant opinions had been made to blend into harmonious compromise, the odious animosity between the rival fraternities might at any time have been revived, had a suspicion been awakened, that the interests of either of the parties to the alliance had been made subservient to those of the other.

No such feeling was engendered, and though the result might have been the same, had the Masonic Throne, after the Union, been occupied by the Duke of Kent or some other member of the Royal Family, there was probably no person of lesser degree—with the single exception of the Earl of Moira[4]—who would have enjoyed the entire confidence of the English Craft in the position of Grand Master.

The Duke of Sussex was very loyally supported by the leading figures on the "Atholl" side. These were Perry, Agar, and Harper, Past Deputy Grand Masters, who were very regular in their attendance at Grand Lodge, and at its boards and committees. Perry, it will be recollected, succeeded Laurence Dermott in 1787, and in the same year Harper and Agar were Senior and Junior Grand Wardens respectively.[5] All three men, therefore, were prominent characters under the "Ancients," at a period when each Society regarded the other as "a mob of impenitent schismatics."[6] We may assume, then, that the example set by these worthies, of acting up to the spirit as well as to the letter of the Treaty of Union, was not thrown away upon the rank and file of their party. The most captious "Ancient" could hardly allege that the government of the Craft was conducted on

[1] Findel, *op. cit.*, p. 523. [2] Chap. XX., p. 239. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[4] This nobleman, as mentioned in the last Chapter (p. 242), assumed the government of British India in 1813. [5] Chap. XIX., p. 202, note 1. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

modern lines, when three former "Atholl Deputies" were present at nearly every meeting of Grand Lodge, and which was as often as not presided over by one of them. Agar, moreover, was the first President of the Board of General Purposes, and among his colleagues were Perry and Harper. Their services on this, and the other committees of Grand Lodge, will be again referred to, though it may be shortly stated that these only ceased with their respective lives.

It is unreasonable to suppose that the three veterans would have laboured so earnestly and unceasingly under any ordinary Grand Master. In the "Atholl" system the "Deputy" was virtually the chief, and it seems to me, therefore, in the highest degree improbable, that men of advanced years, who had each governed the Society with which he was formerly connected, would have foregone his well-earned repose, and toiled with the energy and perseverance of youth, save under circumstances of a very exceptional nature.

These we meet with in the fortunate results which crowned the happily inspired efforts of the two Royal brothers—the Dukes of Kent and Sussex. In the negotiations which preceded the treaty of Union, the former was assisted by the three "Atholl Deputies;" and in the subsequent proceedings, when the younger was proposed by the elder brother for the supreme dignity, they attached themselves to the latter with a fidelity which is unsurpassed in the annals of Masonry. But the Duke of Sussex fully justified the confidence that was reposed in him. It was nearly twenty years before the last of Dermott's prominent contemporaries ceased to participate in his councils.[1] By this time the old order of things had been succeeded by the new. The two sets of Freemasons were firmly welded together into one homogeneous whole, and the last decade of the Duke of Sussex's administration was unclouded by any revival of the ancient animosities.

Some dissensions, indeed, of a distinct character are recorded during this last period, which will be briefly noticed as we proceed, and of these it is not perhaps too much to say, that many of the acrimonious discussions which both wasted the time, and ruffled the composure, of our Masonic Parliament, might have been altogether averted if the Grand Master had still had by his side such faithful and judicious counsellors as the "Atholl" worthies, whose inestimable services to the "United Grand Lodge of England" I have so feebly portrayed.

In 1816, on the proposal of the Grand Master, the Rev. Hermann Giese was appointed Grand Secretary for German Correspondence; and a friendly alliance was entered into with the Grand Lodge of Astrea, at St. Petersburgh.

On September 3, 1817, it having been announced that the two Grand Chapters of the Order of the Royal Arch, existing prior to the Union of the Craft, had formed a junction, that rank and votes in all their meetings had been given to all the officers of Grand Lodge, and that the Laws and Regulations of that body had been as far as possible assimilated to those of the Craft, it was

"*Resolved Unanimously*, That the Grand Lodge will at all times be disposed to acknowledge the Proceedings of the Grand Chapter, and, so long as their Arrangements do not interfere with the Regulations of the Grand Lodge, and are in conformity with the Act of Union, they will be ready to recognize, facilitate, and uphold the same."

[1] Perry was last present in Grand Lodge, June 3, 1818; Harper, March, 2, 1831; and Agar, June 6, 1832. The two former must have died before April, 1834, as their deaths are not recorded in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, which begins on that date. Harper, however, must have been very old in 1831, as he became a Royal Arch Mason in 1770. James Agar (a barrister-at-law) died Jan. 25, 1838, aged 80.

The General Regulations of the Society were revised in 1818, and the new Code ordered to take effect from November 1. The following being the principal alterations and amendments:—That *all* Past Masters should be members of the Grand Lodge, but the privilege to be forfeited by non-subscription for more than a year to some Lodge.

That all Present and Past Grand Officers, and all Masters of Lodges, should be members of the Lodges of Benevolence.

On December 9 the Board of General Purposes recommended that certain regulations common to the Grand Lodges of Ireland and England, should be established for the government of the Lodges abroad and in military corps; and that deputations from the two Grand Lodges, and from that of Scotland, should be appointed if possible, to confer on the subject, which was agreed to.

This year witnessed the death of William Preston, whose memoir has been given in Chapter XVIII., but it may be added that the total amount of the Masonic benefactions appearing in his will was £1300 consols, of which £500 was bequeathed to the Charity Fund of Grand Lodge; £500 in support of the Girls' School; and the interest of the remaining £300 "to be paid"—to use the word of the testator—"to any well skilled mason, to deliver, annually, a lecture on the First, Second or Third Degrees of the Order of Masonry, according to the system practised in the Lodge of Antiquity during my Mastership."

"In consequence of the rain the female orphans belonging to the Freemason's Charity in St. George's Fields were not able to follow in procession to St. Paul's, but mustered at the Cathedral under the care of the Treasurer, M^r^ W. M. Forsteen, Captain Deans, J.G.W., and others, and returned to the house of the deceased, where they partook of wine and cake." Thomas Harper, D.G.M., was also present to pay the last mark of respect to the friend with whom he had been so long associated in Masonry.

In the following year, at the Grand Lodge held in December, the Grand Master "addressed the Brethren on the Subject of the Lectures, when he stated that it was his opinion that so long as the Master of any Lodge observed exactly the Land-marks of the Craft, he was at liberty to give the Lectures in the Language best suited to the Character of the Lodge over which he presided."

On December 5, 1821, the "Conduct of Lodge No. 31 at Liverpool," was brought under the notice of Grand Lodge, and for two years engaged the attention of that body. The facts of the case, however, may be stated in a few words.

In December, 1818, it was suggested to the Board of General Purposes by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Lancashire, "that some regulation was necessary, relative to the number of Brethren requisite to remain Members of a Lodge, in order to continue it a Legal Lodge, competent to initiate, etc."

To this a reply was sent, January 5, 1810, by order of the Board, stating, "that the subject is one which has undergone a great deal of discussion and consideration, especially on the late revision of the Laws. But it is a matter of so much delicacy and difficulty, that it was thought advisable not to depart from that silence on the subject which had been observed in all the Books of Constitutions."[1]

Toward the close of the year a Memorial was sent from the Provincial Grand Lodge to

[1] "Should the number of members [of a Lodge] remaining at any time be less than three, the warrant becomes extinct" (Constitutions, 1884, § 219).

the Duke of Sussex. This proved to contain matter relating to the Royal Arch, and was therefore not laid before Grand Lodge, whilst the Grand Master was subsequently informed that the Memorial being considered by the Provincial Grand Lodge improper, its withdrawal was desired; he therefore did not deem it necessary to intimate to the Grand Lodge, or the Board of General Purposes, that such a document had been addressed to him.

Although this withdrawal was perfectly voluntary on the part of the Provincial Grand Lodge, it was seized upon by the members of No. 31, as the ground for a charge against the Board of General Purposes, and cited by them as "a case where the Board had detained a communication from the Provincial Grand Lodge for the County of Lancashire, which consists of sixty-two Lodges on record; consequently, if the Board acted thus, without the authority of the Grand Lodge, we consider their conduct highly reprehensible; and if, on the other hand, the Grand Lodge gave them power to act in this manner, then we consider it a dangerous innovation upon the landmarks of our Order."

Notwithstanding it was pointed out to these brethren that they were arguing on false premises, circulars and manifestos continued to be issued, and all efforts to restore subordination having failed, the Grand Lodge was left no alternative but first to suspend, and afterwards expel twenty-six of the offenders; also to erase No. 31 from the list of Lodges.

Sixty-eight Masons, belonging to eleven Lodges,[1] were suspended in the first instance, of whom all but twenty-six[2] were admitted to grace, on submission duly made and promise of good behavior. The latter not only remained contumacious, but actually endeavored to establish a Grand Lodge of their own for Liverpool and adjacent parts. After this, we hear no more of them until September 3, 1823, when the Sea Captains' Lodge at Liverpool, No. 140, which had threatened to separate itself from the Grand Lodge unless the proceedings taken against Lodge No. 31, and the twenty-six expelled brethren, were cancelled—was struck off the roll. "This prompt example," observes Dr. Oliver, "was completely efficacious, and from hence we hear no more of opposition or intemperate resistance to the decrees of the Grand Lodge."[3] But the observation, though true, and strictly founded on the "Printed Proceedings" of the governing body, is, nevertheless, somewhat misleading, for whilst the Lancashire Schismatics ultimately placed themselves altogether in the wrong, and beyond the pale of forgiveness, they took their stand —however, erroneously—on what they deemed to be a matter of principle, and neither the Board of General Purposes—who declined to advise upon a constitutional point which was submitted to them—or the Duke of Sussex, who quietly pigeon-holed the subsequent "Memorial,"[4] can be acquitted of having materially conduced to a most deplorable misunderstanding, which agitated the Craft for several years, and left behind it very bitter memories.

William Meyrick, the Grand Registrar, was also, at this time (1819-23), President of the Board of General Purposes, and on March 7, 1822, the Province of Lancashire had been placed in his charge. This also was an error of judgment on the part of the Grand Master,

[1] Nos. 31, 140, 348, 380, 442, 466, Liverpool; 74, 486, Wigan; 59, 378, Manchester; and 655, Pilkington.

[2] Nos. 31, two members; 74, eight; 140, four; 182, one; 348, one; 466, two; 486, eight.

[3] History of Masonry from 1820 to 1823 (Illustrations of Masonry, seventeenth edit., 1861, p. 341).

[4] A printed circular, filling three folio pages, and containing *forty-nine* paragraphs, was sent to all the Lodges, Dec. 5, 1822. Although intended as a complete vindication of the Grand Master's action, throughout the dispute, the execution by no means comes up to the design.

for as the members of No. 31 professed themselves (*inter alia*) to be aggrieved by the action of the Board, it was hardly to be expected that they would regard its President as properly qualified to pursue the judicial investigation which had been intrusted to him. Nor did they. One of the statements made in the printed papers, circulated from Liverpool, was, "that the Board of General Purposes had withheld, or been instrumental in withholding, from the Grand Lodge, the Address of the Provincial Grand Master to the M.W. Grand Master, dated September 27, 1819," and this the Lodge No. 31 continued to re-assert, and, indeed, set the authority of Grand Lodge altogether at defiance.

Passing from this unhappy dispute, it may be convenient if I here proceed with the early history of the Board of General Purposes, and interweave therewith some slight sketches of a few of its more remarkable members. James Agar was the first President, and remained a member from 1814 to 1828, when for one year (1829) he served on the Board of Finance. James Perry, Thomas Harper, and James Deans were also members from 1814. Perry remained a member until 1817, during which and the following year he also served on the Board of Schools; Harper was reappointed annually to the Board of General Purposes or to that of Finance, until 1831, and James Deans served uninterruptedly on the former Board until 1833, with the exception of one year (1827), when he was appointed to the latter, on which he again served in 1835. Deans, who died April 3, 1838, was for upward of forty years Captain and Paymaster in the Royal London Militia. He was initiated in the Lodge of Emulation (21), of which he passed the chair, as he also did of the Jerusalem (197) and the Grand Stewards' Lodges. His services in the Lodge of Promulgation, of which he was the Senior Warden, were rewarded with the Collar of a Grand Officer, and he was one of the Commissioners for carrying out the Union of the two Societies.

Among the elected members we meet with the names of the following Masters of Lodges, all of whom were noted in their day as Masonic preceptors:—J. H. Goldsworthy, 1816; Thomas Satterley, 1816, 1819, 1824;[1] Lawrence Thompson, 1817, 1820, 1827-28;[2] Philip Broadfoot, 1817; J. G. Godwin, 1819; Peter Gilkes, 1822-33;[3] and Peter Thomson, 1824. Two of the number—Goldsworthy and Lawrence Thompson—served on the Lodge of Reconciliation. The first-named was initiated in No. 194, "Ancients"—now the Middlesex, No. 143—February 6, 1806; served the chair of the Lodge, and was elected one of the nine "Excellent Masters" or "Worthies." Joined No. 2—now Fidelity, No. 3—July 12, 1809, when he was appointed Lecture Master. In 1811 he had the honor of seconding the motion for a Committee, "vested with full powers to carry into effect the measure of a Masonic Union of the two Societies." S.G.D., 1845, and a nominated member of the Board of General Purposes, 1845-47 and 1849-50. Died in February, 1858, nearly eighty years of age.

Lawrence Thompson joined the Lodge of Antiquity about 1811, in which for many years he delivered, by order of the Grand Master, the Prestonian Lecture. Died June 9, 1855, in his eighty-second year, and at the time of his decease was a member of the Antiquity, Somerset House, Shakespeare, and other Lodges. He served as Grand Steward in 1815, on the Board of General Purposes (for the fourth time) in 1837, in the following year on that of Finance, and as Junior Grand Deacon in 1847.

[1] As Master of (*present*) Nos. 49, Gihon, in 1819; and 185, Tranquility, in the other years.

[2] As Master of (*present*) Nos. 92, Moira; 167, St. John's; and 58, Felicity, respectively.

[3] Also during this period, except in 1826, a member of the Board of Finance.

Philip Broadfoot was initiated in No. 300 "Ancients," *now* the Lodge of Stability, No. 217, and was four times its Master. Recommended by the Grand Chapter as one of the nine Excellent Masters," 1812. Removed from the Custom-House at London to that of Lynn in 1835, and died August 16, 1858, in his seventy-fourth year, being at the time Secretary to the Philanthropic Lodge, No. 107.

The famous "Stability" Lodge of Instruction—under the sanction of the Lodge of Stability, which he at that time represented on the Board of General Purposes—was founded by Broadfoot on the first Friday in September, 1817, his chief coadjutors being Satterley and Peter Thomson. Broadfoot was the first Master elected to the chair, and Thomson the second, but the latter soon became the more prominent figure of the two, and for a period of nearly thirty-four years was hardly ever absent from a meeting of the Lodge.

The "Emulation Lodge of Improvement for Master Masons," was founded by the following brethren in 1823—John Smyth, Burlington (96);[1] Joseph Dennis; E. Whittington, Unions (256); John Wilson, Percy (198); and Gervase Margerison, Constitutional (55). At first only lectures were delivered, but subsequently the ceremonies were introduced, which gave much satisfaction. Peter Gilkes was present at the first meeting, and about twelve months afterwards he joined the Lodge.[2]

But the champion preceptors on either side were the two Peters—Thomson and Gilkes. The former, a Scotsman, born in 1779, was initiated in the Lodge of Confidence, December 13, 1810, raised to the third degree that day week, and joined the Lion and Lamb, *now* No. 192, in 1811. Served as S.G.D. in 1844, and died February 2, 1851, aged 72. He was a life governor of all the Charities of the Society, and the most brilliant of his pupils—the late John Havers—spoke of him as the greatest Mason he had ever known.

Peter Gilkes was born May 1, 1765, baptized a Catholic, and named after the then Lord Petre. By his industry and perseverance he acquired a small property, the interest of which amounted to about nine shillings a day. Upon this he retired from business, and devoted himself wholly to Masonry. He was initiated in the British Lodge (8), and the Lodge of Unity (69) first elected him their Master. During the last sixteen years of his life, in order to continue a member of the Lodge of Benevolence, and to qualify for election to the Boards, he annually served as Master of a Lodge, and discharged its arduous duties. In the course of his Masonic life he filled the chairs of the Royal York (7), Globe (23), Unity (69), Cadogan (162), Old Concord (172), St. James' Union (180), Unions, (256), Hope and Unity (214), and St. Michael's (211) Lodges, several times each, and may be said to have died in harness as the Master of No. 211.[3]

It was his custom to teach gratuitously such brethren as were disposed to attend at his house, every day from one o'clock until it was time for him to attend some Lodge or other,

[1] As the numbers of Lodges have been twice closed up since 1823, those given in the text are the *present* ones.

[2] So far the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, 1836, p. 322; but in the *Freemasons' Monthly Magazine*—Jan. 16, 1855—Mr. Thomas Scott writes to say that the Lodge of Emulation "was founded by Bros. Dennis, Garner, Longstaff, and himself—all then living of Peter Gilkes' pupils, who did establish it—and that Gilkes gave it his great and most violent opposition on the ground that it could never succeed whilst excluding brethren in the inferior degrees." For two reasons I adopt the earlier statement. In the first place, because it appeared within two years of Gilkes' death, and remained uncontradicted for nearly twenty years; and, secondly, because the editor of the Quarterly publication (Dr. Crucifix) was completely conversant with every detail of London Masonry.

[3] Present titles and numbers are used throughout.

where his evenings were generally spent. His fame as preceptor of the "Emulation Lodge of Improvement" was very widely diffused, but though many times offered the collar of a Grand Officer, he invariably declined, on the plea that his circumstances in life were not equal to the appointment. His death occurred December 11, 1833.[1]

J. G. Godwin was a member of the Peace and Harmony (60) and the Bank of England (263) Lodges, the former of which he represented as Grand Steward in 1816. In early days he disputed the palm with Peter Gilkes. But although an earnest as well as an able Mason, and notwithstanding he took great pains with his pupils, he did not make the impression that his competitor did, chiefly from an infirmity of temper. Died December 31, 1836, aged 72.

To the labors of these worthies the Craft is in a great measure indebted for its existing prosperity. The most eloquent of Masonic statesmen—whose voice, alas, is now hushed in the tomb, in a noble address delivered at the "Stability" Festival in 1851, observed with great force—"I claim for the memory of Peter Thomson, and the active teachers of his time, a large share of merit in our present position. When all was disarranged—when all was unsettled—when every difficulty beset the young aspirant after Masonic knowledge—then Godwin and Gilkes, and Broadfoot and Thomson, then White and Goldsworthy, Lawrence Thompson and Satterley, were the Masons who manfully and zealously attempted (and succeeded in the attempt) to procure uniformity in Masonry, and to disseminate the genuine principles of our Order; and we cannot fail to perceive that in exact proportion to the advancement of Masonic knowledge was the advancement of Masonic charity, the very end, aim, and object of our Institution. Doubtless a part of this was due to the Union of the two Grand Lodges, but not much, for we find that there were nearly as many Lodges then as now, and that from time immemorial (as it is the fashion to call it) up to the year 1813, the two together mustered but some £2500 per annum, and that since then our income, and our funded property, and consequently our usefulness, has increased in a fourfold degree."

Yet among the early preceptors of those days, there existed a certain degree of rivalry and jealousy. Their mode of working, though identical in all essential points, differed somewhat in the verbal arrangements of a small portion of the ceremonies.[2] To so high a degree at one time did these jealousies extend, that even the great teachers of that period gave vent to mutual recriminations, and the West-end preceptors laid a complaint before the Board of General Purposes, that the preceptors in the city were not practising pure Masonry. Happily, however, the complaint was allowed to drop.

The Lodge of Reconciliation was formed with the object of bringing the various forms of working into one harmonious whole. Dr. Hemming, the Master, is said to have drawn up a system and form, but falling ill, and being unable to complete his work thoroughly, it was given to Williams,[3] who added to, and completed it.[4] "Hemming's form, however,

[1] Peter Gilkes was a great smoker, and averaged thirty pipes of tobacco and coltsfoot daily. He generally used the same pipe for three months, and when completely black would present it to some favorite pupil!

[2] *Cf.* the *dictum* of the Duke of Sussex, *ante*, p. 265, which is generally regarded as declaratory of the actual law on the subject.

[3] Grand Steward, 1812; Prov. G.M., Dorset, 1812-39; President, Board of General Purposes, 1818; and for many years Treasurer to the Girls' School. He was deeply skilled in the *arcana* of Masonry, and delighted to show forth its principles on all occasions. Died February 8, 1839.

[4] Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, "Notes on our English Ritual" (Freemason, May 15, 1880).

was used, notably in Yorkshire, at one time to a great extent, and is still represented by the Stability Lodge of Instruction.

"The perfected form of Williams is that now in use in the Emulation Lodge of Improvement, and which seems destined to become the more general form of working in the Craft. The Prestonian form indeed lingers, and is to be found in Lodges, alike in London and the provinces. There are also remains of an old York 'Working,' and of the form in vogue under the Ancients."[1]

So far Woodford, by whom the subject has been made a special study, and whose conclusions are borne out by the testimony of many brethren now deceased, participators in the occurrences he relates.[2]

An Especial Grand Lodge was held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's Street, on February 22, 1828, for the purpose of installing the Duke of Clarence, the Lord High Admiral, as Master of the Prince of Wales' Lodge,[3] the Grand Master assigning as a reason for this step, his belief that it was "of the first Importance to obtain the Sanction and Protection of the Royal Family to the Proceedings of the Craft."

In the following year—September 2—the Duke of Sussex announced that "he had approved the Design for a Medal to be worn by Brethren who had served the office of Steward to *both* the Masonic Charities."[4]

King George IV. died in 1830, and at the request of Grand Lodge, his successor on the throne—William IV.—took his place as Patron of the Craft.

In 1832 the numbers of the Lodges were ordered to be closed up; and in 1834 a notice of a benevolent project for erecting and endowing an asylum for aged and decayed Freemasons of good character, was promulgated in the July number of the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, a publication edited by Dr. R. T. Crucifix—which made its first appearance in the April of that year.

In 1834 the office of "Pro-Grand Master" was established, or rather revived,[5] in the person of Lord Dundas, afterward first Earl of Zetland.

In 1835 four *Past* Masters were, in each case, added to the Boards of General Purposes and of Finance; and in the same year, it was ordered, that the jewels worn by the Grand Stewards of the year should in future be gilt, upon the ground "that the Grand Stewards, during their year of service, are Officers of the Grand Lodge."[6] A Sub-Committee of Charity, entitled the "Weekly Lodge of Benevolence," was established on June 7, 1837, but lasted for a short time only; and at a Quarterly Communication, held in the ensuing December, it was resolved (on the motion of Dr. Crucifix) "that this Grand Lodge recommend the contemplated Asylum for the worthy, aged, and decayed Freemasons to the favorable consideration of the Craft."[7]

[1] Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, "Notes on our English Ritual" (Freemason, May 15, 1880).

[2] Notably the late W. H. White and Stephen Barton Wilson.

[3] The present Grand Master—H.R.H. the Prince of Wales—who has been the Master of this Lodge since 1874, was preceded in that office by *George*, Prince of Wales, 1787-1820; the Duke of York, 1823-27; the Duke of Clarence, 1828-30; and the Duke of Sussex, 1831-43.

[4] Since extended to brethren serving as Stewards of any *two* of the *three* existing charities.

[5] *I.e.*, the *office*, though not the *title*, was identical with that of "Acting Grand Master," held by Lords Effingham and Moira, under George, Prince of Wales.

[6] Previously to this enactment, all Grand Stewards—present and past—wore jewels of silver, suspended by red collars.

[7] The attitude of the Grand Master, with regard to the institution of a *Third* Masonic Charity,

In the following year, a testimonial, of the value of one thousand guineas, was presented by the Lodges and brethren to the Duke of Sussex, to commemorate his having been Grand Master for twenty-five years; the Boards of General Purposes and of Finance were amalgamated, and, Edwards Harper retiring on a pension, W. H. White became sole Grand Secretary to the Society.

At the meetings of Grand Lodge, held in June, September, and October, 1840, the conduct of Dr. Crucifix became the subject of investigation, which a short digression will enable me to place more clearly before my readers.

Robert Thomas Crucifix—initiated in 1829, a Past Master of the Burlington (113), Bank of England (263), and other Lodges, Grand Steward 1832, and Junior Grand Deacon 1836—set on foot in 1834 a movement in favor of a charity for aged Freemasons, the expediency of which was affirmed by a vote of Grand Lodge in 1837. The Grand Master objected, in the first instance, to the creation of a *third* charity, but ultimately based his dissent from the views of its promoters upon the ground that a system of annuities, rather than the erection of an asylum, would be the more judicious course to adopt. But the Committee were then pledged to the latter scheme, and which, as they justly argued, had been unanimously recommended to the favorable consideration of the Craft. They therefore proceeded with it, and at a Special General Meeting of the Charity, held November 13, 1839,[2] under the presidency of Dr. Crucifix, some remarks were made by two of the speakers (Alderman Wood and J. L. Stevens), for which—and Crucifix for not "checking them"—a complaint[3] was preferred against all three at the Board of General Purposes. Crucifix and Wood were suspended from their Masonic functions for six, and Stevens for three, months. Against these sentences they appealed, and at a Grand Lodge held in June, 1840, the suspension of Alderman Wood was removed, and that of the others confirmed.

Crucifix then addressed a very intemperate letter to the Grand Master,[4] which the latter forbore to notice until it was printed in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*—together with many editorial observations of an improper character—when the original letter was laid before the Board of General Purposes, by which body, after inquiry, he was summoned to show cause at a Special Grand Lodge why he should not be expelled from the Craft.

Accordingly, on October 30, he attended, and made a very humble apology. The motion for his expulsion was then put, to which an amendment was moved that his apology be accepted, which, on a division, was agreed to.

will be presently noticed, but I may here observe that the above resolution was carried in the teeth of his opposition.

[1] The President and ten other members to be nominated by the Grand Master, and fourteen members (of whom seven were to be actual Masters) to be elected by the Grand Lodge.

[2] Besides the records of Grand Lodge, and the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, I am here indebted to the "History of the Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution," by Mr. G. B. Abbott (1884).

[3] The complainants were Peter Thomson, Lawrence Thompson and two others.

[4] He sent a letter on the same day—June 11, 1840—to the Grand Secretary, containing his resignation as a Grand Officer, and stating that he was no longer a member of any *English* Lodge, afterwards disclaiming, on this ground, the jurisdiction of the Board of General Purposes. Here, however, he was foiled, but in the following year, by publicly notifying that he had ceased to edit the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*—of which, nevertheless, he continued to be the master-spirit—he succeeded in keeping out of the clutches of the Board, who would otherwise have rightly visited upon him the numerous sins of that journal.

Among the leading opponents of the "Asylum Scheme" was the late Isaac Walton, Past Master of the Moira Lodge, No. 92. "Finding, however," says a contemporary writer,[1] "that opposition but aided the Asylum, he adopted the plan of competition, and hoisted the standard of a Masonic Benevolent Annuity Fund. The Duke of Sussex for a long time denied his patronage, but Walton sought an interview with him, and meeting with a repulse on his favorite theme, he fairly told the Grand Master, on taking leave, that there remained no other means of preventing the Asylum from being built and endowed. This decided the matter; the Grand Master relaxed, adopted Walton's scheme, and thus proved the fallacy of all opposition to the 'Asylum' principle; which, so far from being uncalled for and unnecessary, became the parent of a second Masonic charity."

An Annuity Fund for males was sanctioned by Grand Lodge, March 2, 1842, and extended to the widows of Freemasons in 1849, which continued as a separate organization until 1850, when it amalgamated with the Asylum.

During the administration of the Duke of Sussex, which was only brought to a close by his lamented death in 1843, several new offices were created in Grand Lodge, some of which have been already mentioned. After 1819 the right of nominating all the Grand Officers, except the Treasurer, was vested in the Grand Master. But the patronage of the Duke of Sussex was not confined within these limits. He altered at pleasure the status of any Grand Officer, created new offices, and freely appointed brethren to rank in the Grand Lodge.[2] An Assistant Director of the Ceremonies was appointed by the Duke, *proprio vigore*, in 1836; but the office of Pursuivant—established in 1840—was created by a resolution of Grand Lodge, which at the same time regulated the status of the new Grand Officer.

The Earl of Zetland,[3] who, as Pro-Grand Master, virtually acceded to the supreme authority on the death of the Duke of Sussex, was nominated for the substantive office by Peter Thomson in December, 1843, and unanimously elected Grand Master in the following March.

We have now reached a point where the accuracy of the historian becomes subject to the criticism of actors in the events he recounts. To use the quaint words of Thomas Fuller—"I hear the Cock's crow proclaiming the dawning day, being now come within the ken of many alive, and when men's *memories* do *arise*, it is time for *History* to haste to *bed*."

It is, however, quite impossible to compress the narrative of occurrences under the administration of Lord Zetland within the limits originally assigned to it, though I shall do my best to avoid prolixity, by treating the general subject in broader outline than has hitherto seemed consistent with historical proportion.

On December 3, 1845, the Grand Master announced that certain English Masons, "who professed the Jewish Faith, had been refused admittance as visitors into a Lodge at Berlin holding under the Grand Lodge, 'Royal York of Friendship,' on the ground that

[1] Most probably Crucifix himself, as the quotation is taken from the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, 1846, p. 221. Walton, however, was as much the founder of one scheme as Crucifix was of the other.

[2] Although it is perfectly clear that the Grand Master possessed no other powers than were conferred upon him by the Grand Lodge, these irregularities of the Duke of Sussex were actually quoted as precedents in 1883!

[3] Born, 1795; initiated, 1830; J.G.W., 1832: D. G.M., 1839; Pro-G.M., 1840; and G.M., 1843-71.



Your faithful Brother
Robt Crucifix

Brother Robert T. Crucifix, of England.

BORN 1797—DIED 1850.

Was initiated into Masonry in 1829, and rose to high rank in the Order, alike in private Lodges, Chapters, and Encampments, and in Grand Lodge, having been made Grand Deacon. He was a great friend of all Masonic charities, and practically the founder of the "Asylum for Aged and Decayed Freemasons."

He was an earnest and zealous Mason, and although a little too impetuous at times, and strong in his likes and dislikes, he was yet a sincere and true-hearted Brother, who earned the confidence of his Brethren and the affection of his friends.—*Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, P.·.G.·.C.·. of England.*

the Laws of that Grand Lodge excluded, even as visitors, brethren who were not Christians." In the following June, the subject was again referred to by Lord Zetland, who stated that the Grand Lodge "Royal York," at Berlin, declining to receive and acknowledge all certificates from the Grand Lodge of England without regard to the religion of those presenting them, the two bodies would no longer continue to exchange representatives. This estrangement lasted until 1847, when the principle stipulated for was gracefully conceded; and in 1872 the Grand Lodge Royal York "resolved to initiate Jews and men of all religions." The other Prussian Grand Lodges, the "Grand National Mother Lodge of the Three Globes," and the "Grand Countries Lodge of Germany," have not yet displayed the same liberality of sentiment. The subject was again brought forward in 1877, on the refusal of the former to receive as candidates for admission or joining any persons who were not Christians, when it was decided by the Grand Lodge of England, to refrain from any interference with a system of Freemasonry adopted by the "Three Globes Lodge" in 1740.[1]

"A more intimate connection and correspondence" was established in 1846 between the Grand Lodge of England and those of the Netherlands; of "Unity," at Darmstadt; and of Switzerland (Alpina), at Zurich.

In the following year the words "Free Man" were substituted for "Free Born" in the declaration subscribed by candidates for initiation; and at the suggestion of Mr. Fox Maule —afterwards successively Lord Panmure and Earl of Dalhousie—the employment of an authorized reporter to take down the proceedings of Grand Lodge was sanctioned by the Grand Master.

On December 7, 1853, "the Earl of Zetland communicated to the Grand Lodge, that he had been under the painful necessity of removing from his office, the R.W. Brother William Tucker, Provincial Grand Master for Dorsetshire, in consequence of his having thought proper to appear in his Provincial Grand Lodge in the costume and with jewels appertaining to what were termed higher degrees,[2] not sanctioned or acknowledged by the Grand Lodge, and which militate against the universality of Freemasonry."

Mr. Tucker, it appears, had taken his seat in the gorgeous regalia of a "Sovereign Grand Inspector General," being the 33d and last grade of the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite" —a series of degrees unrecognized by the Grand Lodge of England. Although one of the youngest of the Masonic Rites, it is at this day the most popular and the most extensively diffused. Supreme councils or governing bodies of the Rite are to be found in almost every civilized country of the world,[3] and in many of them it is the only Masonic obedience.[4]

In the latter part of the year 1855,[5] certain persons, belonging to Lodges under the

[1] In the course of the debate, the Rev. R. P. Bent pointed out that in Sweden "Masonry was not exceptionally—as Lord Tenterden had shown to be the case in Germany—but universally, simply and purely Christian."

[2] Dr. Oliver observes:—"I have reason to believe that many of the *hauts grades* are practiced in some of the more numerous and flourishing Lodges. I was in frequent communication with an excellent Lodge thirty years ago [1816], which conferred the whole thirty-three degrees" (Hist. Landmarks of Freemasonry, 1846, vol. ii., p. 101; *cf. post*, p. 275).

[3] The original members of the Supreme Council 33° of England and Wales were Dr. Crucifix, Dr. Oliver, and Henry Udall, who received a warrant—dated Oct. 26, 1845—from the Supreme Council, U.S.A., Northern Jurisdiction.

[4] See Chap. XXIV.

[5] *Cf.* the memoir of John Havers, *post*, p. 276 *et seq.*

Grand Lodges of England, Scotland, and Ireland, formed themselves into what they then termed "The Independent Grand Lodge of Canada." They were, however, denounced by a large majority of the Lodges in that country, then holding under the Grand Lodge of England, as illegal, and intercourse with the persons and Lodges belonging to this self-constituted Grand Lodge was strictly forbidden. In June, 1857, the largest proportion of the Lodges in Canada, holding warrants from the Grand Lodge of England, withdrew from their allegiance, and formed themselves into a Grand Lodge, which they designated the "Ancient Grand Lodge of Canada." In the course of time these two bodies formed a junction, and became the present Grand Lodge of Canada, which was recognized by the Grand Lodge of England December 1, 1858.[1]

Although the entire story of the secession would fill the remainder of this volume, the pith of it is given in a speech by the late John Havers, a portion of which I reproduce:—"Owing to the shortcomings on the part of the Grand Lodge of England, Canada has thrown off her allegiance, and the majority of the Lodges in that country has joined the Grand Lodge of Canada. When the excitement caused by this movement had subsided, and when harmony was restored in Canada, the Grand Lodge of England had recognized their independence."[2]

These difficulties led, in 1856, to the formation of a Colonial Board, consisting of ten members, "to whom all matters and correspondence relative to Lodges in the Colonies were to be referred for adjudication and direction."

In the same year—March 5—the following report of a joint committee appointed by the Board of General Purposes, and the Supreme Grand Chapter, was read in Grand Lodge:

"That after obtaining all the information in its power, this Committee is of opinion that the Mark Mason's Degree, so called, does not form a portion of the Royal Arch Degree, and that it is not essential to Craft Masonry; but they are of opinion that there is nothing objectionable in such degree, nor anything which militates against the Universality of Masonry, and that it might be considered as forming a graceful addition to the Fellow Craft's Degree."[3]

"The Report having been received, it was on Motion duly made, *Resolved Unanimously*,—

"That the Degree of Mark Mason or Mark Master is not at variance with the ancient landmarks of the Order, and that the Degree be an addition to and form part of Craft Masonry; and consequently may be conferred by all regular Warranted Lodges, under such regulations as shall be prepared by the Board of General Purposes, approved and sanctioned by the Grand Master."

At the next Quarterly Communication—June 4, 1856—when the minutes of the preceding meeting were read, the late John Henderson[4] moved the non-confirmation of the portion relating to the Mark Degree. "He denied that they had the power to make so great and constitutional a change as that of adding a new degree to the Order. They were

[1] The Grand Lodges of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec, were successively recognized by the Grand Lodge of England in 1869, 1870, and 1875 respectively.

[2] Proceedings of Grand Lodge, March 2, 1859.

[3] It is worthy of note that the whole of the Committee were *not* members of the Mark Degree.

[4] S.G.D., 1833; a member of the Board of General Purposes, 1833-37, 1839-40, and in 1857; President, 1836-37; Grand Registrar, 1837, and again in 1857, when he succeeded Alexander Dobie—who, in the same year, vacated the office of President of the Board of General Purposes. Died 1867.

pledged against all false doctrines, all innovations on their Land-marks;" and he contended "That no man, nor body of men, could make such innovation as that now proposed, without endangering the whole stability of the Institution."

The amendment was carried; but the subject was again discussed in Grand Lodge on June 7, 1865, when, in reply to a Memorial from the Grand Charter of Scotland, it was Resolved:

"1. That the Grand Lodge of England, in its Book of Constitutions, has declared and pronounced that pure Ancient Freemasonry 'consists of three degrees and no more, viz., those of the Entered Apprentice, the Fellow Craft, and the Master Mason, including the Supreme Order of the Holy Royal Arch,' and consequently it gives no sanction to the working of the Mark Master's degree in England.

"2. That the Grand Lodge of England does not acknowledge the Mark Master's degree to be part of pure Ancient Freemasonry, and does not recognize the Body styling itself 'The Grand Lodge of Mark Masters of England, Wales and the Colonies and Possessions of the British Crown.'"

The "Grand Lodge of Mark Masters," here referred to, was formed in June, 1856, Lord Leigh being the first Grand Master, and the Earl of Carnarvon the second. It has proved a highly successful organization. There are now some 350 Lodges under its banner, and the Prince of Wales has recently accepted the rank of Past Grand Master.

The *custom* of selecting a Mark was common to the members of all, or nearly all trades,[1] but the *degree* of the same name has not been traced further back than 1774, in which year it was wrought in what is now the "Marquis of Granby Lodge," No. 124, Durham. The "Order of Heredom" was worked in the same Lodge in 1773.[2] The earliest mention of the *degree* in any Scottish records occurs in the minutes of the Banff Lodge,[3] under the year 1778, at which date the *degree* of "Mark Man" was conferred on Fellow Crafts, and that of "Mark Master" on Master Masons.

Lyon has recorded his belief, that the *Mark* degree was introduced into Scotland at an advanced period of the last century, as a pre-requisite to the reception of other steps, so-called "high degrees," that in some Lodges[4] had been dovetailed into the Masonic curriculum.[5] "It appears not to have been worked," he observes, "by the Lodge Journeymen till about 1789; by Mary's Chapel, not till 1869; by Kilwinning, never."[6]

William Gray Clarke was appointed Grand Secretary in 1857, in succession to William Henry White, who retired on his full salary.

On December 3, 1862, the numbers of the Lodges were ordered to be closed-up; and

[1] "The day that a prentice comes under the Oath, he gets his choice of a mark *to be put upon his tools*, by which to discern them. ∴ Hereby one is taught to say to such as ask the question—Where got you this mark? *A.* I laid down one, and took up another" (A Mason's Confession, Scot's Magazine, 1755, p. 133). Compare with Chap. VIII., p. 49, note 2; and see further Chaps. VIII., *passim;* IX., pp. 78, 79; and particularly XVII., pp. 109, 115.

[2] W. J. Hughan in the *Freemason*, June 13, 1885.

[3] *Cf.* Freemason, March 20, 1869; and Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., pp. 34, 36.

[4] The same practice may have prevailed in the Durham Lodge in 1773-74? Dr. Oliver remarks, "from the legend and general construction of the [Mark] degree, it may be fairly classed with Ineffable Masonry, which was fabricated on the Continent after the revival in 1717" (Illustrations of Masonry, edit. 1861, p. 482).

[5] *Cf.* Oliver, Historical Landmarks of Freemasonry, vol. ii., p. 101; and *ante*, p. 273, note 2.

[6] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 71.

on the same day a Building Committee of seven members was elected, the proceedings of which range over a period of nine years. The foundation-stone of the new structure was laid by the Grand Master, April 27, 1864, and the existing Freemason's Hall completed in February, 1866—the "Tavern," now for the first time disjoined from the "Hall," being ready for occupation in 1867. The new building was inaugurated April 14, 1869, and in the following September it was ordered by Grand Lodge, that a Sculptured Tablet should be erected, with an appropriate inscription, to be surmounted by a Marble Bust of the Chairman—John Havers—and surrounded by Marble Medallion Portraits of the Members of the Building Committee—J. L. Evans, John Hervey, John Savage, J. R. Stebbing, George Plucknett, and Henry Grissell.

In 1865, the titles of Provincial Grand Master, and Provincial Grand Lodge, were ordered to be used solely in England, and in order to distinguish such Officers and Bodies in the Colonies and Foreign Parts, the latter were to be styled District Grand Masters, and District Grand Lodges, respectively.

In 1868, the office becoming vacant by the death of William Gray Clarke, John Hervey, P.G.D., was appointed Grand Secretary.

On June 2, 1869, Lord Zetland informed the Grand Lodge, that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales had joined the Fraternity, having been initiated by the King of Sweden. The rank of Past Grand Master was conferred upon His Royal Highness, at the Quarterly Communication held in September, and at that taking place in December, the Prince of Wales was present and received the homage of the Society.

An Assistant Grand Secretary was appointed by Lord Zetland (with the concurrence of Grand Lodge) in 1854, and the office of Assistant Grand Pursuivant, created by resolution of Grand Lodge, in 1859. In 1861, the power of conferring honorary rank was vested in the Grand Master. The number of Grand Deacons was increased to four by Grand Lodge in 1862, and in the same year (and manner), the President of the Board of General Purposes became a Grand Officer, by virtue of his office.

The Board of General Purposes, under the administration of Lord Zetland, increased, both in authority and reputation. Membership of, and service upon this committee, gradually became recognized as the legitimate channel to grand office, whilst upon the President[1] there virtually devolved the duties of Deputy Grand Master, as performed under both Societies prior to the Union. Among the prominent members of the Board, was Stephen Barton Wilson,[2] of whom it has been said that "the mantle of Peter Gilkes fell direct upon his shoulders."[3] That worthy, who was initiated by Gilkes in the St. Michael's Lodge, No. 211, at his death in 1866, had held the office of President of the Emulation Lodge of Improvement for a period of thirty years.

Two remarkable Masons joined the Board of General Purposes in 1841,—John Llewellyn Evans and John Havers, Masters of the "Old Union" and "Jordan" Lodges, *now* Nos. 46 and 201 respectively. The former, who in the following year became Grand Sword-Bearer,[4] served on the Board as a nominated member from 1842 to 1851, and again from

[1] With the exception of Alexander Dobie, of whom more hereafter, all the Presidents of this Board appear to have been singularly well qualified to discharge the duties of so important an office.

[2] 1834; 1837-39; 1851-52; 1858-65. J.G.D., 1857.

[3] This historic garment may be said to have descended, in like manner, upon Mr. Thomas Fenn, who, after a lifetime spent in Masonic labor, has recently undertaken the highly responsible duties of President of the Board of General Purposes.

[4] S.G.D., 1862; died 1875.

1853 to 1874, and from 1862 to 1871 as its President. John Havers was initiated in the Jordan Lodge, March 8, 1838, and subsequently joined the St. George and Corner-stone, No. 5, which sent him up as Grand Steward in 1846. He was Senior Grand Deacon in 1848, and Junior Grand Warden in 1862. His services on the Board of General Purposes ranged from 1841 to 1845, and as a nominated member from 1857 to 1860, and again in 1875-76. He was also annually elected on the Committee of Management of the Masonic Benevolent Annuity Fund during the years 1842-47, and was nominated a member by the Grand Master, 1849-52.

Havers rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the conductors of the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* by boldly denouncing the very reprehensible manner in which they garbled the reports of Grand Lodge meetings, and held up every one who differed from them to the ridicule of the public. In 1848, on his being appointed a Grand Officer, their indignation assumed a poetical form, and in the *Review* for that year (p. 124) we find the following lines:—

> "Be Silent, Brother B[igg]![1] Be more discreet!
> Behold! GRAND DEACON HAVERS takes his seat!
> Submission to the *purple* badge is due—
> You *must* be wrong if only clothed in blue!
> No *silver'd* collar *virtue* can enfold—
> None can be good, unless begirt with *gold!*"

In 1855-56 Havers was summoned to the councils of the Grand Master, the entire English Craft being then in a state of insubordination and discontent.[2] The Grand Secretary—W. H. White—had been in office nearly fifty years. The President of the Board of General Purposes—Alexander Dobie[3]—was also Provincial Grand Master for Surrey, Grand Registrar, Solicitor to the Grand Lodge, Third Grand Principal (R.A.), and Treasurer, both of the Grand Officers' Mess—at that time a very influential office—and of the Royal Alpha Lodge, then the Privy Council of the Grand Master. These two brothers, together with Messrs B. B. Cabbell and W. F. Beadon, Past Grand Wardens, virtually ruled the Craft. No country Mason, and but rarely a London one, outside the charmed circle of three or four Lodges, was ever promoted to Grand Office. Out of twenty Grand Wardens, no less than thirteen were selected from a single Lodge—the "Friendship," No. 6!

Though viewed, in the first instance, to use his own words, as "an incendiary and red republican," within three years from the time when the general direction of affairs passed into his hands, those who had originally assailed his policy entertained him at a public dinner at the Thatched House Tavern (the Grand Master being present), and John Rankin Stebbing[4]—at one period his chief opponent—in one of the vice-chairs. The great Cana-

[1] "Literary portraits" of Havers and John Bigg (P.M., Moira, No. 92) are given in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*, 1849, pp. 123, 237.

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 274, and the *Masonic Observer*, 1855-59, *passim*.

[3] *Elected* a member of the Board, 1836; *nominated* by the Grand Master, 1838-57; President, 1842-48 and 1854-56; J.G.D., 1838; Grand Registrar, 1846-56; Prov. G.M., Surrey, 1847-71. Died 1876.

[4] P.M. of Nos. 76, 130, 319, 359, 785, 1373, and of a Portsmouth Lodge; P.G. Secretary, and afterwards D.P.G.M., Hants and Isle of Wight; member of the Board of General Purposes, 1860-66; and of the Building Committee, 1862-69; S.G.D., 1864. His frequent speeches in Grand Lodge were always listened to with pleasure, his clear, emphatic, ready voice being raised in support of the extension of Masonic privileges, and in defence of what he deemed justice and fair play. Died June 15, 1874.

dian question was definitely settled by Havers, and on retiring from the office of President of the Board of General Purposes, to which he was appointed in 1858, and held until 1861, the thanks of Grand Lodge were unanimously voted (on the motion of Mr. Stebbing) "for his indefatigable devotion to the business, and successful efforts in facilitating the labors of the Board, and especially for his long and valuable services to Freemasonry." The proposal of the Grand Master, that the sum of five hundred guineas should be applied from the Fund of General Purposes, to purchase for him a life nomination to each of the Masonic schools—he declined in a graceful letter—read March 5, 1862—wherein the crowning labor of his Masonic life is shadowed forth by the expression of a belief "that the honor and dignity of Masonry demands a fitting temple devoted to its use."[1]

His services on the Building Committee have been already referred to, and I must bring this sketch to a close, by stating that his interest in the Society continued unabated until his decease, which occurred August 20, 1884.

In the period covered by the Grand Mastership of the Earl of Zetland, every now and then there appears to have been a mild form of agitation on behalf of a library for the Craft. The scheme had its origin so far back as about the year 1837, when it was launched with every prospect of success by the late John Henderson, at that time Grand Registrar, and also President of the Board of General Purposes. The sum of £100 was freely voted by Grand Lodge, and curators were appointed to carry out the design. But the scheme languished under Alexander Dobie—President Board of General Purposes, 1842-48, though its merits were warmly advocated by Mr. J. R. Scarborough in Grand Lodge, and by Crucifix in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review*.[2] The former proposed in 1846 and again in 1847, that the sum of £20 should be laid aside annually for the formation of a Library and Museum; and in a characteristic speech delivered in the latter year, is reported to have shown "the desirability of possessing the means of cultivating intellectuality more than gastronomy; that the other bottle did not do half so much good as the other volume, that it was laughable to tell a poor but inquiring brother to make a daily advance in Masonic knowledge, and the arts and sciences his particular study, if we withheld from him the means of doing so, and did not even give him a hint where Masonic knowledge could be gathered." The motion for a pecuniary grant was seconded by Dr. Crucifix, and after a long discussion, in which even the Grand Master himself "admitted the value of having such a Library," was referred to the Board of General Purposes.

In the following year, September 6, 1848, the Board made their report, from which it appeared that the Library then contained 279 printed books, and that of the £100 already voted by the Grand Lodge, £56 9s. 6d. had been expended. To the report were appended ten recommendations, all of which were adopted, the most important being that the Grand

[1] At the Inauguration of the New Buildings, April 14, 1869, Havers said, "he had now seen carried out the dearest Masonic wish of his heart, in the separation of the tavern from the Masonic portion of the buildings."

[2] "The Library and Museum—The late report of the Board of General Purposes on this subject intimates pretty broadly that it has proved a failure. If so, on whom does the blame rest? There is a Board of Curators appointed. What report have we received of their labors? None whatever. Who appointed this learned and philosophical Board? The Grand Lodge? No.—The Board of General Purposes. Then who are the responsible parties? Why, the Board of General Purposes; and as this body will be elected in June next, let a proper investigation take place; the Library and Museum must not be sacrificed to the ignorance of a Dunciad" (F. Q. Rev., 1845, p. 1).

Tyler should receive £15[1] annually for acting as a kind of sub-librarian, and that an announcement should be made in the quarterly accounts, inviting brethren to make contributions of books. Unfortunately this method of appealing directly to the Craft for their co-operation in the work of forming a Library and Museum, worthy of the oldest and richest Grand Lodge in the world, was never fairly tried, and I can only express a hope that some future Board of General Purposes may take up and improve upon the suggestion of that body in 1848, by soliciting both in the printed proceedings of Grand Lodge and in the "Freemason's Calendar," gifts from all quarters, calculated to enrich either the Library or Museum.

The Building Committee of 1862-69 endeavored to form a *Subscription* Library, but which, as might have been expected, proved a dismal failure.

Thus matters rested until 1880, when an annual grant of £25 was voted by Grand Lodge, and in the same year a Library Committee added to the subdivisions of the Board of General Purposes.

Lord Zetland was succeeded by the Earl de Grey and Ripon, and the installation of the latter—May 14, 1870—was deemed a suitable occasion for the presentation of an address to the former on his voluntary retirement from the Grand Mastership. The address was supplemented by a testimonial consisting of the sum of £2730, together with a silver inkstand; the latter passing into the possession of the Earl, and the former constituting the "Zetland Fund"—for the relief of distinguished brethren who might become distressed—of which the disposal was to rest with Lord Zetland, and after him, the Grand Master for the time being.

During the administration of the Earl of Zetland, both the present Boys' and Girls' Schools were built, and the pupils increased in number in the former from 70 to 115, and in the latter from 70 to 100.

In 1844 the number of Lodges was 723, in 1869 it was 1299. The certificates issued in 1844 were 1584, in 1869 they were 7000. Within the same period the income of Grand Lodge more than trebled itself, being £12,153 in the former year, and £38,025 in the latter. "Last but not least"—to use the eloquent words in which the retiring Grand Master was addressed on the occasion,[2]—"the noble hall and buildings in which they were assembled had been built in his Lordship's term of office, and the Grand Lodge of England had been freed from the just reproach of having held their meetings for a hundred years at a tavern. The Colonial brethren had been relieved of a large amount of taxation, and the selection of Grand Lodge Officers had not been confined to London Lodges and London Masons, but far and wide good services had been sought for, and, when found, rewarded."

The chief event in the administration of Earl de Grey and Ripon was the fraternal reception accorded to him whilst engaged in a mission of peace across the Atlantic by the Freemasons of the United States of America. Subsequently, this nobleman, then Marquess of Ripon, embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and on September 2, 1874, his resignation of the Grand Mastership was read in Grand Lodge.

According to the laws of the Society the office then devolved upon the Prince of Wales, as Past Grand Master, if willing to accept it; and a deputation[3] was therefore appointed to

[1] Discontinued June 5, 1850.

[2] By the late John Havers.

[3] Lord Carnarvon, D.G.M.; John Havers, J.G.W.; and Æneas J M'Intyre, G. R.

communicate with H.R.H., and request him to undertake the duties of M.W.G.M. until the next usual period of installation.

At the ensuing Grand Lodge in December, the Prince of Wales' acceptance of the Grand Mastership was formally notified; also that he had appointed the Earl of Carnarvon and Lord Skelmersdale Pro-Grand Master and Deputy Grand Master respectively; and on April 28, 1875, His Royal Highness was duly installed at the Royal Albert Hall, South Kensington, in the presence of the largest Masonic Assembly ever held in Great Britain.

Two years later, their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Connaught and Albany were appointed Senior and Junior Grand Wardens respectively, both Princes having been initiated in 1874, the former in the "Prince of Wales," and the latter in the Apollo University Lodge.[1]

The progress of the Society under the Prince of Wales has been marked but uneventful. A committee[2] was appointed, December 5, 1877, to consider the action of the Grand Orient of France in removing from its constitution those paragraphs which asserted a belief in the existence of God; and in the ensuing March they recommended (*inter alia*) the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

"That the Grand Lodge, whilst always anxious to receive in the most fraternal spirit the Brethren of any Foreign Grand Lodge whose proceedings are conducted according to the Ancient Landmarks of the Order, of which a belief in T. G. A. O. T. V. is the first and most important, cannot recognize as 'true and genuine' Brethren any who have been initiated in Lodges which either deny or ignore that belief."

In January, 1880, Colonel Shadwell H. Clerke[3] was appointed to the office of Grand Secretary, which had become vacant by the resignation of John Hervey.[4] Two Standard Bearers and a Deputy Director of Ceremonies were added to the number of Grand Officers in 1882; and on March 21, 1885, Prince Albert Victor, eldest son of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, was initiated in the "Royal Alpha" Lodge, London, by the Grand Master in person.

Their charitable institutions are munificently supported by the Freemasons of England. Each has its annual Festival, and the total amount raised in the year 1885, by voluntary subscription alone, exceeded £40,000. Since the schools were respectively founded, 1389 girls and 1631 boys have been educated in them; whilst 241 of the former and 216 of the latter are now receiving the benefits of these institutions. The Royal Masonic Benevolent Institution has 330 annuitants, of whom 163 are males and 167 females; and in addition there are no less than 19 widows, each in receipt of a moiety of her late husband's annuity.

The latest Lodge-warrant issued down to September, 1885, bears the number 2111, being an increase of 40 Lodges, since the publication of the official calendar of current date, where the highest number shown is 2071. Many Lodges, however, included in the present numeration are now extinct, and from the nominal roll of 2111—or, including the Grand

[1] Prince Leopold (Duke of Albany), youngest son of Her Majesty the Queen, passed the chair of the Apollo, Westminster and Key Stone, and Antiquity Lodges, and became Prov. G.M. for Oxfordshire, 1875. "Of a delicate constitution from his youth, his beautiful and promising career was cut short by death in 1884" (G. W. Speth, Royal Freemasons, p. 11).

[2] Lords Carnarvon, Skelmersdale, Leigh, Tenderden, and Donoughmore; Rev. C. J. Martin; Messrs Æ. J. M'Intyre, J. B. Monckton, H. C. Levander, and R. F. Gould.

[3] S.G.D., 1878.

[4] Served on the Board of General Purposes, 1849-53, as an *elected*, and 1854-61, as a *nominated*, member. S.G.D. 1854. Died 1880. *Cf. ante*, pp. 275, 276.

Stewards' Lodge—2112 Lodges, at least 176 should be deducted, which will show a total of 1936. Of these 337 are held in the London District, 1066 in the Provinces, 527 in places beyond the seas, and 6 in regiments.

Further statistics of English Masonry will be found in the Appendix. This will afford the student facilities for a minute study of the distribution of Lodges according to Provinces and Districts, the income and expenditure of Grand Lodge, the various dates on which the constitutions were revised, the number of public ceremonies in which successive Grand Masters (or their representatives) have taken part, together with other details of a similar character; whilst their omission in the text will doubtless prove acceptable to the general reader.

The names of many eminent Masons now deceased have been introduced into this chapter. The list of Masonic worthies might be extended, but I shall draw a line between the present and the past, and let the services of these excellent brethren who are still laboring in our midst, be recorded by some future historian.

No substantial addition to the literature of the Craft has been derived from any English source until within the memory of the present generation. The works of the late Dr. Oliver enjoyed an ephemeral popularity, but their authority has crumbled away under the cold criticism of time. As Froude well says, "Knowledge grows, belief expands, the facts of one age are seen by the next to have been no facts but creatures of the imagination." Oliver, indeed, was no exception to that paradox so generally to be observed in theorists, who are the most credulous of men with respect to what confirms their theory, but perfect infidels as to any facts that oppose it. But from the time of Dr. Crucifix down to the present day, a vast and (of late years) unobtrusive labor has been performed by the Masonic press. The *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* of 1834 is now represented by the *Freemason* and the *Freemasons' Chronicle*. The Masonic journals of intermediate dates will be elsewhere referred to.

Here I bring to a close the history of the Grand Lodge of England, although the subject of *English* Freemasonry will again claim our attention in a final Chapter, where the merits and demerits of all the Masonic systems—properly so-called—will be examined and compared.

CHAPTER XXII.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGES OF IRELAND.

THE earliest minutes of the Irish Craft are to be found in the "Munster Records," where we meet with the proceedings of a "Grand" as well as of a "Private" Lodge, dating from the year 1726.

The minutes of both bodies were kept in the same book, which, falling accidentally into the hands of the Rev. James Pratt, was presented by him, in 1824, to Robert Milliken, who restored it "to the proper custody." The volume is now in the possession of Mr. Anderson Cooper, Dep. Prov. G.M., Munster, through whose courtesy Hughan received a transcript of its material features, which has been placed at my disposal.

In the original the two sets of records are mixed and interwoven. The entries are in strict chronological order, and the scribe was apparently the Secretary of both Fraternities. For the sake of clearness, however, the transactions of each body will be separately presented, commencing with those of the Grand Lodge.

Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Munster, 1726-33.

"At an assembly and meeting of the Grand Lodge for the Province of Munster, at the house of M^r^ Herbert Phaire, in Cork, on S^t^ John's Day, being the 27 day of December Ano Dm. 1726. The Hon^ble^ James O'Brien, Esq^re^,[1] by unanimous Consent elected Grand Master for the ensueing yeare; Springett Penn, Esq^re^, appointed by the Grand Master as his Deputy.

Walter Goold, Gent^e^., } appointed Grand Wardens."
Thomas Riggs, Gent^e^., }

"S: Jo^ns^ day, Decembr 27^th^, 1727.

"At a meeting of the Rt. Worshipful the Grand Lodge of Freemasons for the Province of Munster at the house of Herbert Phair, in the City of Corke, on the above day, the Grand Master and the Deputy Grand Master not being present, Will^m^ Lane, Master of the Lodge of Corke, being the oldest Master present, acted as Grand Master pro tempore.

"It appearing to the Grand Lodge that severall Lodges within this Province have neglected to pay their attendance w^ch^ is highly resented, in order to prevent the like for the future, and punish such as shall not conform themselves to their duty: It is agreed unanimously that for the future no excuse shall be taken from the Masters and Wardens of any Lodge for their non-attendance unless a suffic^t^ number appear, or that they send, at the time of such excuse, the sum of twenty-three shill. stg., to be disposed of as the Grand Lodge shall direct; the number deem'd suffic^t^ to be not less than three. It is further resolv'd that the Master and Wardens who have absented them-

[1] Apparently the third son of William, second Earl of Inchiquin, a descendant of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, and Kings of Thomond, *temp.* Henry VIII.

selves on this day doe and are hereby obliged to pay the like sum of 23^{s}., to be dispos'd of as afors^{d}, except such as have justly excus'd y^{m}selves: And it is recommended to the Grand Master for the time being, that when he shall appoint any Master of a Lodge, that such Master shall oblige and promise for himself and Wardens that they comply with the aforemention'd rule, and moreover, that every Master and his Wardens shall require as many of his Lodge as he possibly can assure himself can have no just reason for absenting themselves to attend at y^{e} Grand Lodge. And further, it is resolved that this Rule be read or recited to all Mast^{rs} and Wardens at their election or nomination.

"Ordered that these regulations be recommended to the several Lodges within our precincts.

"Ordered that the Deputy Grand Warden of this R^{t} Worshipfull Lodge, in their names, doe return thanks to Tho^{s}. Rigs, Esq., for his exelent speech in ye opening this Grand Lodge, and for all other his former service.

"Ordered that M^{r} Tho^{s}. Wallis, sec^{d} deputy Grand Warden, doe attend and open our next Grand Lodge.

"Ordered that this Grand Lodge be adjourned to y^{e} next S^{t} John's day, at this House of Brother Herbert Phair.

"W^{m}. Lane, *p. tempe*, G.M.[1]
Tho^{s}. Riggs, } G.W.
Tho^{s}. Wallis, }
Ja. Crooke, Treasurer and Secretary."
[And six others without Titles.]

"S. John's Day, June 24, 1728.

"At a meeting of the Rt. Worshipfull y^{e} Grand Lodge of Freemasons for the Province of Munster, at y^{e} House of Bro: Herbert Phair, in y^{e} City of Corke, on y^{e} above day, The Hon^{ble} James O'Bryan was unanimously elected Grand Mast^{r}. Rob^{t}. Longfield, Esq., appointed by the Grand Mast^{r} as his Deputy. Samuel Knowles, Esq., and Mr. Tho^{s} Wallis, appointed Grand Wardens.

"Ord^{d}. that Mr. John Wallis and Mr. S^{t} George Van Lain be suspended this Lodge for their Contempt offer^{d} this R^{t}. Worshipfull Grand Lodge this day in refusing attendance though regularly summond, and appearing afterward before ye windows at y^{e} time of their sitting; and that they, before they be rec^{d} again, doe make a proper publik acknowledgm^{t} of their behaviour, and to pay, each of them, two British Crowns to y^{e} Treasurer of G^{d}. Lodge for y^{e} benefit of y^{e} poore Brethren.

"Tho^{s}. Wallis, } G.W. Ja. O'Bryen, G. M."
Sam^{ll} Nolers } Rob^{t}. Longfield, D.G.M."

"S^{t} John's Day, June 24th, 1730.

"At y^{e} Grand Lodge held at Bro^{r}. Phaire's this day, Col. W^{m}. Maynard was by a unanimous Consent of y^{e} Brethern then present Elected Grand Master for y^{e} ensuing year, & M^{r} Tho^{s}. Riggs elected Deputy Grand Master, W^{m}. Gallway and Jo^{n}. Gamble, Esq^{rs}., Grand Wardens; Mr. Sam^{ll}. Atkins, Secretary to s^{d} Lodge.

"Tho^{s}. Wallis, G.M. *pro temp.*
Adam Newman, } G.W.
James Crooke, } *pro temp.*, G.W.

"Ordered that this Grand Lodge be adjourned to Bro^{r}. Phaire's on St John y^{e} Baptist's Day, wh. will be in y^{e} year 1731.

"Tho^{s}. Riggs, D.G.M.
W^{m}. Galwey, G.W.
John Gamble, G.W."[2]

[1] The transcriber, and Mr J. H. Neilson, concur in the belief, that in all cases the names appended to the minutes were the actual signatures of the parties.

[2] The same signatures are appended to the two following entries.

"S^{t} John's Day, June 24th, 1730.

"Humble supplication being made from some Brethern at Waterford to have Warrant from our Grand Lodge for assembling & holding Regular Lodges there, according to ancient Costome of Masonry; it is agreed y^{e} Petition shall be received from s^{d} Brethern to be approved and granted as they shall shew themselves Qualified at our next Grand Lodge."

"The like application from some Brethern at Clonmell, y^{e} like order for their approbation."

1731.—"At a Grand Lodge held the 24th Day of June at M^{r} Herbert Phaire's, S^{d} Grand Lodge was adjourned to Monday, the 9th Day of Aug^{t} 1731.

"W^{m}. Galwey, Mast^{r}."

At a Grand Lodge held at M^{r} Herbert Phaire's, Monday, the 9th Day of August 1731, by unanimous Consent the R^{t}. Hon^{ble} James Lord Baron of Kingston[1] was elected Grand Master.

"W^{m}. Galwey, Mast^{r}."

"August the 9th, 1731.—M^{r} Adam Newman appointed Dep^{ty} Grand M^{r}., Jonas Morris and W^{m}. Newenham, Esq^{rs}., Grand Wardens, by the R^{t}. Worshipful the Grand Master, the R^{t}. Hon^{ble} James Lord Baron of Kingston, wth the unanimous approbation of the Brethern then attending his Lordship at the Grand Lodge.

"Kingston, G.M."

"St John's Day, June 24th, 1732.—A Grand Lodge was held on said day at Broth^{r}. Phairs, when said Lodge was adjourn'd to the 25th of July next, and it is unanimously agreed y^{t} all such members as are duly served and wont attend, y^{t} they shall pay y^{e} fine of five shillings and five pennce, or to be admonished or expold for s^{d} misdemeanor.

"Adam Newman, D.G.M.
Wm. Galwey, Mast^{r} of y^{e} Lodge."

"June 23, 1733.—At a consultation held for adjourning the Grand Lodge, St John's day happning on Sunday, the Grand Lodge was accordinly adjourn'd to Monday, the 25th inst.

"Ad^{m}. Newman, D.G.M."

The Grand Lodge was again adjourned to July 26, when it was further adjourned to October 3, the order being signed as before. There are no further minutes, but the following Regulations, are then given, though of anterior date by some three years:—

"General Regulations made at a Grand Lodge held in Corke on S^{t} John y^{e} Evangelist's Day, 1728.

"The Hon^{ble} James O'Bryen, Esq^{r}., Grand Mast^{r}.

"In due Honour, Respect, and obedience to y^{e} right Worshipfull the Grand Master, that his Worship may be properly attended for the more Solemn and proper holding our Grand Lodge on St John the Baptist's day, annually, for ever, and for y^{e} propagating, exerting, and exercising Brotherly Love and affection as becometh true masons, and that our ancient Regularity, Unanimity. and Universality may in Lawdable and usual manner be preserv'd according to immemorial usage of our most ancient and R^{t} Worshipful Society, the following Regulations are agreed to.

1.[2] "That every Brother who shall be Mast^{r}. or Warden of a Lodge, shall appear and attend, and shall allso prevail with and oblige as many of y^{e} Brethern of his Lodge as can, to attend y^{e} Grand Lodge.

2. "Every constituted Lodge, if the Master and Wardens thereof cannot attend, shall send at least five of y^{e} Brethern to attend the Grand Lodge.

[1] "According to letters from Dublin, *John*, Lord Kingston, is in custody of the High Sheriff of Cork, upon pretence that *his Lordship's son*, who left that kingdom some time since, was concern'd in enlisting men for the service of the Pretender" (Weekly Journal or Saturday Post, June 2, 1722).

[2] Not numbered in the original MS.

3. "That every Master of a Lodge shall give timely Notice in writing to y^e^ Master of the Lodge where y^e^ Grand Lodge is to be held, eight days before y^e^ Grand Lodge, what number of Brethern will appear from his Lodge at the Grand Lodge.

4. "That if it shou'd happ'n that y^e^ Masters and Wardens or Five of y^e^ Brethern of any Lodge shou'd not be able to attend at y^e^ Grand Lodge, then such Lodge so failing shall send y^e^ sum of twenty & three shill: to be paid to the Grand Mast^r^ or his Deputy.

5. "That all & singular ye Brethern of such Lodges where the Grand Lodge shall be held, shall attend such Grand Lodge, or the person absenting to pay a British Crown.

6. "That these Regulations be duly entered in y^e^ Books of each Lodge, and sign'd by the Master, Wardens, and all y^e^ Brethern of such Lodge, and that at y^e^ making of any new Brother, care be taken that he sign such Regulations.

7. "That an exact Duplicate of these Regulations sign'd by the Master and Wardens and all the Brethern be delivered with convenient speed to the R^t^. Worshipful Grand Master, of each Lodge.

8. "That every new Brother who has not sign'd such Duplicate before it be deliver'd to the Grand Master, shall be oblig'd to attend at the next Grand Lodge which shall be held after his admission, there to sign such Duplicate.

9. "That no person pretending to be a Mason shall be considered as such within y^e^ precincts of our Grand Lodge, or deem'd duly matriculated into y^e^ Society of Freemasons untill he hath subscribed in some Lodge to thes regulat^ns^., and oblig'd himself to sign y^e^ before mention'd Duplicate, at wch time he sall be furnish'd with proper means to convince y^e^ authentick Brethern y^t^ he has duly complyed.

10. "That the Master and Wardens of each Lodge take care that their Lodge be furnish'd with the Constitution, printed in London in y^e^ year of Masonry 5723, Anno Dom. 1723, Intitled the Constitution of Free Masons, containing the History, Charges, Regulations, &c., of THAT MOST ANCIENT & RT. WORSHIPFULL FRATERNITY.

"To due and full observance of the foregoing Regulations we, the subscribers, do Solemnly, Strictly, & Religiously, on our obligations as Masons, hereby oblige our.elves this Twenty-seventh day of December, in the year of Masonry 5728, and Anno Dm. 1728.

"The foregoing Regulations and form of obligation were read and approved by y^e^ Grand Master and Grand Lodge afore mentioned, & ord'd to be observ'd as y^e^ original Warrant under y^e^ Grand Master's hand, and attested by all the Brethern then present, which Warrant is deposited with y^e^ other records of this Lodge of Cork.

"Tho^s^. Wallis, G.W. Fran^s^. Healy, Mast^r^.
Thomas Gordon, James Crooke,
Hignett Keeling, } Wardens."
Tho^s^. Riggs,
[And ten other Brethren.]

No minute is preserved of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge held December 27, 1728, when these Rules were agreed to. It seems to me, however, that there must have been earlier Records than those of 1726, also that more minutes of meetings from that period were kept than have come down to us.

The meetings were held at the tavern kept by Herbert Phaire, the same house being also selected for the purposes of the Lodge. The first Lodge minute is dated "December y^e^ 81^h^, 1726," but the figure has been altered and probably means 8^th^?

MINUTES OF THE LODGE.[1]

"December y^e^ 8th, 1726.

"In a meeting of this Lodge this day at Mr Herbert Phaires, it was unanimously agreed that

[1] No. 1, The first Lodge of Ireland, Cork.

M^r^ Tho^s^. Holl^d^., a poor Brother, be every Lodge night a constant attend^t^ of this Lodge, and that every night he so attends a brittish crown be allow'd him for y^e^ relief of his distress'd Family.

"Mast^r^., Springett Penn."

"Wardens, Thomas Gordon. Thomas Riggs. } The above named Thomas Holland missbehaveing himself at the Grand Lodge held on S^t^. John's Day, the 27^th^ of Decemb^r^ 1726, Order'd the above order continue no longer in force.

"D. G. Master, Springett Penn."

"At a monthly meeting of y^e^ worshipful Society of Freemasons at the House of M^r^ Herbert Phaire, Thursday y^e^ 2d of Feb^r^. 1726 [1726-7], Mr Herbert Phaire was appointed to act w^th^ M^r^ W^m^ Lane as Warden of this Lodge, and M^r^ Septemius Peacock and M^r^ Adam Newman to act as Deacons[1] in y^e^ s^d^ Lodge.

"Springett Penn, D.G.M."

"Novemb^r^ 20^th^, 1727.

"By an ord^r^ in writing from the Hon^ble^ James O'Bryan, Esq., our present Grand Mast^r^, to us, directed for the convening a Lodge to choose Mast^r^ and Wardens for the Worshipf^ll^ Lodge of Freemasons in Corke, wee having accordingly conven'd a sufficient Lodge at the House of Brother Herbert Pair on this day, proceeded to the election, and then and there W^m^ Lane, Esq., was duly chosn Mast^r^ of s^d^ Lodge, and the Hon^ble^ S^r^ John Dickson Hamman, Knt. Barnt., and M^r^ Tho^s^ Wallis were duly chosn Wardens.

"Tho^s^. Gordon. Fran^s^. Cook."

"At the sametime M^r^ James Crooke, Jun^r^., was chosen Treasu^r^ and Secretary to said Lodge.

"W. Lane, Master,
Ja^s^. Dickson Haman, } Wardens."
Tho^s^. Wallis,

The following is signed by thirty-three brethren:—

"We who have hereunto subscribed do resolve & oblige ourselves as Masons to meet on the first Monday of every month at the House of Bro^r^ Phaire (or such convenient place as shall be appointed) for the holding of a Lodge in a Brotherly or Friendly manner. Each member of the Lodge being absent to pay thirteen pence.[2] Dated 22^nd^ August 1728."

"December the second, 1728.

"The yeare of the Master & Wardens being expired the twentieth of last month, it was this day agreed to in a proper Lodge of the Worshipfull ffraternity of ffreemasons in the City of Corke assembled at the house of Brother Herbert Phaire, that ffrancis Healy, of the said City, Merchant, be elected to serve as Master, and James Crooke, Jun^r^., and Joseph Collins, Merchants, be Wardens of the said ffraternity for the ensuing yeare, in the Room and place of the late Master and Wardens, which was consented & agreed to *Nemine Contradicente.*

"Fra^s^ Healy, Mast^r^. W^m^ Lane, late M^r^.
J^o^ Collins, } Wardens. Tho^s^. Wallis, G.W.
James Crooke, Jun^r^., John Flower."

Passing over the minutes of March 13, 1728, and January, 1729, the following are the next in order:—

"Cork, Monday the 1^st^ Day of March 173$\frac{0}{1}$.

"At a Lodge held by adjournement this day for the election of Master and Wardens for the

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XIX., p. 217.

[2] The "first Lodge of Ireland," Cork, continues to assemble on "the first Monday of every month," as did its ancient original, above mentioned.

Lodge of Cork, by unanimous Consent W^m^ Gallway, Esq., was chosen Master, M^r^. Abraham Dickson and M^r^ Septs. Peacock, Wardens, for the year ensuing.

"W^m^ Galwey, Mast^r^. — Tho^s^ Wallis, late M^r^.
Abra^m^ Dickson, } Wardens. — Tho^s^ Riggs, D.G.M.
John Gamble, G.W."

"Cork, 12^th^ Augt. 1731.

"Att a Lodge held at Bro. Phairs, W^m^ Newenham, Esq., appeared & acted as Mast^r^, y^e^ Mast^r^ being absent, and only one Warden, at which time Thomas Evans, Rowland Bateman, William Armstrong, and George Bateman, Esq^rs^., were admitted Enter'd Prentices."[1]

The only other minute preserved, which begins on the reverse of the leaf containing the first part of the Regulations of 1728, and concludes on the next page after the Grand Lodge record of June 24, 1728—is to the following effect:—

"Cork, June the 21, 1749.

"At a Lodge held at brother Hignett Keelings on the day above written, the Master and Wardens being present, M^r^ Wil^m^ Bridges was Rec^d^ Enter prentice, and did then and there perform the Requisite Due.[2]

"Fran^s^ Cooke, Mast^r^.
Herbert Phaire, }
Hig^t^ Keeling, } Wardens.
Tho^s^ Rely.
S^t^ George Van Lawen.
John Hart, M.D."

The first minute of Lodge No. 1 begins December 8, 1726, and of the Grand Lodge, December, 27, 1726. But Mr. Neilson—to whom I am much indebted for the loan of his unique set of the Irish "Constitutions"—has traced an earlier reference to Irish Freemasonry. In the Minute-Books of the Corporation of Cork under December 2, 1725, it is recorded—"that a Charter be issued out for the Master, Wardens, and *Society of Freemasons,* according to their petition." The next entry of a similar character occurs under January 31, 1726—"The Charter of Freemasons being this day read in Council, it is ordered that the further consideration of said Charter be referred to next Council, and that Alderman Phillips, Mr. Crover, Foulks Austin, and Commissioner Spealeer do inspect same." Beyond these two entries, however, no allusions to the Craft are to be found in the Corporation Records.[3]

Although not capable of demonstration, it may, I think, be reasonably inferred that the Charter referred to was applied for by the Grand Lodge of Munster,[4] in order that its authority might be strengthened as the governing Masonic body of that Province, in which, at the time, there were many private Lodges.

It has been my good fortune to discover a still earlier notice of the Grand Lodge, which appeared in the *London Journal*—July 17, 1725, viz.—"From the same kingdom

[1] Not signed.

[2] The minutes of Aug. 12, 1731, and June 21, 1749, are the only ones that refer to the ceremony of initiation, and all are silent as to Masonic *degrees.*

[3] Printed in the "Report on Foreign Correspondence," Grand Lodge of New York, 1879, p. 77.

[4] Note the phrase—"Society of Freemasons"—italicised by me in the extracts from the Cork Municipal Records, and the *London Journal.*

[Ireland] we have advice that *the Society of Free Masons* had met, and chose the Earl of Ross, Grand Master for the year ensuing."

The precise import of this evidence it is impossible to determine. We cannot decide whether Lord Ross was Grand Master of Munster, or of one of the other three Provinces into which the country had been long (geographically) divided; or, assuming that the Province of Leinster then had a Grand Master, whether the jurisdiction of such officer was considered to extend throughout Ireland.[1]

It is probable, however, that the Earl of Ross was elected Grand Master for the Munster Province, and this supposition is strengthened by the circumstance, that in the "Book of Constitutions" published officially by Spratt as Grand Secretary in 1751,[2] the earliest of the Grand Masters of Ireland is stated to have been elected in 1730.

It is uncertain when Freemasonry was first introduced into Ireland. We know, however, that Francis Sorrel—Senior Grand Warden of England, 1723—was "appointed Agent to the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, in the room of Mr. French, deceased,"[3] in 1725, and in the same year, among a list of books, described as having been "lately publish'd and sold opposite the Watch House, the North Side of College Green," Dublin, we meet with "The Constitutions of the Freemasons *2s. 2d.*,"[4] from which it may be inferred there were many Lodges in Ireland requiring copies of such a work. The same argument therefore which has been advanced in Chapter XVI. with respect to the permeation of English Masonic ideas into Scotland, will again apply; for, by a parity of reasoning, Sorrel's appointment, and the circulation of Dr. Anderson's Constitutions,[5] must have materially conduced to the diffusion in Ireland of those Masonic principles which had their origin in England.

Why the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Munster was restricted to the Province of the same name, I cannot say, but that such was the case, is made clear by the records. The petitions for Lodges appear in each case to have emanated from brethren in the East of Munster (Waterford and Clonmell), and moreover, the Regulations were simply "recommended to the several Lodges *within our precincts.*" Mention is also made of the "precincts of our Grand Lodge," in the laws of 1728, and whilst it is patent that there were numerous Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Munster, I find nothing whatever to suggest that its authority ever extended beyond that Province. At the same time, however, having regard to the number of Lodges under that Grand Lodge, it is singular that with the exceptions of the records of the old Lodge at Cork, and the petitions from Waterford and Clonmell, we are literally without a scrap of information as to their origin, situation, transactions, or periods of existence. The earliest historian of the Irish Craft maintains a uniform silence with regard to them, though it is but reasonable to suppose that some particulars of their history must have been known to Spratt in 1742-51; also that applications from those Lodges for Charters of Confirmation, must almost certainly have been made later on to the more central and prosperous Grand Lodge at Dublin.

[1] As the Grand Lodge of England—until 1724—only issued warrants to Lodges in London and Westminster, its original jurisdiction was confined within lesser limits than those of the Province of Munster.

[2] *Ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 206.

[3] Mist's Weekly Journal, July 17, 1725.

[4] Dublin Journal, No. XXXIII., for Saturday, July 31, 1725.

[5] *Cf. ante*, the Munster Laws of 1728, § x.

So far as we are enabled to judge, the customs of the English Society were adopted by the Grand Lodge at Cork. The records inform us that the Hon. James O'Brien was Grand Master, 1726-28; Colonel William Maynard, 1729-30; and Lord Kingston, 1731-33, during which period (1726-33) Springett Penn, Robert Longfield, Thomas Riggs, and Adam Newman were successively appointed Deputy Grand Masters. Grand Wardens were also elected. James Crooke is mentioned as Treasurer and Secretary, December 27, 1727; and on June 24, 1731, Samuel Atkins was elected Secretary, the prefix "Grand" being omitted in both cases, according to the early usage of Grand Lodges.[1] In the absence of the Grand Officers, the Master of the old Lodge at Cork—doubtless as representing the Senior Lodge—seems to have invariably presided over the deliberations of the Grand Lodge. Colonel Maynard does not appear to have attended the Grand Lodge after his election as Grand Master, but the brethren present on June 24, 1730, *elected* the D.G.M., Grand Wardens, and Secretary. Lord Kingston only attended on the day of his installation, August 9, 1731, and hence the numerous postponements of the Grand Lodge after that date. The records come to an end, July 26, 1733, and in all probability the "Grand Lodge for the Province of Munster" ceased to meet, owing to the Grand Master declining to preside any longer over its proceedings. It is quite possible that Lord Kingston regarded the existence of two Grand Lodges as undesirable, and though at the head of both, he may only have joined the Munster Society, in order to facilitate its absorption by the more highly favored confederacy of Lodges at the capital. But, however this may be, the nobleman in question was elected to preside over the "Munster" Grand Lodge a year after he had been chosen to fill a similar position at Dublin, and acted as Grand Master of both associations in 1731. Clearly, therefore, the two Grand Lodges, though rivals, must have been on terms of amity, notwithstanding the invasion of Munster territory by their common chief—who, during his dual government, granted a Dublin warrant to a Lodge at Mitchelstown,[2] in the county of Cork.

Not a single "Munster" warrant—original or copy—has yet been traced. Even the "first Lodge of Ireland" at Cork, now meets under a Dublin Charter, and which, strange to say, is the identical document issued February 1, 1731, by the authority of Lord Kingston, for Mitchelstown.

On the reverse of this warrant are two endorsements. The first is of an uncertain character,[3] but the second clearly indicates that at whatever date the Lodge at Cork procured the warrant of 1731, the Provincial Grand Master for Munster (as representing the Grand Master at Dublin) did not officially sanction its removal from Mitchelstown until some forty-five years after its original issue.[4]

The only further documentary evidence which throws any light on the subject is so highly valued by the members of the Lodge, that it is kept framed in their Masonic Hall. It reads:—

[1] Chap. XVII., p. 144.

[2] A few miles from the City of Cork.

[3] "This War[t]. so long missing, thank God, is recovered, and I found the same on record. This we derive under March 2[d], 1744" [or "1742."—The signature is illegible].

[4] "This is to certify that this Warrant, No. 1, granted to be held in the Town of Mitchellstown, and many years dormant, has been received [*revived?*] by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and is hereby transferred to be held in future in the City of Cork by the present Master and Wardens and their successors for ever. Given under my hand in Provincial Grand Lodge, in the City of Cork, this 1[st] day of August 1776, and of Masonry, 5776. "Robert Davies, P.G.M., M[unster]."

"Tuesday, June 16th, 1761, and of Masonry 5761.

"At a Grand Committee held at the House of Brother John Hodnett, at the Globe Tavern, in the City of Corke, under the sanction of Nos. 1, 27, 28, 67, 95, 167, 224, 267, and 347, the first matter debated was the validity of No. 1, which was disputed by the Grand Secretary, John Calder, as appeared by his Letters and Notes addressed to no Master or Body; after a most mature and deliberate scrutiny the Warrant No. 1 was declared valid, and the Grand Committee was pleased to come to a Resolution to support it in its Dignity and Privileges in full Force and Execution in this City. The next matter debated [was] the validity of Warrant No. 95, formerly held in the City of Cashell, in the County of Tipperary, and rescued from thence by order of the Right Worshipfull David FitzGerald, Esq^{r}., Deputy Grand Master of Munster, for Mal Practices; this matter appeared so glearingly oppressive and over bearing, that in a short time their Worships confirm'd the warrant, and Order'd the Execution [decision] to continue in full force by their authority. And it is resolv'd that the Transactions of this General Committee shou'd be inserted in every Lodge Book of this City."[1]

This proves that though the year 1776 witnessed the official sanction of No. 1 Warrant at Cork, the Charter had been in the hands of the Lodge for many years previously—probably from 1742—and that the Grand Committee held in 1761 determined to support its claims to certain dignities and privileges as the *first* Lodge of Ireland.

It would be interesting to know something more of the old Lodge at Cork between 1749 and 1761,[2] and there is unfortunately a gap in the Records between the latter year and 1769. The regularity of its charter was demurred to in 1770, and the minutes inform us that on May 28, 1771, "it was unanimously agreed that the Warrant shou'd be sent to Brother Hull (now in Dublin) to be established, and it was delivered to Brother W^{m}. Cuthbert for that purpose," and on November 7, 1771, it was "unanimously agreed, in consequence of a letter from our Bro. J. S^{t} J. Jefferies to send him up the Warrant of Lodge No. 1 to Dublin, in order to have it *finally* adjusted by the Grand Lodge."

These minutes, together with the record of August 1, 1776, clearly establish that the members of Lodge No. 1 were not regarded as the proper custodians of the charter until 1776, though its transfer from Mitchelstown to Cork may nevertheless have been sanctioned many years before by the *local* authorities, and, as we have already seen, "after a most mature and deliberate scrutiny, the Warrant No. 1 was declared valid" by a (Munster) Grand Committee in 1761.

I now pass to the institution of the Grand Lodge of Ireland (Dublin), which, according to Anderson[3] and Spratt,[4] occurred "in the third year of his present Majesty King George the Second, A.D. 1730,'"[5] when "James King, Lord Viscount [Baron] Kingston," was

[1] Signed "by order, Jn^{o}. Roe, P.D.G.M." The signatures are also appended of the Masters and Wardens of the Lodges represented.

[2] In the "Pocket Companion," Dublin, 1735, is a list of the Warranted Lodges in the kingdoms of Ireland, Great Britain, etc. (Reprinted by Hughan, *Mas. Mag.*, January 1877), those for Ireland numbering 37. Nos. *one* to six are allotted to Dublin; but in a List of 1744 (with Dr. Dassigny's work) of "the Regular Lodges in Dublin," 16 in all, number *one* was then vacant, and was doubtless filled later on by the *first* Lodge of Ireland at Cork.

[3] Constitutions, 1738, p. 96.

[4] New Book of Constitutions, 1751, p. 121. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 206.

[5] The third year of George II. ended on June 10, 1730.

chosen Grand Master "the very next year after his Lordship had, with great Reputation, been the Grand Master of England;[1] and he has introduced the same Constitutions and usages."

With regard to the earlier history of the Craft in the Irish metropolis, we are left very much in the dark. Spratt, indeed, says that "many Freemasons" took part in the ceremony of levelling the "Foot-stone" of the Parliament House in Dublin on February 3, 1728 [1728-9] when Lord Carteret (the Lord Lieutenant) and other distinguished noblemen were present, and "the Masons drank To the King and the Craft." Yet it is singular that the same writer does not give the names of any of the officers appointed by Lord Kingston in 1730, and affords no further particulars of the formation of the Grand Lodge of Ireland than he was enabled to borrow from the pages of Dr. Anderson. According to Milliken, however, the brethren dined together on February 3, 1728-9, "and there being no Lodge in Dublin, resolved, as was the case in London in 1717, to erect a Grand Lodge in Dublin, and invited the Grand Provincial of Munster, Lord Kingston, to take the Grand National Chair of Ireland, which honor his Lordship readily accepted. ∴ From Dublin the Craft spread all over the Kingdom as from a proper centre, and other Provincials were erected."[2] This conjecture doubtless approximates to the truth: but Lord Kingston was not *Grand Master* of the independent Grand Lodge at Cork until August 9, 1731, though he may have been, and probably was, a *member* of that body at an earlier date.

It is unlikely that any minutes of the inaugural proceedings of the Grand Lodge at Dublin were in existence when Spratt wrote. Had there been, his narrative of its proceedings would have had an earlier commencement than April 6, 1731. The warrant now held by No. 1 Cork is dated February 1, 1731, which, unless standing for 173$\frac{1}{2}$, takes us back one year before Spratt's History. The Grand Officers named in the Charter were those elected by the Grand Lodge —July 7, 1731—after the installation of Lord Kingston, as recorded by Spratt—"Lord Nettervil, Deputy Grand Master; the Honorable William Ponsonby and Dillon Pollard Hamson, Esquires, Grand Wardens"—the only addition being "Tho. Griffith, Secretary."

A further extract from Spratt's narrative demands our attention:—"Tuesday, 1st of February 1731. Grand Lodge in Form. Brother *John Pennell* was unanimously chosen and declared Secretary to the Grand Lodge." Now, as that meeting follows those of April 6, July 7, and December 7, 1731, it clearly was held on February 1, 1731 *old style—i.e.*, 1732, consequently it is just possible that the last act of the retiring Grand Secretary was to date and sign the warrant, and then give place to Pennel. The name of Griffith does not appear to have been known to Spratt, or at all events, not as Secretary. Mr. Cooper informs me that the final figure in the two dates, 1731 and 5731, is in each case written on an *erasure*. The alteration probably occurred when the "Old Style" gave place to the "New" (1752); and possibly at the same time *Cork* was substituted for *Mitchelstown* as the place of meeting? But passing from inference to fact, there is no doubt that the Warrant of No. 1 was the first document of its kind ever issued by the Grand Lodge in

[1] *Cf.* Chap. XVII., pp. 136, 137. It is a little singular that in 1735, whilst this nobleman was at the head of the Craft in Ireland, the Master and Wardens of an *Irish* Lodge were refused admission to the Grand Lodge of *England*, "unless"—to quote from the records—"they would accept of a new constitution here" (Minutes of the Grand Lodge of England, Dec. 11, 1735).

[2] Historico-Masonic Tracts, pp. 111, 112.

Dublin; and as Lord Kingston is therein described as "Grand Master of *all the Lodges* of Free Masons in the kingdom of Ireland," the designation would be incorrect on February 1, 1731, but substantially accurate on the same date in 173½, when the nobleman in question was at the head of both the Munster and the Dublin Grand bodies.[1]

The official Calendar of the Grand Lodge of Ireland still further complicates matters by giving a list of Grand Masters, which not only differs considerably from that in the "Remarkable Occurrences in Masonry," appended to the Constitutions, or "Ahiman Rezon" of 1858, and notably from Spratt's list of 1751, but is found to be extremely inaccurate[2] when collated with the Transactions of the Grand Lodge for the Province of Munster from 1726 to 1733.

According to Spratt, Lord Kingston was Grand Master in 1730, also in 1735, and again in 1745-46. The office was filled by Viscount Mountjoy,[3] subsequently first Earl of Blessington, in 1738-39; and from its formation the Grand Lodge of Ireland had "a noble brother at its head," until the year 1747, when Lord Kingston was succeeded by Sir Marmaduke Wyville.

On May 7, 1740, the Deputy Grand Master (Callaghan) proposed Lords Anglesey, Tullamore, and Donneraile for the office of Grand Master, which was the first contested election. Lord Donneraile, who obtained the suffrages of the majority, was installed in the June ensuing; and in the following year Lord Tullamore occupied the chair, and was succeeded by Baron Southwell in 1743. Lord Southwell attended the Grand Lodge held December 7, 1731, and in the minutes of the Grand Lodge of England for November 21, 1732, is named as a visitor, and styled "Provincial Grand Master in Ireland." The decease of Lord Allen, soon after his re-election on May 15, 1745, "deeply affected the Brotherhood with sorrow for so sensible a loss." Spratt, from whom I quote,[4] states that applications were "made to former Grand Masters and other noble Brethren" to fill the vacant chair, but without avail. "Then Masonry in *Ireland* might be said to be in a Twilight for want of its proper Lustre, till Application was made to the truly noble, and ever to be esteemed among Masons, the Lord Kingston. He, like an affectionate and tender Brother, always ready to espouse the Cause of Truth, Charity, and Virtue, most humanely and readily condescended to illuminate the Cause he had often been a shining ornament in." This nobleman, who was chosen Grand Master for the remainder of the term, was re-elected on May 7, 1746.

John Putland, D.G.M., announced to the Grand Lodge on January 3, 1749, that the late Grand Master, Sir M. Wyville, with Lord Kingsborough, G.M., the D.G.M., Grand Wardens, and other distinguished brethren, had "formed themselves into a regular Lodge to consult the Good of the Craft, and, as far as in their Power lies, promote the welfare of the Fraternity in general." After a complimentary resolution it was at once ordered "That a Registry be opened in the Front of the Grand Register Book for the said Lodge,

[1] It is indeed barely possible that the officers of 1731 were those of the previous year, in which case the Warrant of No. 1 may have been dated 173$\frac{0}{1}$, but the supposition has very little to recommend it.

[2] According to the same publication, Lodge No. 1, Cork, was formed in 1731, and No. 2, Dublin, in 1727. Thus the latter is represented as antedating by three years the Grand Lodge from which its warrant was derived! In reality, however, No. 2 was chartered October 24, 1732, as appears from a transcript of the warrant published by Hughan in 1875 (Masonic Magazine, vol. ii., p. 284).

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XIX., pp. 193, 206.

[4] Constitutions, 1751.

and that the same shall henceforth be distinguished and known by the Denomination of the GRAND MASTER'S LODGE, and that all or any of the members thereof, who does at any Time think proper to visit the Grand Lodge, shall take place of every other Lodge on the Registry or Roll Books of this Kingdom; and that each and every of them shall be as fully entitulled to all and every of the Privileges and Freedoms thereof, as any other member or members that this Grand Lodge is composed of."[1]

According to the Regulations of 1816, membership of the Grand Lodge was restricted —in the case of brethren of the Grand Master's Lodge—to Master Masons. By the Laws, however, of 1839, 1850, and 1858, such membership was restricted to the brethren of that Lodge who had been raised prior to June 9, 1837, whilst in the latest code (1875) the clause is omitted, and the representation of the Lodge is merely based on the same plan as those of the other Lodges. It continues, however, to enjoy precedence over the rest, and is shown at the head of the list without a number. The Lodge is governed by the Grand Master or the D.G.M.; and in their absence, by the acting Master, who is annually elected by the members. Candidates for admission must be approved by the Grand (or Deputy Grand) Master; and the members "are permitted to wear aprons fringed and bound with gold, similar to those worn by the Grand Officers, but distinguished by the letters G.M.L. embroidered in gold thereon."[2]

The Centenary of this highly favored Lodge was celebrated on January 3, 1849, the circumstance being notified to the Grand Lodge of England on April 25 following, when Mr. Godfrey Brereton, Representative to the Grand Lodge of Ireland, presented to the Earl of Zetland, Grand Master, a medal struck in commemoration of that event, which the Duke of Leinster, G.M., "requested the Grand Lodge of England to accept as a testimony of respect and fraternal regard."[3]

The loss of the early records of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, though variously explained, has never been satisfactorily accounted for. One statement is, that the minutes of prior date to June 24, 1780, were placed in the hands of some person for transcription, whose charge for his labors proving excessive, payment was refused, whereupon both writings—original and copy—disappeared. According to another account, these records were abstracted by Alexander Seton—a prominent figure in the schism which culminated in the formation of the Grand Lodge of Ulster. But without going so far as to ascribe the theft to any particular individual, it is probable, on the whole, that the early minutes of the Grand Lodge of Ireland passed out of the archives of that body, and were destroyed during the pendency of the secession.

In the absence of official documents, therefore, it is difficult to trace even the sequence of Grand Masters, and as the evidence is conflicting,[4] a really trustworthy list of these

[1] An "Atholl" Lodge, bearing the same name, and endowed with corresponding privileges, was duly proclaimed, and took the first seat as No. I., September 5, 1759. The warrant, which is dated August 13 in that year, was issued by the authority of Lord Blessington. *Cf.* Gould, Atholl Lodges, p. 1.

[2] Constitutions, 1875, p. 30.

[3] "1849, *January* 3.—The celebration of the centenary of the Grand Master's Lodge, at which his Grace the Duke of Leinster, G.M., presided, attended by the Grand Officers, the representatives of the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland, and the Grand Steward's Lodge of England, etc., with a numerous assemblage of the brethren. Commemorative medals were struck for the occasion, and worn by the members of the Lodge, and were also presented to the various Grand Lodges through their representatives" (Constitutions, 1858, p. 192).

[4] The *names* of those brethren who are said to have presided over the Irish Craft—derived both from official, and non-official sources—will be found in the Appendix.

rulers of the Craft will only be forthcoming when the warrants issued to Lodges between 1730 and 1780 have been diligently examined.

The Marquess of Kildare (afterwards second Duke of Leinster) served his first term as Grand Master in 1771; and Viscount Dunluce (afterwards Earl and Marquess of Antrim) *appears*[1] to have done the same thing in 1773. The first Earl of Mornington—father of the great Duke of Wellington[2]—presided over the Society in 1777, and his son, the second Earl—later Marquess of Wellesley—in 1782-83.

Reference has already been made to the first (*Irish*) Book of Constitutions, which was published by John Pennell in 1730. This was little more than Anderson's publication (1723) brought down to date, the new matter being about counterbalanced by the omission of some of the old; for instance, the introductory portion, the "Old Charges," and even the Regulations are much curtailed.

It is very greatly to be regretted that the Constitutions of 1730 throw no light whatever on the opening history of the Grand Lodge of Ireland.

The next edition of the Constitutions seems to have appeared in 1744, and was published with Dr. Dassigny's "Impartial Enquiry" of the same year,[3] the title being "The General Regulations of the Free and Accepted Masons in the Kingdom of Ireland, Pursuant to the *English* Constitutions, approved of and agreed upon by the Grand Lodge in Dublin, on the 24th June 1741, Tullamore, Grand Master." The volume was dedicated to Lord Allen, the Grand Master, by Grand Secretary Spratt. Some 400 names are included in the list of subscribers, and among them we meet with those of "The Hon. Eliz. Alldworth" (the "Lady Freemason"), and "Mr. Laurence M^cDermott,"[4] the latter being in all probability intended for that of the famous "journeyman painter," then a member of No. 26, Dublin, and who refers to the work in his "Ahiman Rezon" of 1756.

Spratt's Book of Constitutions (1751) presents, in parallel columns, the English Laws of 1738, and those agreed to in 1739 during "the second year of the Grand Mastership of the Lord Viscount Mountjoy."[5] The "Regulations of the Committee of Charity," which follow, were approved of in 1738. The work contains a short history of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which is brought down to the year 1750. The list of about 200 subscribers contains the names of several Officers of the Grand Lodge, and of brethren at Cork,—among the latter, that of David Fitzgerald, having the letters "P.D.G.M.M." appended.[6] The compiler refers to the period covered by the years 1747-49 in the following terms:—"It may be justly said, that within these three last years Freemasonry has arrived to the highest Perfection it ever was in *Ireland*, as is observed by many old Brothers, who had neglected the Lodges and lain rusty some years past, now re-entering among their harmonious Brethren, and joining in Concord to strengthen their Cement."

Another revision of the "Book of Constitutions" took place in 1768, and was approved

[1] *I.e.*, according to some lists, but he was certainly Grand Master of Ireland in 1779-81, and of England (*Ancients*), 1783-91. *Cf.* Chap. XIX., p. 200.

[2] Initiated into Freemasonry December 7, 1790, in No. 494, at Trim (Furnell, Recorded History of Irish Masonry, p. 45). With the exception of the date, which is uncertain, the foregoing statement is borne out by the records of No. 494. The signature of the Duke—"A. Wesley" (*sic*)—is still extant. His grandfather, father, and brother, each in turn filled the chair of this Lodge. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 6, note 3.

[3] Hughan, Masonic Memorials, 1874, p. 6. [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 206.

[6] Provincial Deputy G.M., Munster.



Fraternally
S. Stacker, Williams

M.W. Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of F. and A. Masons of Ohio.

1886 8.

by the Grand Lodge on November 3 of that year. This Code remained in force, or at least was continually reprinted, down to the year 1807, when the second edition of the "Ahiman Rezon," by Charles Downes, P.M., 141 "Printer to the Grand Lodge," was issued, the first having been published in 1804, in which the "Rules, Orders, and Regulations" added between 1768 and 1803 were printed after the original XXIX clauses. From very early times the officers of Lodges were required to pass through instructions, and give account of their proficiency. Thus, in 1768, it was provided by Article (or Regulation) IX, that "every Master and Warden, at his first entrance, shall stand such examination as the Grand Master, or the Right Worshipful in the chair, shall appoint; and, if found incapable of his office, shall not be received as a member of the Grand Lodge." For more than a century the Grand Lodge of Ireland has enjoined the strictest caution in the admission of new members; and the "Constitutions" lay down rules for preliminary inquiry into the character of candidates for initiation, which it is only to be regretted do not extend throughout the Masonic jurisdictions of Great Britain. Every Lodge is required to have a seal, with the impression of a hand and trowel, encompassed round with the name of the town or city where it is held. This rule has been in force from 1768.

The members of "Army Lodges" were relieved from the payment of annual contributions, except whilst "on Dublin duty," in 1768; but on November 6, 1788, a registry fee of 1s. 1d. per member was imposed; the dues, however, payable by all Lodges were thoroughly revised on December 27, 1845.

In 1779 it was ordered "That any brethren meeting on Sunday as a Lodge be excluded from the Grand Lodge," the prohibition being inserted even so late as the edition of 1875.[1]

The following regulation was passed in October, 1789:—"That no Masonic transaction be inserted in a newspaper by a brother without permission from the Grand Lodge." This interdict, which remains in full force, has had a very prejudicial effect by instilling the idea that secrecy, even in "routine" matters, is enjoined by the Grand Lodge, and as a natural result the materials from which a really comprehensive history of Irish Freemasonry might be written, do not exist.

The Numerical List of Lodges on the Register of the kingdom of Ireland for 1885, shows the "Grand Master's Lodge" at the head of the Roll without a number, after which follow 387 Lodges, with numbers ranging from *one* to 1014. Of the 345 Lodges to No. 645 of 1785, only forty-seven are dated the years when the warrants were originally granted. No. 3 Cork, No. 4 Dublin, and No. 7 Belfast, are now dated 1808, 1825, and 1875 respectively, though the Lodges which were originally constituted with those numbers must have been chartered in 1731-32. These are but a few instances of the many curious numerical anomalies of the Register of Lodges under the Grand Lodge of Ireland, and suffice to prove that the numbers which distinguish such Lodges at the present time frequently afford no real indication of their antiquity. There are, however, several Lodges on the Roll which date from 1732 to 1785, but how many of these can prove continuous working for a century or for three Jubilees, as several have done in England of recent years, it would be difficult to determine.

Centenary Warrants—as they are termed in this country—are not granted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland, therefore the Irish records are not searched with the same pertinacity as in England, where an emulation exists among the members of old Lodges to prove an

[1] In England, and within living memory, the practice of meeting on the Sunday was a very favorite one with Lodges of Instruction.

uninterrupted Lodge-existence of a century. Neither are there histories published of particular Lodges, as in England, Scotland, and America, so that not only the Irish Craft, but also the brethren of other jurisdictions, have, except in a few solitary instances, to put up with the entire absence of those details of Masonic life and activity which would throw a strong light on the Freemasonry of the Sister Kingdom.

I have already alluded to the first Lodge of Ireland, 1731, and the Grand Master's Lodge, 1749. The former, at Cork (with twelve others), enumerated by Milliken, was in existence in 1769, which year begins "the regular record," according to his authority, "after the lapse of forty years," but I have shown that the "lapse" was not to such an extent as Milliken imagined. The minutes of No. 1 from 1769 are worth reproduction, and should be published. On December 5, 1770, according to these records, "Richard, Earl of Barrymore, was admitted Entred Apprentice and Fellow Craft, and was afterwards raised to the sublime Degree of Master Mason." It will be recollected that the fourth Duke of Atholl was hurried through the degrees in the same manner in 1775,[1] and the cases of the two noblemen differ only in one particular, the Earl not being elected Master of the Lodge[2] until the *following evening*, whilst the Duke was placed in that office *the same night!*

In August, 1773, in order to encourage the Irish manufactures, each member of No. 1 agreed "to provide a uniform of Irish Cloth, the colour garter blue, with crimson waistcoat and breeches."[3] Mr. Neilson[4] mentions another Lodge, the members of which "wore the regimental uniform for nearly sixty-one years." This, the "first Volunteer Lodge of Ireland," No. 620, was constituted on September 13, 1783. The members were fined if present at any of its meetings without being clothed according to the By-laws; the prescribed uniform being worn until January 10, 1844, when it was resolved that "the dress be black trousers and coat, satin faced, and velvet collar, with white vest." The late Rev. J. J. MacSorley[5] states that the "satin facings" were of the same colour as the uniform.

Of the other twelve Warrants for Cork in 1769, as recorded by Milliken, nearly all have been reissued to other Lodges, and bear later dates. Of these, No. 25 is now at Dublin, and is dated 1853; No. 28 is at Antrim, and dates from 1825; No. 67 is at Bantry (1884); No. 167 at Athy (1840); whilst No. 224 went all the way to Bermuda in 1867; No. 295 is still held in the 4th Dragoon Guards, as it has been from 1758—so it was in all probability for a time in Cork during 1769—and occurs in like manner in the lists of 1804 and 1813. In the latter Register, no less than 122 military Lodges are enumerated, and on the Roll of 1822 there were 42, whereas there are only 9 in 1885.[6] No. 347 has gone to Tasmania (from 1872); and Nos. 383, 395, and 400 are not on the present list. No. 95 is still at Cork, but dating from 1771, it must have been reissued since 1769. The only other Lodge to be accounted for is No. 27, which is now held at Dublin, and is declared to date from 1733. A sketch of this Lodge has been given by Hughan in the *Masonic Magazine*,[7] where its chequered career can be studied by the curious reader. The "Shamrock Lodge," originally chartered about 1733, was granted a singular privilege. Its members were allowed

[1] Chap. XIX., p. 199.

[2] Sir Robert Tilson Deane, Bart., and Governor Jeffreys were the Wardens.

[3] Historico-Masonic Tracts, p. 117. [4] Freemason, Oct. 1, 1881.

[5] The Rev. J. J. MacSorley was initiated in No. 620 on September 4, 1838, and was Grand Chaplain of Ireland for more than a quarter of a century. He was long known as the "Father of the Lodge."

[6] *Cf. ante*, p. 262, note 5. [7] April 1878.

to wear aprons with "green flaps," and a golden shamrock embroidered thereon. As No. 27 Cork, it is inserted in the Register of 1804, and the name occurs on the Hon. Mrs. Aldworth's Masonic Jewel, which was given by the then owner to a P.M. of that Lodge, May 1, 1816; its Warrant being exchanged by the members of No. 167, Castle Townshend, about 1840. Shortly afterwards it languished, and in 1876 was transferred to Dublin, the present title of the Lodge being the "Abercorn." The "Shamrock" Lodge at one time kept a pack of hounds, called the "Masonic Harriers," and after enjoying the pleasures of the chase, the "Charter song" was often called for, when the members sang in chorus the beautiful words of the Irish poet:—

"O, the Shamrock! the green immortal Shamrock!
Chosen leaf
Of Bard and Chief,
Old Erin's native Shamrock."

Milliken informs us that the Hon. Mrs. Aldworth was intitiated in No. 95. Another writer connects the occurrence with the annals of No. 150. But although that lady unquestionably became a member of the Society, the Lodge in which she was admitted appears to have been No. 44—warranted in 1735.[1]

The Hon. Elizabeth St. Leger was the youngest child and only daughter of the first Viscount Doneraile. The date of her initiation is uncertain, though it must have taken place before 1744, in which year her name appears on the list of subscribers to a Masonic work.[2] According to one account, the adventurous young lady concealed herself in a clock; and according to another, she witnessed the proceedings of the Lodge through a crevice in the wall. All versions of the occurrence agree, however, in stating that the eavesdropper was detected, and afterwards initiated in due form. On the death of her brother, without issue, the family estates passed to the "Lady Freemason," who married Richard Aldworth of Newmarket, in the county of Cork, and the title of Viscount Doneraile was subsequently revived in the person of their son. The portrait of Mrs. Aldworth—in Masonic clothing—hangs in many of the Irish Lodge-rooms, and her apron is still preserved at "Newmarket House."

The old Lodge, No. 13,[3] held at Limerick from the year 1732, is still on the Roll, the testimony of Milliken being, that it has, "although Lodges, like all human institutions, are prone to change, preserved its respectability from its first formation." The same writer relates a pleasing story in illustration of the good feeling of its members. In 1812 two small vessels were captured by Captain Marincourt of "La Furel." One of these hailed from Youghal. The two Captains were Freemasons, and the captor, who was also a Brother, allowed them their liberty on their pledge to do their utmost to obtain the release

[1] For details of this initiation, which may justly claim a place among the "remarkable occurrences in Freemasonry"—see "Biographical Memoir of the Hon. Mrs. Aldworth, the Female Freemason" (Spencer, London), which is based on an earlier pamphlet published at Cork in 1811. The latter is believed to have been compiled from information supplied by Richard Hill of Doneraile, son of Arundel Hill, who was present at the occurrence. The name of Lord Doneraile, W.M., No. 44, "grandson of the Hon. Mrs. Aldworth," will be found in the list of subscribers.

[2] By Dr Fifield Dassigny. *Cf. ante*, p. 294; and Chap. XIX., pp. 191, 210.

[3] *The Pocket Companion for Freemasons*, Dublin, 1735, gives a list of thirty-seven Irish Lodges. Of these, five were held in regiments, and one—No. 14—at Limerick.

of "Brother Joseph Gautier, then a prisoner of war in England," or failing in their endeavors, "they bound themselves to proceed to France within a given time, and surrender." Captain Marincourt and his ship were captured shortly afterwards by the British frigate "La Modeste," and in consequence of his Masonic conduct the French commander was unconditionally released. The Lodge, No. 13 Limerick, together with Nos. 271 and 952 of the same town, by way of marking their esteem for his character, sent him a vase, of the value of one hundred pounds, but which he did not live long enough to receive. The handsome gift was in consequence returned to the donors, "where it remains an ornament in Lodge No. 13, and a memorial of the sublime friendship existing between Freemasons."[1]

The jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of Ireland was invaded by "Mother Kilwinning" in 1779, whose "Grand Master," the Earl of Eglinton, granted a Warrant in that year to "the High Knights' Templars of Ireland, Kilwinning Lodge,"[2] Dublin. The members of this Scottish Lodge fully considered that they were justified in working the Knight Templar degree by virtue of their charter, and actually did so as early as December 27, 1779. Other degrees were also wrought by the same body, such as the Royal Arch in 1781, and the Prince Rose Croix in 1782, whilst the "Chair," the "Excellent," and the "Super Excellent" degrees came in for a share of their attention. From this *Lodge* arose the "Early Grand Encampment of Ireland," which has chartered over fifty "Encampments," —some having been for Scotland and England,[3]—whilst the present "Kilwinning Preceptory," Dublin, is an offshoot of the year 1780. When the "rights" of this Knight Templar Organization were disputed or questioned, their "Sublime Commander" (John Fowler) maintained that their Warrant was "holden from the Royal Mother Lodge of Kilwinning of Scotland, the true source from which any legal authority could be obtained," and it was declared that "the documents to support this statement are in the archives of the Chapter, ready for the inspection of such Knights' Templars as choose to examine them." The Charter,[4] however, simply authorized the formation of a *Lodge*, "Mother Kilwinning" never having worked any other than the *three* degrees, and those only *since* the third decade of the last century.

The erection of this daughter Lodge encouraged, however, the belief in Kilwinning being a centre of the *hauts grades*. In 1813 application was made to the Mother Lodge to authorize the transfer of a "Black Warrant"[5] from Knights of the Temple and of Malta, in the Westmeath Militia, to brethren in the same degree serving in the Shropshire Militia. But the Lodge of Kilwinning, in reply to the "Sir Knights" of the latter regiment, repudiated the existence of any maternal tie between herself and any Society of Masonic

[1] Historico-Masonic Tracts, p. 119.

[2] The history of this Lodge has been narrated—though unfortunately in a series of articles not restricted to a single channel of publication—by W. J. Hughan and J. H. Neilson.

[3] Hughan has copies of Charters granted to Aberdeen (No. 43) in 1807, and to Scarborough (No. 51) in 1809, by authority of the "Early Grand Master."

[4] Copies of the Petition of April 1779, and of the Warrant of October 27, 1779, are to be found in the "History of Mother Kilwinning Lodge," by Robert Wylie, 1882, pp. 370, 371.

[5] It was to their intercourse with brethren belonging to regiments serving in Ireland towards the end of the last century, that Scotch Lodges owed their acquaintance with Knight Templarism. This Order, then known as '*Black Masonry*,' was propagated, to a large extent, through Charters issued by the 'High Knights' Templars of Ireland, Kilwinning Lodge' a body of Freemasons in Dublin, who were constituted by Mother Kilwinning in 1779, for the practice of the Craft Degrees" (Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 287).

Knighthood, and confessed her inability to "communicate upon Mason business farther than the Three Steps."[1]

Another old Lodge requires a passing notice. On St. John's Day (in harvest) 1800, the members of No. 60, Ennis, attended the Roman Catholic chapel there, and heard a sermon by the Rev. Dr. M'Donagh (Parish Priest), who subsequently dined with the Brethren. This Lodge was warranted in 1736, and is still on the roll, with the same number and place of meeting.

We learn from a non-official source "that in the year 1797 Freemasonry in Ireland flourished so greatly under its accomplished Grand Master, the Earl of Donoughmore, that scarcely a village was without its Masonic meeting. The numbers of Masons, therefore, in the sister isle, manifested an enthusiasm which greatly exceeded its popularity in England. About 50 Lodges met in Dublin alone, and in the city of Armagh, 34 Lodges of that single county assembled in general committee to vote resolutions expressive of their loyalty, with a declaration to support the King and Constitution. In 1834 scarcely eight Lodges met in Dublin."[2]

There was a great deal of Masonic enthusiasm in Ireland during the closing years of the last century. Indeed this is placed beyond doubt by the large number of Lodges on the Roll at that period, but nevertheless the supply was plainly in excess of the legitimate demand, for many of them ceased to meet within a very short period of their constitution. In a list for 1804[3] the numbers range from 1 to 951, but of these 178 were vacant, consequently there were only 773 Lodges in actual existence. A still larger proportion of extinct Lodges is disclosed by the printed report of June 24, 1816. At that date only 607 Lodges had paid their dues, 110 were in arrears not exceeding five years, and 68 beyond that period. There were 25 military Lodges of which no account had been received "for many years," and 210 were "*dormant or cancelled!*" In other words 607 had obeyed the laws, and 413 had not, with respect to the annual and other payments to the Grand Lodge, there being 810 on the Roll, and 210 erased from the Register.[4]

In order to dispose of the 210 numbers then vacant, together with such others as were in arrears of dues and cancelled, it was ordered "that on and after June 24, 1817, the vacant numbers shall be granted to existing Lodges, according to seniority." The petitioning bodies were to be properly qualified and recommended, and a fee of one guinea was sanctioned "to meet the expense of revival and exchange" of each warrant.

"Perfect uniformity of Warrants" was also aimed at, and Lodges undesirous of changing the numbers they then bore, were recommended to "take a duplicate of same off the improved plate," with a distinct pledge that the original date should be preserved and inserted.

On the completion of these changes it was designed that all new warrants granted by the Grand Lodge should be ordered for the highest senior number then vacant on the List, so that the numerical order should not be increased till all the vacant numbers were disposed of.

From 1817 to the present time the "numerical order" has not been increased, the

[1] Lyon, History of Mother Kilwinning (Freemason's Magazine, Feb. 18, 1865, p. 114).

[2] Freemasons' Quarterly Review, 1834, p. 318.

[3] "Printed by Brother C. Downes." Copies of this rare work are to be found in the libraries of Mr. J. H. Neilson, Dublin; Mr. J. Lane, Torquay; and of the Royal Cumberland Lodge, No. 41, Bath.

[4] W. J. Hughan, in the *Freemason*, August 18, 1877.

numbers distinguishing the Lodges in 1885 not having overlapped the list of June 24, 1816. Indeed, on the contrary, out of the 1020 numbers then existing, no less than 634 are at the present moment available for allotment! It has been observed by Mr. Neilson that "The custom in Ireland as to Lodges being known, is different from England and Scotland, as in Ireland every Lodge is known only by its number, the name being a secondary matter, and consequently Lodge numbers have *never been changed from the time of their first being granted.*"

But it would be difficult to substantiate this statement, at all events with regard to the usage prevailing between the years 1816-20, for it is evident that some Lodges then took higher numbers, and consequently violent numerical changes must have been made, of which no account has been officially notified from that period to this, the special regulations mentioned only affecting *old* Lodges, the new warrants being provided for in the revised Laws. Under the original Grand Lodge of England, however, and also in Scotland, changes of numbers have been duly chronicled, so that each Lodge can be traced through all its numerical vicissitudes, and if distinguished by a high number, though of late origin, the discrepancy is capable of explanation. In 1814 there were 647 Lodges on the Roll of England, and about 322—of which 42 were dormant or erased—on that of Scotland. Therefore, in the year named (1814) the total number of Lodges nominally *at work* under the three Masonic jurisdictions of these islands was as follows:—In England, 647; in Scotland, 280; and in Ireland, 810. Many of these were, of course, held *out* of the countries within whose jurisdictions they were comprised. According to the Irish Roll, for example, we find that two Lodges met in England—Norwich[1] and the "Middle Temple, London,"[2] respectively—a third in "Beeziers (*sic*), France;"[3] a fourth at New York; and a fifth at Baltimore; besides some others which assembled in parts of the world—the colonies and dependencies of the British Crown—where their presence does not call for any remark.

For the convenience of the general reader, and to avoid prolixity, the further history of the Grand Lodges of Ireland will be resumed in Chapter XXX., and concluded in the Appendix.[4] The subject of Military or Regimental Lodges—which had their origin in Ireland—will be pursued with some fulness in the former, whilst the general statistics of Irish Freemasonry will be found collected in the latter.

[1] No. 148. [2] No. 247. [3] No. 503.

[4] Subsequent references to the description *given in this work*, of Freemasonry in Ireland, must therefore be held to apply to Chapters XXII. and XXX., and to the portions of the Appendix which correspond with those divisions of the text. *Cf. post*, p. 385.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF SCOTLAND.

IT has been already shown that in 1727, or within a decade of the formation of the Grand Lodge of England, the permeation of southern ideas was very thorough in the northern capital.[1] Thence, by radiation, the English novelties became everywhere engrafted on the Masonry of Scotland.[2]

The innovations are known to have taken firm root in Edinburgh as early as 1729, and their general diffusion throughout the Scottish kingdom was a natural consequence of the event, which it will next become my task to relate, viz., the erection of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

From causes which can hardly be realized with the distinctness that might seem desirable, the circumstances immediately preceding the formation of governing bodies in the two territorial divisions of Great Britain were wholly dissimilar. In the South, and apart from York, we only hear of four Lodges, either as connected with the movement of 1717, or as being in existence at the time. Whereas, in the North, at the Grand Election of 1736, fully one hundred Lodges were in actual being, of which no less than thirty-three were represented on the occasion. As previously suggested, these early Scottish Lodges appear to have existed for certain trade—or operative—purposes, of which the necessity may have passed away, or at least has been unrecorded in the South.[3] It is possible that the course of legislation reviewed in Chapter VII., and ending with the Statute of Apprentices[4]—5 Eliz., c. iv.—enacted before the Union of the kingdoms, may have contributed to this divergency by modifying the relations between the several classes in the (operative) Lodge.

The proceedings of the English legislature were, of course, of limited application; and whilst therefore we may concede the possibility of the bonds being in some degree loosened which in the South connected the brethren of the Lodge, no similar result could have followed in the North. Indeed, long prior to the Union, at a convocation of master-tradesmen held at Falkland—October 26, 1636—under the presidency of Sir Anthony Alexander, General Warden and Master of Work to Charles I., the establishment of "Companies" of not less than twenty persons—which must often have been identical with, and never very unlike, *Lodges*[5]—in those parts of Scotland where no similar trade society already existed, was recommended as a means of putting an end to certain grievances, of which the members present at the meeting complained. The regulations passed

[1] *Ante*, p. 89. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 66. [3] *Ante*, pp. 10, 59.
[4] Chap. VII., p. 376 *et seq.* See also p. 373. [5] *Cf.* Chap. XV., pp. 336, 337.

on this occasion were "accepted" by the Lodge of Atcheson's Haven, January 4, 1637.[1] Even in later years, though at a period still anterior to the formation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the principle of association or combination met with much favor in that kingdom. Two or three years after 1717—if we follow Lecky[2] as our guide—clubs in Scotland began to multiply.

The abuses in the "airtis and craftis" of the Scottish building trades, which the formation of "Companies" was designed to repress,[3] had their counterparts in the "intolerable hardships" so feelingly complained of by the London Apprentices in 1641.[4] The latter—whose grievances were not abated, on becoming free of their trade—formed in many cases journeymen societies, which I think must have flourished to a far greater extent than has been commonly supposed.[5] In the Scottish "Companies," therefore, we meet with an organization closely analogous to that of the English craft guild, as it existed prior to the uprooting of these institutions by the summary legislation under the Tudor Sovereigns.[6] The journeymen fraternities in this country were doubtless established on a very different basis, but I am disposed to believe that their influence, could we succeed in tracing it, would be found to have left its mark on the character of our English Freemasonry. The "Companies" however, may reasonably be supposed to have done more than merely affix a tinge or coloring to the Masonry of Scotland; and it is highly probable that the principle they embodied—that of combination or association was a very potent factor in the preservation of the machinery of the *Lodge* for the purposes of the building trades.

In proceeding with the history of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, the remark may be expressed, that if any surprise is permissible at the establishment of that body in 1736, it can only legitimately arise from the circumstance that the Masons of Edinburgh allowed the brethren in York, Munster, and Dublin to precede them in following the example set at London in 1717. If any one influence more than another conduced to the eventual erection of a governing Masonic body for Scotland, it will be found, I think, in the fact that within the comparatively short space of thirteen years six prominent noblemen, all of whom were connected with the northern kingdom, had filled the chair of the Grand Lodge of England. One of these, the Earl of Crawford, would probably have been elected the first Grand Master of Scotland, but declined the honor, as he was leaving for England, and "was sensible that nothing could be a greater loss to the first Grand Lodge than the absence of the G. Master."[7] The Earl of Home, Master of the Lodge of Kilwinning, at the Scots Arms, Edinburgh, appears after this to have stepped into the place of Lord Crawford as the candidate whose election would have been most acceptable to the Lodges, though in the result, as we shall presently see, and at the conclusion of a pre-arranged drama, William St. Clair, of Roslin, was chosen as Grand Master.

Although the preliminaries of the Grand Election were represented to have been taken by "the *four* Lodges in and about Edinburgh," there were at that time *six* Lodges in the metropolitan district, two of which, Canongate and Leith (*or* Leith and Canongate) and the Journeymen, were ignored in these proceedings. The other Lodges thus acting in

[1] Lyon, Hist. of L. of Edinburgh, p. 87.
[2] Vol. II., p. 88.
[3] Chap. VIII., p. 66.
[4] Chap. VII., p. 371, 372.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 370 *et seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 336.
[7] A. Ross, Freemasonry in Inverness, 1877, p. 2.

concert were those of Mary's Chapel, Canongate Kilwinning, Kilwinning Scots Arms,[1] and Leith Kilwinning—a recent offshoot from Canongate Kilwinning. The entire evidence, however, as marshalled by Lyon, makes it tolerably clear that in the agitation for a Scottish Grand Lodge the initiative was taken by Canongate Kilwinning. On September 29, 1735, as appears from the minutes of that body, the duty of "framing proposals to be laid before the several Lodges in order to the choosing of a Grand Master for Scotland," was remitted to a committee, whilst there is no recorded meeting of the four (subsequently) associated Lodges, at which the same subject was considered, until October 15, 1736, when delegates from the Lodges in question—Mary's Chapel, Canongate Kilwinning, Kilwinning Scots Arms, and Leith Kilwinning—met, and agreed upon a form of circular to be sent to all the Scottish Lodges, inviting their attendance either in person or by proxy for the purpose of electing a Grand Master.

It was eventually decided that the election should take place in Mary's Chapel on Tuesday, November 30, 1736, at half-past two in the afternoon; and at the appointed time thirty-three of the hundred or more Lodges that had been invited were found to be represented, each by a Master and two Wardens. These were[2]:—

Mary's Chappell.	Selkirg.	Biggar.
Kilwining.	Innverness.	Sanquhar.
Canongate Killwining.	Lessmahaggow.	Peebles.
Killwining Scots Arms.	Saint Brides at Douglass.	Glasgow St Mungo's.
Killwining Leith.	Lanark.	Greenock.
Killwining Glasgow.	Strathaven.	Fallkirk.
Coupar of Fyfe.	Hamilton.	Aberdeen.
Linlithgow.	Dunse.	Mariaburgh.[3]
Dumfermling.	Kirkcaldie.	Canongate and Leith.
Dundee.	Journeymen Masons of	*et e contra.*
Dalkeith.	Edinburgh.	Monross.
Aitcheson's Haven.	Kirkintilloch.	

To obviate jealousies in the matter of precedency, each Lodge was placed on the roll in the order in which it entered the hall.

No amendments were offered to the form of procedure, or to the draft of the Constitutions, which had been submitted to the Lodges, and the roll having been finally adjusted, the following resignation of the office of hereditary Grand Master was tendered by the Laird of Roslin, and read to the meeting:—

"I, William St. Clair of Rossline, Esquire, taking into my consideration that the Massons in Scotland did, by several deeds, constitute and appoint William and Sir William St. Clairs of Rossline, my ancestors, and their heirs, to be their patrons, protectors, judges, or masters; and that my holding or claiming any such jurisdiction, right, or privilege, might be prejudiciall to the Craft and vocation of Massonrie, whereof I am a member, and I, being desireous to advance and promote the good and utility of the said Craft of

[1] Formed February 14, 1729. Its original members were all Theoretical Masons. The Earls of Crawfurd, Kilmarnock, Cromarty, and Home; Lords Garlies, Erskine, and Colville; Sir Alexander Hope, and Captain John Young—D.G.M. 1736–52—were members, November 30, 1736; at which date the name of only one practical [*i. e.*, operative] Mason appears on the roll (Lyon, p. 175; *cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 64).

[2] Lyon, p. 172. [3] Omitted in the Constitutions (1836, 1848, 1852), and by Lawrie (1804).

Massonrie to the utmost of my power, doe therefore hereby, for me and my heirs renounce, quit, claim, overgive, and discharge, all right, claim, or pretence that I, or my heirs, had, have, or any ways may have, pretend to, or claim, to be patron, protector, judge or master of the Massons in Scotland, in virtue of any deed or deeds made and granted by the said Massons, or of any grant or charter made by any of the Kings of Scotland, to and in favours of the said William and Sir William St. Clairs of Rossline, or any others of my predecessors. or any other manner of way whatsomever, for now and ever: And I bind and oblige me, and my heirs, to warrand this present renounciation and discharge at all hands; and I consent to the registration hereof in the Books of Councill and Session, or any other judge's books competent, therin to remain for preservation; and thereto I constitute my procurators, &c. In witness whereof I have subscribed these presents (written by David Maul, Writer to the Signet), at Edinburgh, the twenty-fourth day of November one thousand seven hundred and thirty-six years, before these witnesses, George Fraser, Deputy Auditor of the Excise in Scotland, Master of the Canongate Lodge; and William Montgomerie, Merchant in Leith, Master of the Leith Lodge.

Sic Subscribitur WM. ST. CLAIR.

Geo. Fraser, Canongate Kilwinning, witness.
Wm. Montgomerie, Leith Kilwinning, witness.

Several, at least, and possibly a majority of the representatives present, had been instructed to vote for the Earl of Home, whilst none of the Lodges, with the exception of Canongate Kilwinning—of which St. Clair was a member—up till the period of election, appear to have been aware upon what grounds the latter's claims were to be urged. Nevertheless, the brethren were so fascinated with the apparent magnanimity, disinterestedness, and zeal displayed in his "Resignation," that the Deed was accepted with a unanimity that must have been very gratifying to the Lodge at whose instance it had been drawn, and the abdication of an obsolete office in Operative Masonry was made the ground of St. Clair being chosen to fill the post of first Grand Master in the Scottish Grand Lodge of Speculative Masons.[1]

William St. Clair was initiated in Canongate Kilwinning, May 18, 1736, or nearly eight months *after* the "chusing of a Grand Master" had first been discussed in that Lodge, and was "advanced to the degree of Fellow Craft" in the following month, "paying into the box as usual." John Douglas, a surgeon, and a member of the Lodge of Kirkcaldy, next appears on the scene. This brother was—August 4, 1736—in consideration "of proofs done and to be done," affiliated by Canongate Kilwinning, and on the same occasion appointed "Secretary for the time, with power to appoint his own deputy, in order to his making out a scheme for bringing about a Grand Master for Scotland." Eight days prior to the Grand Election, St. Clair was advanced to "the degree of Master Mason," and two days later he signed the document that was to facilitate the election of a Grand Master, which was written and attested by three leading members of his Mother-Lodge.

In the words of the highest authority on the subject of Scottish Masonry—the circumstances connected with the affiliation of Dr. Douglas, render it probable that he had been introduced for the purpose of perfecting a previously concocted plan, whereby the election of a Grand Master might be made to contribute to the aggrandizement of the Lodge receiving him. His subsequent advancement and frequent re-election to the chair of Substi-

[1] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 173.

tute Grand Master would indicate the possession of high Masonic qualifications, and to these the Craft may have been indebted for the resuscitation of the St. Clair Charters,[1] and the dramatic effect which their identification with the successful aspirant to the Grand Mastership gave to the institution of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. Whatever may have been the immediate motive of the originators of the scheme, the setting up a Grand Lodge ostensibly upon the ruins of an institution that had ceased to be of practical benefit, but which in former times had been closely allied to the Guilds of the Mason Craft, gave to the new organization an air of antiquity as the lineal representative of the ancient courts of Operative Masonry; while the opportune resignation of St. Clair was, if not too closely criticised, calculated to give the whole affair a sort of legal aspect which was wanting at the institution of the Grand Lodge of England.[2]

The other Grand Officers elected on November 30, 1736, were Captain John Young, D.G.M.; Sir William Baillie, S.G.W.; Sir Alexander Hope, J.G.W.; Dr. John Moncrief, G. Treasurer; John Macdougall, G. Secretary; and Robert Alison, G. Clerk.[3]

The first quarterly communication was held January 12, 1737, when the minutes and proceedings of the Four Associated Lodges, and the minutes of the Grand Election were read and unanimously approved of.[4]

The Lodge of Kilwinning[5] had not only been a consenting party to the election of a Grand Master, but issued its proxy in favor of "Sinclair of Rossland, Esquire." This was sent, together with some objections to the proposed "General Regulations," to Mr. George Fraser, the Master of Canongate Kilwinning, who, whilst using the former, delayed presentation of the latter, until the meeting of Grand Lodge last referred to. The Kilwinning Masons chiefly protested against the Grand Lodge being always held at Edinburgh, alleging that the Masters and Wardens of Lodges "in and about" that city might go or send their proxies to other places, as well as the Masters and Wardens of other Lodges might go or send their proxies to Edinburgh. They also represented that the registration fee of half-a-crown, to be paid for each intrant, in order to support the dignity of the Grand Lodge, should be rendered optional in the case of working Masons, who, especially in country places, were generally unable to do more than pay the dues to their respective Lodges. Although the "observations" of the Lodge of Kilwinning, with regard to the inexpediency of establishing a fixed governing body in the metropolis might have seriously hampered the action of the junto by whom the Grand Election was controlled, if the use of the proxy had been clogged by the proviso, that it was only granted contingently upon the representations of the Kilwinning Masons being acceded to—it is scarcely likely, that under the circumstances of the case, it was even seriously regarded. The appeal on behalf of the working Masons was rejected, and the Grand Lodge decreed that those who refused or neglected to pay the entry money should receive no aid from the charity fund.

[1] Chaps. VIII., p. 2; XVI., p. 97. [2] Lyon, *ut supra*, p. 174.

[3] The Deputy, J. W., and Secretary were members of "Kilwinning Scots Arms;" the S. W., of "Canongate Kilwinning;" the Treasurer, of "Leith Kilwinning;" and the Clerk, of "Mary's Chapel."

[4] To avoid a multiplicity of references, it will be convenient to state that, in the general narrative, except where other authorities are cited, I follow the annals of the G. L. of Scotland, as given in the two editions of Lawrie's (or Laurie's) History. *Cf.* Chap. VIII., pp. 3, 4.

[5] Further allusions to Lodges, of which sketches are given in Chapter VIII. (*q. v.*), rest on the same sources of authority, supplemented by the additional evidence to which reference will be made as we proceed.

The first Grand Election took place, as we have seen, on St. Andrew's Day (November 30); but though the original "General Regulations" provided that future elections should be held—conformably, it may be supposed, with the practice in the South—on the Day of St. John the Baptist, it was resolved—April 13, 1737—that the Annual Election should always be celebrated on November 30, the birthday of St. Andrew, the tutelar saint of Scotland.

William St. Clair of Roslin was succeeded as Grand Master—November 30, 1737—by George, third and last Earl of Cromarty. At this meeting it was resolved, that the Grand Secretary and Grand Clerk should not be annually elected with the other Grand Officers, but continue to hold their offices during good behaviour;[1] also, that all the Lodges holding of the Grand Lodge should be enrolled according to their seniority, which should be determined from the authentic documents they produced—those producing none to be put at the end of the roll, though the Lodges thus postponed were to have their precedency readjusted, on adducing subsequent proof "of their being elder;"[2] and that the four Quarterly Communications of the Grand Lodge should be held in St. Mary's Chapel, Edinburgh, on the first Wednesday of each of the four Scottish quarterly terms, viz., Candlemas, Whitsunday, Lammas, and Martinmas, when these terms should fall upon a Wednesday, and in other cases on the first Wednesday next following.

The foundation-stone of the New Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh was laid by the Grand Master—August 2, 1738—with Masonic honors.

From this time until the year 1756 a new Grand Master was chosen annually; but as the Deputy (or *Depute*) G.M.—Captain John Young—continued to hold his office uninterruptedly from 1736 to 1752, and the Substitute G.M.—John Douglas[3]—for nearly the same period, little, if any inconvenience, can have resulted from the short terms for which the Grand Master Masons of Scotland were elected. Indeed, it may rather be supposed that from the fact of the virtual government of the Society being left in the hands of a permanent Deputy, and a Substitute Grand Master, the affairs of the Craft were regulated with a due regard both to order and precedent; whilst the brief occupancy of the Masonic throne by more persons of distinction than would have been possible under the later system of election, must have greatly conduced to the general favor with which Masonry was regarded by people of every rank and position in the Scottish kingdom.

Lord Cromarty was succeeded by John, third Earl of Kintore,[4] during whose presidency a Grand Visitation was made—December 27, 1738—to the Lodge of Edinburgh, and a new office, that of Provincial Grand Master, established, by the appointment—February 7, 1739—of Alexander Drummond, Master of "Greenock Kilwinning," to the supervision of the "West Country Lodges." Two months later—April 20—Drummond visited "St. John's Old Kilwinning Lodge," at Inverness, in the minutes of which body he is described as "the Provincial Grand Master for Scotland," and on being "entreated," took the chair, and "lectured the brethren for their instruction."[5] On November 30, 1739, the Commission was renewed, and Drummond styled therein "Provincial Grand Master of the several Lodges in the Western Shires of Scotland," and again in the same terms in 1740, 1741, and 1742. This worthy subsequently went to reside at Alexandretta, in Turkey,

[1] Lyon, p. 216. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[3] Lawrie, 1804, gives November 30, 1738, as the date of his appointment; but in the later edition of 1859 it is shown as July 14, 1737. Both Young and Douglas held their offices until November 30, 1752. [4] Chap. XVII., pp. 141, 145. [5] Ross, p. 17.

where he erected several Lodges; and having petitioned for another provincial commission, his request was granted—November 30, 1747, and full power given to him, and to any other whom he might nominate, to constitute Lodges in any part of Europe or Asia bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and to superintend the same, or any others already erected in those parts of the world.

It is probable that a Lodge, long since extinct, but which is described in the official records as "from Greenock, held at Alleppo, in Turkey, [constituted] Feb. 3, 1748," was formed either by, or under the auspices of, Alexander Drummond; and as the first foreign Lodge on the roll of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, it takes precedence of the "St. Andrews," Boston (U.S.A.), to which, in another Chapter,[1] I have inadvertently assigned that distinction.

From 1739 to 1743 there is little to chronicle. In the former year, the Foundation-stone of the western wing of the Infirmary was laid, with the usual solemnities, by the Earl of Morton, Grand Master. New jewels were purchased for the Grand Officers, and a full set of Mason tools and six copies of "Smith's Constitutions anent Masonry"[2] were ordered for the use of Grand Lodge. Three "examinators" were appointed for trying visitors who were strangers to the Grand Lodge. Also, for the encouragement of Operative Lodges in the country, they were granted the privilege of merely paying the fees of a confirmation for their patents of erection and constitution.

In 1740 under the Earl of Strathmore, it was proposed and unanimously agreed to, that a correspondence should be opened with the Grand Lodge of England; also that no proxy or commission (unless renewed) should remain in force above one year.

The Earl of Leven—Grand Master, 1741—was succeeded by the Earl of Kilmarnock,[3] at the time of his election the Master of the Lodge of Kilwinning. It was at the recommendation of this nobleman that, in 1743, the first Military Lodge (under the Grand Lodge) was erected, the petitioners being "some sergeants and sentinels belonging to Colonel Lees' regiment of foot"[4] (55th). This, however, appears at no time to have had a place accorded it on the Scottish roll, where the "Duke of Norfolk's Lodge," No. 58, in the 12th Foot (1747), is shown as the earliest Military or Regimental Lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge of Scotland. The latter, indeed, though placed on the *Scottish* roll in 1747, was of alien descent, having existed in the 12th Foot—though without a warrant—for several years, until the date in question, when it applied to the Grand Lodge of Scotland for a charter. The petition averred,[5] that the "Duke of Norfolk's Mason Lodge" had been "erected into a Mason body, bearing the title aforesaid, as far back as 1685,"[6] and, indeed, no higher antiquity could well have been asserted, as the 12th Foot was only raised in that year. The *fact*, however, remains, that at the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, a Lodge in an English Regiment *claimed* to have been in existence more than thirty years before the formation of the earliest of Grand Lodges.

The 12th Foot, before proceeding to Scotland in 1746, had been stationed in Germany and Flanders (1743-45), and was present at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. In

[1] Chap. XXVI., p. 151. [2] *Cf.* Chap. XVII., pp. 141, 142. [3] *Cf. post*, p. 355.

[4] Lyon, p. 182.

[5] G. L. Records, August 5, 1747.—The charter empowers the Lodge to "admit and receive Entered Apprentices, and to raise Master Masons."

[6] *Cf. post*, pp. 412, 415. The By-laws of Lodge No. 58 will be found in the *Masonic Magazine*, vol. i., p. 372.

the autumn of 1747, it returned to England and Scotland, and was in Holland 1748, at Minorca 1749, and back again in England 1752. Serving once more in Germany—1758-63—it was constantly on the move, but it is interesting to find that both the 8th and 12th Regiments were at Fritzlar in Lower Hesse, with the army under Ferdinand of Brunswick, in 1760; also, that in the following year, the 5th, 12th, 24th, and 37th Regiments formed a Brigade of the Marquess of Granby's Division, and were employed in Hesse, Hanover, and Osnaburg.[1] All these Regiments, with the exception of the 24th Foot—which, however, obtained an English warrant (No. 426) in 1768, are known to have had Lodges attached to them.[2] About the same time (1747) there was also a Lodge in the 2d Dragoons, or "Scots Greys"—the date of whose constitution is uncertain—working under a charter which, through the interest of the Earl of Eglinton, had been procured from Kilwinning.[3] The Earl of Crawford,[4] it may be incidentally observed, was appointed Colonel of the "Scots Greys" on the death of the Earl of Stair in 1747. It is probable that Regimental Lodges, though not of an indigenous character, had penetrated into Scotland before 1743. Warrants of constitution had been granted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland to many regiments prior to that year. Two of these, bearing the Nos. 11 (*or* 12) and 33 (*or* 34), and dated (*circa*) 1732 and 1734, were issued to the 1st[5] and 21st Foot ("Royal Scots" and "Royal North British Fusiliers") respectively—both Scottish regiments, and not unlikely to have been quartered in their native country during the decade immediately following their acquisition of Masonic charters. But however this may be, we hear of other Military Lodges in Scotland besides those already noticed as existing under the Grand Lodge and "Mother Kilwinning," as early as 1744, in which year—December 14—the minutes of the Lodge, "St John's Old Kilwinning," contain the following curious entry:—

"*N.B.*—David Holland, present Master of the Lodge of Free Masons in the Honble Brigadier Guise's Regt. [6th Foot], now lying at Inverness, Fort-George, visited us this day, and had his proper place assigned him in our procession; he appears to be No. 45, Mrs. of this Lodge."[6]

Regiments were not then distinguished by numerical titles, but the records of the 6th Foot—of which John Guise was the Colonel from 1738 to 1765—show, that returning from Jamaica, December 1742, it shortly after proceeded to Scotland, where in 1745 it was still stationed, with the head-quarters at Aberdeen, and two companies at Inverness. The Lodge possessed no Warrant that I can trace, but as tending to prove that many Regimental Lodges, chartered—soon after its formation—by the G.L. of Ireland, must have visited Scotland, it may be observed, that on the occasion of a foundation-stone being laid with

[1] Richard Cannon, Historical Records of the British Army—8th and 12th Regiments.

[2] The 5th Foot received an Irish Charter in 1738—No. 86—under which a Lodge was still active in 1773. The 8th and 37th Regiments—in which Lodges were constituted respectively in 1755 and 1756—derived their warrants, the former from the older (or *original*) G. L. of England (No. 255), and the latter from its rival (No. 52). *Cf. post*, p. 359; p. 17, Vol. IV.; and *ante*, Chap. XVII., p. 91.

[3] Lyon, p. 162. The "Scots Greys Kilwinning" shifted its allegiance in 1770 (*post*, p. 316).

[4] *Cf. ante*, p. 302, and Chap. XVII., p. 91.

[5] Said to be the lineal descendants of the Scottish Archers in attendance upon the Kings of France. Military legend, however, supplies a still longer pedigree, the nickname of the "Old Royals" being—in the days when I had the happiness of being brigaded with them—"Pontius Pilate's Body-Guard!"

[6] Ross, Freemasonry in Inverness, 1877, p. 41.

Masonic honors at Edinburgh in 1753, a Lodge in the 33d Regiment—No. 12 (*or* 13) on the Irish registry, constituted (*circa*) 1732—took part in the solemnities of the day.

During the administration of the Earl of Wemyss, who was the next Grand Master, the Lodge of Kilwinning first gave official expression to its dissatisfaction with the position assigned to it. Under the regulation of November 30, 1737,[1] the earliest records produced, were those of the Lodge of Edinburgh,[2] and the most ancient minute they contained bore date "Ultimo Julij 1599." This was forty-three years older than any documentary evidence adduced by the Lodge of Kilwinning, which did not extend any farther back than December 20, 1642. In accordance, therefore, with the principle laid down, by which the precedency of Lodges was to be determined, the first place on the roll was assigned to Mary's Chapel, and the second to Kilwinning. However unsatisfactory this decision may have appeared to the Lodge of Kilwinning,[3] its validity was not at first openly challenged by that body, which for several years afterwards continued to be represented (by proxy) at Edinburgh. But the discontent and heart-burning produced at Kilwinning by the preferment of the Lodge of Mary's Chapel, led, December 1743, when replying to a "dutyfull and affectionate letter from its daughter of the Canongate," to a deliverance of the parent Lodge, which, in the February ensuing, was brought to the notice of the Grand Lodge, with the following result:—"The Substitute Grand Master produced a letter from the Lodge of Kilwinning, addressed to the .·. .·. Masters, Wardens, and other members of the Lodge of Canongate, .·. .·. complaining that in the Rules of the Grand Lodge they are only called second in order, and another Lodge præferred befor them. The Grand Lodge considering that the Lodge of Kilwinning having never hitherto shown them any document for vouching and instructing them to be the First and Mother-Lodge in Scotland, and that the Lodge of Maries Chapell, from the records and documents showen to the Grand Lodge, appear (for aught yet seen) to be the Oldest Lodge in Scotland.—Therefore, as the letter is only adressed to the Master of the Lodge of Canongate St. John, they recomend to the .·. .·. Substitute Grand Master [John Douglas] to return a proper answer thereto, being present Master of that Lodge."[4]

Finding itself thus permanently placed in a secondary rank, the Lodge of Kilwinning, without entering upon any disputation or formal vindication of its claims, resumed its independence, which in the matter of granting Charters it had in reality never renounced, and for well-nigh seventy years continued to exist as an independent Grand Body, dividing with that at Edinburgh the honor of forming branches in Scotland as well as in the North American Colonies and other British possessions beyond the seas.[5]

The Earl of Moray was elected G.M. in 1744, and in the following year the Associate Synod attempted to disturb the peace of the Fraternity. On March 7 an overture con-

[1] *Ante*, p. 306.

[2] See the sketches of these Lodges in Chap. VIII., and compare Lyon's Histories of "Mother Kilwinning" (Freemasons' Magazine, N. S., vol. ix., p. 333), and of the "Lodge of Edinburgh" (p. 245).

[3] In estimating the pretensions of the Lodge of Kilwinning, dates become material, and we must not lose sight of the fact that, in 1743, many influences were at work, *e.g.* Scots degrees, and Ramsay's Oration—which, without any stretch of the imagination, may have afforded the Ayrshire Masons, at least, a reasonable excuse in claiming a preeminence for the old court of *Operative* Masonry at Kilwinning, that must have been absent from their thoughts—as being in the womb of futurity—in 1736. *Cf.* Chap. XXIV., *passim.*

[4] Lyon, p. 245 *ut supra.* [5] *Ibid.*, and Freemasons' Magazine, N. S., vol. ix., p. 333.

cerning the MASON OATH was laid before the Synod of Stirling, which they remitted—September 26—to the different kirk sessions, allowing them to act as they thought proper. The practice was condemned, of taking an oath to keep a secret, before it was known what that secret was, but according to Burton, "they easily got over this." "The sessions or ministers dealt with the Masons they were concerned in, few of whom were obstinate in defending the oath in all respects, and so refrained from having a hand in any farther approbation thereof."[1] Ten years later, however—March 6, 1755—the kirk sessions were directed to be more searching in their inquiries, and they apparently discovered for the first time, that men, who were not Masons by trade, were admitted into the Society. This led—August 25, 1757[2]—to the adoption of even stricter measures, and the Synod ordered "all persons in their congregations who are of the Mason Craft, and others they have a particular suspicion of," to be interrogated with regard to the nature of the Mason Oath, and the "superstitious ceremonies" accompanying its administration.[3] Those who refused to answer the questions put to them were debarred from the ordinances of religion, whilst a confession of being involved in the Mason Oath required not only a profession of sorrow for the same, but was to be followed by a sessional rebuke and admonition. The being "involved in the said Oath with special aggravation, as taking or relapsing into the same in opposition to warnings against doing so," was punished by excommunication.[4]

The Grand Lodge of Scotland did not deign to take the smallest notice of these proceedings—in which a Synod of Scotch Dissenters outstripped both the Church of Rome and the Council of Berne in the measures resorted to for the extirpation of Freemasonry. They attempted to compel the Freemasons of their congregations to give them an account of those mysteries and ceremonies which their avarice or fear hindered them from obtaining by regular initiation.[5] "And what, pray," it has been asked, "was to become of those perjured men from whom such information was obtained?" They were promised admission into the ordinances of religion, as if they were now purified beings, from whom something worse than a demoniac had been ejected![6] With the passing remark that a repudiation of Freemasonry still retains its place in the creed of the Original Seceders from the Church of Scotland, I shall now return to the annals of the Grand Lodge.

The Earl of Buchan succeeded Lord Moray in 1745, from which date down to 1751 there is little to chronicle except the succession of Grand Masters, of whom it may be said, as of the Roman Consuls in uneventful eras, "They served to mark the year." William Nisbet of Dirleton was placed at the head of the Scottish Craft in 1746, and after him came the honorable Francis Charteris[7]—afterwards sixth Earl of Wemyss—in 1747; Hugh Seton

[1] History of Scotland, vol. ii., p. 323, citing "Memoirs of the Secession, by the Rev. John Brown of Haddington, in MS.," p. 409.

[2] "An Impartial Examination of the Act of the Associate Synod against the FREE MASONS, Aug. 25, 1757"—dated Alloa, October 25, and signed "A Freemason"—appeared in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1757. The "Act" thus criticized, was published in the *Scots Magazine* for the same year (vol. xix., p. 432), in which will also be found some extracts from the "Impartial Examination" (p. 583).

[3] It is stated in the *Scots Magazine* (vol. xix., 1757, p. 432) that by this inquiry, Mr. D. B.'s discovery of the Secrets of Masonry (*Ibid.*, vol. xvii., 1755, p. 133) is fully confirmed. *Cf. ante*, p. 275, note 1; and Chap. XVI., pp. 109, 115.

[4] Lyon, p. 325 *ut supra.* [5] Lawrie, 1804, p. 133. [6] *Ibid.*

[7] Another *Francis* Charteris, son of the above, was elected G.M. November 30, 1786 (*cf. post*, p. 118); and a *third*, then Lord Elcho, and afterwards eighth Earl of Wemyss, filled the same position in 1827.

of Touch, in 1748; Lord Erskine—only surviving son of John, eleventh Earl of Marr, attainted 1715—in 1749; Alexander, tenth Earl of Eglinton—a former Master of the Lodge of Kilwinning, whose election has been held to show that the Kilwinning Secession had not yet been viewed with any very strong feeling of jealousy by the Grand Lodge,[1] in 1750; and James, Lord Boyd—eldest son of the last Earl of Kilmarnock,[2] and afterwards thirteenth Earl of Erroll—in 1751.

Hitherto it had been customary for the Grand Master to nominate his successor at the Communication immediately preceding the Grand Election. This duty, however, not having been performed by Lord Boyd, it devolved upon a committee to propose a suitable candidate, by whom a most judicious choice was made in the person of Mr. George Drummond.

The new Grand Master—the first brother who was RAISED[3] in Mary's Chapel—received the two earlier degrees on August 28, 1721, in the same Lodge, at one of the meetings, held, apparently, in connection with Dr. Desaguliers' visit to Scotland in that year.[4] During his term of office he laid the foundation-stone of the Royal Exchange, September 13, 1753; and as Acting Grand Master—being at the time Lord Provost of Edinburgh—that of the North Bridge, October 13, 1763. A firm supporter of the Government, he did much, by raising volunteers and serving with them, to defeat the designs of the Pretender in 1715, and those of Prince Charles Edward in 1745.[5]

Lord Boyd's omission to nominate his successors, requires, however, a few explanatory words. At the election of this nobleman on November 30, 1751, Major John Young and John Douglas, Deputy and Substitute Grand Masters respectively; John Macdougall, Grand Secretary; and Robert Alison, Grand Clerk, all of whom had held their offices from the original dates at which they were created, were continued in their several positions. But in the following year—November 30, 1752—only *one* of the four, Macdougall, the Grand Secretary, appears in the list of Grand Officers.

Major Young's place was taken by Charles Hamilton Gordon, Advocate, to whom the office of Deputy proved a stepping-stone to the Masonic throne, whilst John Douglas—who died December 1751—was succeeded both as Substitute G.M. and Master of Lodge Canongate Kilwinning, by George Fraser, also a member and "Old Master" of that famous Lodge.

James Alison was elected Grand Clerk in the room of his father *Robert*,[6] deceased, whom he also followed as Lodge Clerk in Mary's Chapel, where he had been "admitted and receaved ane entered apprentice in the useuall forme"[7]—December 27, 1737—nearly a year before the introduction of the third degree into that Lodge.

It is not a little remarkable that the Grand Lodge of Scotland should have lost the services of *three* of its most trusted officers in a single year.

[1] Lyon, p. 245.

[2] Both father and son were present at the battle of Culloden, though the former fought on the Stuart side, and the latter held a commission in the 3d Foot Guards.

[3] "At Maries Chapel, the first day of November 1738. The which day Samwell Neilson Master, the Wardens, and severall other brethren belonging to the Lodge, *with severall visiting brethren* belonging to other lodges, being mett in a formed Lodge ∴ ∴ George Drummond, Esq., one of the Commissioners of His Majesties Board of Excyse in Scotland, after due tryall of his qualifications as ane Entered Apprentice, was past a Fellow Craft, and also raised as a Master Mason in due forme" (Lyon, Hist. of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 212). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 64.

[4] Chap. XVI., p. 38. [5] Lyon, p. 217. [6] Chap. XVI., pp. 66, 67. [7] Lyon, p. 43.

The retiring D.G.M.—John Young—held a captain's commission in 1736, and was probably on the half-pay list throughout the greater part of the twenty-six years during which he retained his high Masonic position. In 1745—October 4—he became a major, and ten years later—December 25, 1755—was posted to the "Loyal American Provincials," or 62d Foot, on the roll of which his name appears as the senior of four majors in the army list of 1756. The Colonel-in-Chief of the regiment was the Earl of Loudoun;[1] Sir John St. Clair, Bart., commanded one of the four battalions of which it was composed, and the fourth or junior major was Augustine Prevost. Of Young's earlier military career, I have succeeded in tracing but few particulars. In the Army List of 1755 the words "late Boltons" are placed after his name. The Duke of Bolton raised a battalion in 1745—to resist the Pretender—which was afterward disbanded, and as, in those days, regiments were distinguished by the names of their colonels, this was probably the one to which Young had belonged, a supposition which is strengthened by a coincidence that he became a major in the same memorable year.

The 62d regiment became the 60th, or "Royal Americans," in 1757. In the same year—April 26—Young got his Lieutenant-Colonelcy, and on January 26, 1758, he was given the rank of full Colonel in America.

As the regiment was raised in America, where for several years all four battalions were stationed, it is probable that Young embarked for that country early in 1756. In the following year, as will be again referred to, he was appointed Provincial Grand Master over all the (Scottish) Lodges in America and the West Indies. Rebold[2] tells us that he was also vested with full authority to introduce the high degrees then known to Scottish Masonry into these countries, an observation I record, not for its historic value, but as affording a good illustration of the uncritical manner in which Masonic history has been written.[3]

In 1757 the 60th regiment was engaged under Lord Loudoun in skirmishes with Indians, and employed at Louisbourg, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Ticonderoga. The 3d battalion was also present with Colonel Munro at the capitulation and massacre at Fort William Henry. In 1758 the 2d and 3d battalions formed a part of the force under General Amherst engaged in the second expedition against Louisbourg, whilst the 1st and 4th were present at the defeat of the English under General Abercrombie and Lord Howe at Ticonderoga. The regiment also took part in the capture of Louisbourg and Prince Edward's Island. In 1759 two battalions were employed under General Wolfe, and the regiment still bears the motto "Celer et Audax," given to it by that commander for its gallantry at the siege of Quebec.[4]

Young doubtless had his fill of fighting during these memorable years, but we are more concerned with his Masonic than his military services, and the latter, therefore—which, as commanding a battalion of the 60th Foot from 1757 to 1761, must have been considerable—are chiefly of interest, as justifying the belief that one of the most prominent Masons in

[1] Grand Master of England 1736. Born 1705. Colonel of the 50th Foot, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, Major-Gen. 1755, Governor of Virginia 1756, and in the same year Commander-in-Chief in America. Recalled at his own request in 1758.

[2] Hist. Gen., *sub anno* 1758.

[3] *Cf. post*, p. 392.

[4] W. W. Wallace, Regimental Chronicle of the 60th Foot; R. Trimen, The Regiments of the British Army.

the Old World, must have been much favored by accidental or fortuitous circumstances in carrying out his mission in the New.

Young was transferred to the 46th Foot, also in America—March 20, 1761—Major Augustine Prevost taking his place (as Lieut-Colonel) in the 60th. Now for reasons to be presently adduced, the connection of the Scottish D.G.M., 1726-52, with the regiment in which Prevost succeeded him as Lieutenant-Colonel, is not a little remarkable; but the appointment of Young to the command of the 46th is also a circumstance that will suggest many reflections.

The 46th Foot, when stationed in Ireland, 1752, received a Lodge Warrant—No. 227—from the Grand Lodge of that country. In 1757 it embarked at Cork for Nova Scotia, and remained in North America until October 1761, when it sailed for Barbadoes, and took part in the capture of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Havannah. Young's name is given in the Army List for the year 1762, as Lieut.-Colonel commanding the regiment, but disappears in that for 1763.

The coincidence is of itself somewhat singular that the military duties of Colonel Young should take him to the West Indies, the Masonic supervision of which had been confided to him by patent; but the most curious feature of his connection with the 46th Foot is suggested by the Masonic associations of that distinguished corps. For a long time it was believed that Washington had been initiated in No. 227, and though this popular error has long since been refuted, it at least passes as history that he frequently visited the Lodge; and the Bible on which he is said to have been obligated—in respect of some degree or regulation that has served as a curious subject for speculation—is still in existence. Twice, whilst engaged in active operations against the enemy, the Lodge lost its Masonic chest, which was on both occasions courteously returned under circumstances to be hereafter related.

Young, as already mentioned, was succeeded as Lieut.-Colonel in the 60th Regiment—March 20, 1761—by Augustine Prevost, who, probably owing to the reduction from a war to a peace establishment, is no longer shown on the roll of that corps in 1763, but resumes his old position, November 9, 1769, and again drops out of the list in 1776.[1] He was subsequently promoted to the rank of Major-General, February 19, 1779,[2] and died in May 1786.

These dates are adduced, because Stephen Morin[3] after his arrival in the West Indies (1761) is stated to have appointed a Bro. Franklin, Deputy Inspector General for Jamaica and the British Leeward Islands, and *a* Colonel Prevost for the Windward Islands and the British Army.[4] Morin, it is said, went first to St. Domingo, then to Jamaica, and afterwards to Charleston; whilst the latest account of him is given in the *Handbuch*, which states that he was alive in 1790. But it is, I believe, a point fairly well settled—indeed, so far as I am aware, the contrary has never never been asserted—that all the Inspectors nominated by Morin *himself* were appointed within a few years of his arrival from France.

The Prevosts were a very military family, indeed no less than four of them held commissions in the 60th Regiment in 1779, and again in 1781, besides others dispersed throughout the army. But if the Prevost appointed by Morin was a *colonel*, there is only

[1] In the Army List for 1779, however, his name appears in the 60th Regiment as "Colonel Commandant" of the 4th battalion, with the date September 18, 1775.

[2] Army Lists. The date, however, is given by Haydn (Book of Dignities) as February 27.

[3] *Post*, p. 379. [4] Dalcho, Masonic Orations, p. 61; Rebold, Hist. des Trois G. L., p. 452.

a choice between *Augustine* and *George*—afterwards *Sir* George—who died a Lieutenant-General in 1816. The latter, however, was a *captain* in the 25th Regiment in 1790, and though promoted to a majority in the 60th on November 18 of that year, only became a Lieutenant-Colonel August 6, 1794.

But I must here introduce a new element of confusion. In 1776 the 1st battalion of the 60th was employed in quelling a rebellion in Jamaica.[1] In the same year a commission[2] was granted by "Augus*tus* Prevost, Captain 60th *Rifles*,[3] to J. P. Rochat, to establish the Rite of Perfection[4] in Scotland, and which was afterwards to form the basis of its constitution." At the period this occurred, another *Augustine* Prevost was "Captain Lieutenant and Captain"—a singular rank, of which there is now no equivalent—in the 60th Foot. This officer joined the regiment as Adjutant, June 25, 1771, became Captain Lieutenant, September 20, 1775, and Captain, November 12, 1776, retiring in 1784. There was also in 1776 a Lieutenant J. P. Rochat in the 60th, whose commission bore date September 30, 1775.

It is possible that documents may be in existence, which would demonstrate whether the Inspector appointed by Morin was *Colonel* or *Captain* Prevost.

This point, however, I must leave undecided, though it seems to me a reasonable deduction from the evidence, that the elder Prevost received the dignity at the hands of Morin, and afterwards passed it on to the younger Augustine—in all probability his son—in the same way as the "Bro. Franklin of Jamaica" is said to have done in the case of Moses Hayes.[5] But even without the participation in these events of *Captain* Prevost, it is a curious coincidence that Young, Provincial Grand Master under Scotland, should have been succeeded, as Lieut.-Colonel 60th Foot, by a person who was subsequently to hold almost an equivalent position in a Rite of alleged Scottish origin.

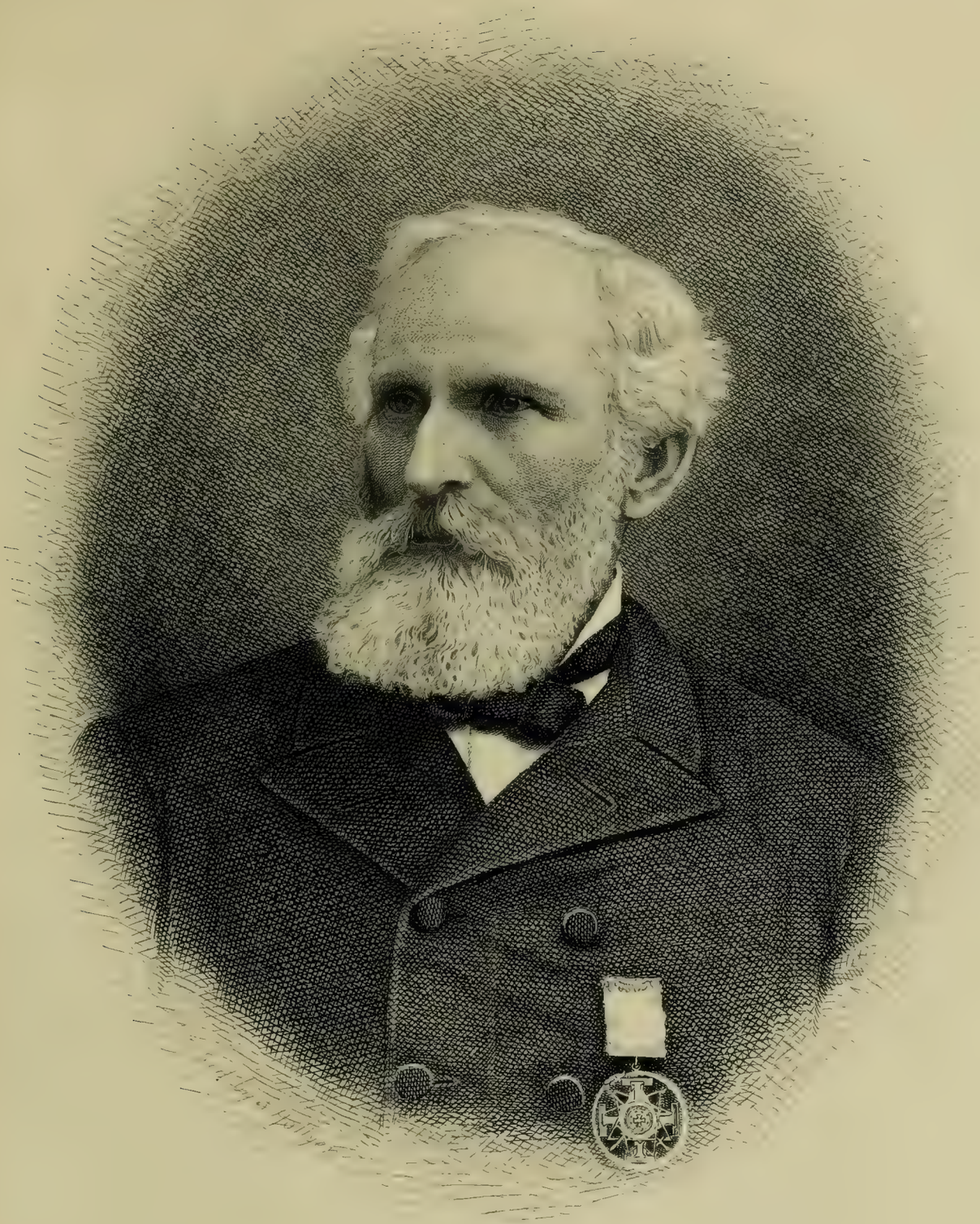
Lawrie states that in 1753-54 "a petition was received from the Scottish Lodge in Copenhagen, *Le Petit Nombre*, requesting a charter of confirmation from the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and also the liberty of electing a Grand Master." In reply to which the Grand Lodge "resolved to grant a patent of constitution and erection in the usual form, and a *Provincial* commission to a qualified person, empowering him to erect new Lodges in the kingdom of Denmark and Norway, and to superintend those already erected."[6] This passage is omitted in the second edition of the same work,[7] though some statistics given by the earlier compiler (1804),[8] with regard to the progress of the Craft in Scandinavia, are reproduced with all their inaccuracies in the edition of 1859.[9] We are there told that "in 1743 [Freemasonry] was exported from Scotland to Denmark, and the Lodge which was then instituted is now the Grand Lodge of that kingdom. The same prosperity has attended the first Lodge in Sweden, which was erected at Stockholm in 1754, under a patent from Scotland." These loose statements—which rest upon sources of very questionable authority—will be further examined[10] in Chapter XXVI., though in passing from

[1] Wallace, *op. cit.*

[2] "Parchment, with seals, dated Kingston, Jamaica, Jan. 20, 1776." I quote from the catalogue of Messrs Puttick and Simpson, June 4-6, 1884; but Mr John Hogg, 13 Paternoster Row, the *vendor*, has kindly informed me that the names and date are correct.

[3] As the only *Captain* Prevost at that time in the 60th Foot—which by the way was not denominated a "Rifle" Corps until 1824—was named *Augustine*, there appears to have been some mistake in the docketting.

[4] *Post*, p. 351. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 382. [6] Edit. 1804, p. 184.
[7] 1859, p. 116. [8] P. 134. [9] P. 68. [10] *Post*, pp. 2, 6, Vol. IV.



Yours Fraternally

H. A. Johnson 33°

Grand Orator of G. L. of Illinois P. R. E. G. Com. of K. T. of Illinois,
Active Mem. Sup. Council 33° A. A. S. Rite Nor. Juris. U. S. A.

the subject, I may remark, that Lawrie's "History," which is divided into two parts, Historical Essay and Annals, obtained a semi-official stamp from the publication of the latter. But unfortunately we can never be quite sure to what extent the writer *combined* his information, and so far as any portion of the Annals is based on the Essay, no further confidence can be reposed in it than is conveyed by the expression, that it may possibly be true.

Mr. Gordon, in 1754, made way for the Master of Forbes, after whose election there was a procession by torch-light, in which above four hundred brethren took part, and among them Colonel Oughton [1]—subsequently Grand Master of Scotland—English Provincial G.M. for Minorca.

Traces of the *Ordre de Hérédom de Kilwinning*, or Royal Order of Scotland, in the country from which its name has been derived, are first met with in this year.[2] The subject, however, will be more conveniently treated in connection with some observations I have yet to make on the persistency with which so many forms of the *hauts grades* have been "mothered" on the Lodge of Kilwinning.

In the course of the year it was resolved that the Quarterly Communications should be held for the future on the first Mondays of February, May, August, and November: also, that the precedency of Lodges should be regulated by the dates of their entry on the roll of the Grand Lodge.

Alexander succeeded *John* Macdougall as Grand Secretary, November 30, 1754, and in the following year—December 1—under Lord Aberdour, G.M., George Fraser was advanced from Substitute to Deputy Grand Master, an office he retained until 1761. The new Substitute Grand Master was Richard Tod, Master of the Lodge "Leith Kilwinning," who was continued in the appointment until 1767, and filled it once again in 1773.[3]

In 1756, Sholto, Lord Aberdour—afterwards sixteenth Earl of Morton—was again chosen Grand Master, which is the first instance of a re-election to that high station since the institution of the Grand Lodge. During this nobleman's first term of office, "it was unanimously resolved that the Grand Master for the time being be affiliated and recorded as a member of every Daughter Lodge in Scotland." Also, it having been represented that a further subdivision of Scotland into Masonic districts was expedient, the suggestion was adopted, and five additional Provincial Grand Masters appointed.

This was followed—the next year—by the grant of a similar patent to Colonel Young,[4] whose province comprised America and the West Indies. Under the same Grand Master—Lord Aberdour—two Lodges were warranted within this district, at Blandford, Virginia, No. 82 [5] [*or* 83], March 9; and the St. Andrew's, Boston, No. 81 [*or* 82], November 30, 1756.

[1] Then Lieut-Colonel 37th Foot; Major-Gen., Aug. 15, 1761; Lieut-Gen., April 30, 1770. *Cf. post*, pp. 316, 330; and Chap. XIX., p. 186.

[2] "Of the existence in Scotland of any branch of the Order prior to 1754 there is not a particle of evidence" (Lyon, p. 308).

[3] The constant re-election of Young, Douglas, Fraser, and Tod is fairly conclusive that though the Masons of Edinburgh liked having a noble Grand Master at their head, the ordinary business of the society was transacted by men of "light and leading" in the metropolitan Lodges.

[4] *Ante*, p. 312.

[5] Although the *earlier* numbers are given in the first Book of Constitutions (1836), and subsequent publications, lists of the last century show the Boston and Blandford Lodges as Nos. 82 and 83 respectively. The practice, however, of distinguishing Lodges by their numbers, did not become a

From this time until the year 1827 it became the custom for the Grand Master to continue in office for a second year. At the end of the first year, however, he nominated his successor, who received the appellation of Grand Master Elect.[1] This usage was only interrupted by the death of the Duke of Atholl, which occurred shortly before St. Andrew's Day, 1774. The occupants of the Masonic throne from the Grand Election of 1757 down to that of 1773 were successively the Earls of Galloway, Leven (1759), Elgin (1761), and Kellie (1763); James Stewart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh (1765); the Earl of Dalhousie (1767); Lieut.-General Oughton (1769); and the Earl of Dumfries (1771).

Thoughout this period there are few events to chronicle. The Grand Chaplain was made an officer of Grand Lodge in 1758. In the following year, the use, by Lodges, of "Painted Floor Cloths" was forbidden, and in 1760—March 11—The Grand Lodge "having taken into consideration the prevailing practice of giving vails or drink money to servants, did unanimously resolve to do everything in their power to remove the same."[2]

In this year charters were issued to the Union Kilwinning and St. Andrew Lodges at Charlestown, South Carolina, and Jamaica respectively.[3]

In 1762 the Grand Lodge declined to grant a charter to some petitioners in London, who were desirous of establishing a Lodge there, under the Scottish Sanction.[4] Two years later—November 21, 1764—a military Lodge—the Union—was erected in General Marjoribank's regiment, at that time in the service of the States-General of the United Provinces.[5]

On November 30, 1765, it was ordered that proper clothing and jewels should be procured for the use of the Grand Officers. I now pass on to the year 1768, when, at the instance of Joseph Gavin, of the Lodge of Edinburgh, the practice of issuing diplomas was adopted by the Grand Lodge.[6] In the same year Governor James Grant was appointed Provincial Grand Master of North America, Southern District, and in 1769 Dr. Joseph Warren received a similar commission as Prov. G.M. of "the Lodges in Boston."

In 1770 the Grand Lodge, by advertisement, called upon the different Lodges throughout the country to pay their dues to the Grand Secretary, under threat of calling in their charters.[7]

In this year the Lodge "Scots Greys Kilwinning," in the 2d or Royal North British Dragoons, having lost not only their charter, but their whole records, petitioned for a warrant from the Grand Lodge, which was granted, and the Lodge reconstituted—March 12—as the "St. Andrew's Royal Arch," by the G.M. in person.[8]

general one, in Scotland, until the beginning of the present century, and was carried out somewhat capriciously, *e.g.*, the Ancient Brazen Lodge, Linlithgow, which was present at the erection of the G.L. of Scotland, and is shown in the *sixteenth place*, on the roll of Lodges given in Lawrie's History (1804), never had a number at all until the precedency of all Lodges was readjusted, and new numbers issued—after the healing of the Kilwinning Schism—in 1816. The Warrant of St. Andrew's, Boston, was published in *Moore's Freemasons' Magazine*, vol. xvi., 1857, p. 71. *Cf. ante*, Chap. XX., p. 222.

[1] The first person so nominated was the Earl of Elgin, December 1, 1760.

[2] Lyon, pp. 195, 336.

[3] Lodges were constituted in Virginia, 1763; East Florida, 1768; at St. Christopher, 1769; and at Namur, 1770. The last-named (*cf.* p. 17, Vol. IV.) appears as No. 160 in recent, and as No. 161 in early, lists.

[4] Chap. XVIII., p. 174.

[5] The famous "Scots Brigade" was in the Dutch service (except between 1688 and 1691) from 1586 until 1793. It became the 94th regiment of the British army in 1802, and was disbanded in 1818.

[6] Lyon, p. 206.

[7] Ross, Freemasonry in Inverness, p. 92.

[8] Colonel (afterwards Lord) Napier was the W.M.; Captain Baird Heron, Depute Master; and Sir John Nesbit of Dean, S.W. (F.Q. Rev., 1842, p. 35).

Major-General James Adolphus Oughton, who, shortly after the occurrence last related, became a Lieutenant-General, and in 1773 a K.B., was a most popular ruler of the Craft.

The constitution of a regimental Lodge by a Grand Master who was also at the time Commander-in-Chief in Scotland,[1] points out to us the estimation in which military Masonry was then regarded, and the significance of the event is heightened by the circumstance that the Master[2] of "St. Andrew's Royal Arch" was in command of the 2d Dragoons.

General Oughton was entertained by the two Lodges at Inverness in 1770 and 1771, and in the latter year signed the following minute, which is still in existence:—"The Master, Wardens, and Brethren being present, several instructive charges and directions were given with regard to Masonry, and the proper tosses [toasts] drunk, and songs sung."[3] He was "admitted" an honorary member of the Lodge of Edinburgh in 1774.[4] During the Seven Years' War he served in Germany under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick,[5] and at the time of his death, held the colonelcy of the 31st Foot.

John, third Duke of Atholl,[6] who became Grand Master on November 30, 1773, but died without completing his year of office, was followed in succession by David Dalrymple, advocate—under whom William Mason was elected Grand Secretary—and Sir William Forbes. The latter—whose Depute was James Boswell of Auchinleck—laid the foundation-stone of the High School of Edinburgh, June 24, 1777; and in the following year presided and delivered the oration, at the Funeral Grand Lodge held—February 14, 1778—in honor of William St. Clair of Roslin.[7]

In the same month, a circular was issued to the Lodges, forbidding the practice of offering bounties to military recruits, together "with the freedom of Masonry."[8] In the Lodge of Kelso, the spirit of patriotism thus awakened, reached a great height, and—February 12, 1778—the brethren unanimously resolved to testify their zeal for their Sovereign and their respect for their noble Grand Master by marching with Lieut.-Colonel Brown[9] at the head of his recruiting party, beating up for volunteers for the Atholl Highlanders,[10] and accordingly marched from the Lodge in procession through the town, and at the same time offered a bounty of three guineas "to every man enlisting in that corps."[11]

[1] It may be stated that Lord Adam Gordon, in 1759, whilst holding the same high military command, served the office of Master in the Lodge of Aberdeen.

[2] The Hon. Col. Napier was Depute G.M. in 1771-72. [3] Ross, p. 96. [4] Lyon, p. 327.

[5] *Cf. ante*, p. 308. [6] Chap. XIX., p. 198.

[7] As these pages are passing through the press, Mr. D. M. Lyon informs me, that among the State records at Edinburgh there is a letter dated February 27, 1635, from Charles I. to the Exchequer. This sets forth, that the king's appointment of Sir Anthonie Alexander, Knight, to the office of Master of Work for Scotland, had been objected to by Sir William Sinclair of Roslin, Knight—who, claiming hereditary charge of the Masons of the kingdom, it had been referred to His Majesty's Advocate and to the Exchequer to inquire into and report upon Sinclair's claim, in which work they were to call for the co-operation and assistance of magistrates of towns and sheriffs of counties throughout the kingdom. If the inquiry took place, the report must have been an unfavorable one, with regard to St Clair's hereditary title—for, as shown by Lyon (p. 87), and more than once quoted in this history, Sir Anthonie Alexander continued to hold his appointment in 1636 and the following year, and was succeeded by his brother Henrie in 1638 (*ante*, p. 301; Chap. VIII., pp. 2, 27, 28, and 66). [8] Lyon, p. 83.

[9] Then at Kelso "levying men for service in the corps raising by the Duke of Atholl, G.M. of England, and G.M. elect of Scotland" (Vernon, p. 58). *Cf. ante*, Chap. XIX., p. 199.

[10] 77th Foot, raised 1778, disbanded 1783. The Hon. W. (afterwards Earl) Cathcart, obtaining a company in this corps, vacated the chair of the Alloa Lodge, by which body a bounty was forthwith offered to recruits (Freemasons' Magazine, 1857, p. 1028). [11] Vernon, *loc. cit.*

On August 7, 1786, it was ordained, that no Master should be addressed by the style or title of *Grand*, except the "Grand Master of Scotland," and in the same year a correspondence was opened between the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Berlin.

Lodges under the Scottish Constitution were not distinguished by numbers until about 1790. The custom became an acknowledged one in 1802, and in 1816 a renumbering took place.[1]

In 1794—August 4—the right of the Journeymen Lodge, "to grant dispensations to open a Lodge at any place where a number of their brethren were stationed, particularly if the Master was present," was considered, and—September 1—a power or warrant for the practice having been produced and examined, "the Grand Lodge were clearly of opinion that the Journeymen should be allowed to act as they had formerly done."[2]

A fraternal correspondence was opened with the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1796, and the next event of any consequence was the passing of the "Secret Societies Act" in 1799, which has been referred to in an earlier Chapter.[3] In the same year it was resolved "to *prohibit* and *discharge* all Lodges having charters from the Grand Lodge from holding any other meetings than those of the *Three Great Orders of Masonry*, of APPRENTICE, FELLOW-CRAFT, and MASTER MASON, being the Ancient Order of Saint John."[4] To such an extent, however, had the work of Lodges at this period become associated with that of the Royal Arch and Templar degrees, that in October, 1800, a circular was issued by the Grand Lodge, again "prohibiting and discharging its daughters to hold any meetings above the degree of Master Mason."[5]

On October 29, 1804, a form of oath was transmitted by the Grand Secretary to all the Lodges, with directions that the same should be engrossed on a parchment roll, which every visiting stranger was to subscribe in presence of two or more office-bearers, who were also to "subscribe alongst with him as witnesses."[6]

In the following year, at the annual festival, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales was elected Grand Master and Patron. This title—for in reality it was nothing more, the Prince being ineligible for election to the Grand Mastership from not being a member of a Scotch Lodge—was conferred upon him annually by Grand Lodge until his succession to the Crown in 1820, when the title was changed to that of "Patron of the Most Ancient Order of St. John's Masonry for Scotland."[7] The Earl of Moira, at that time Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, was elected Acting Grand Master Elect at the same meeting. This nobleman was present at the Grand Feast, held at the King's Arms Tavern, on St. Andrew's Day 1803, on which occasion he delivered a most impressive address; and from that period may be dated the origin of the fraternal union which has since subsisted between the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland. Lord Moira, who was Acting (or virtual) Grand Master in 1806 and 1807, twice discharged the ceremonial duties incidental to that office in 1809. On October 25 he laid the foundation-stone of George the Third's Bastion at Leith, and—November 21—the FREEMASONS' HALL OF SCOTLAND was consecrated by him, and in the most solemn manner dedicated to MASONRY. On each of these occasions the Earl delivered one of those eloquent addresses for which he was so justly famed.[8]

During Lord Moira's second year of office as Grand Master, a reconciliation was happily

[1] Communicated by D. M. Lyon.
[2] Hunter, p. 73.
[3] Chap. XX., p. 239.
[4] Laurie, 1859, p. 162; Vernon. p. 64.
[5] Lyon, p. 293 *ut supra.*
[6] Ross, p. 140; Vernon, p. 66.
[7] Lyon, p. 388 *ut supra.*
[8] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 241.

effected between the Grand Lodge and the Lodge of Kilwinning.[1] Negotiations for a union had been secretly opened between certain officials of the two bodies in 1806, and after a preliminary correspondence, commissioners appointed by each of the parties held a conference at Glasgow on October 14, 1807. At this meeting the Records of the Lodge of Kilwinning, and a copy of the Charter of the Lodge of Scoon and Perth,[2] were produced in support of the "great antiquity of Kilwinning."[3] Ultimately it was reciprocally agreed:—That the Mother Lodge Kilwinning should renounce all right of granting charters, and come in, along with all the Lodges holding under her, to the bosom of the Grand Lodge; that the Mother Kilwinning should be placed at the head of the roll of the Grand Lodge, and her daughter Lodges at the end of the said roll, but so soon as the roll should be arranged and corrected the Lodges holding of Mother Kilwinning should be ranked according to the dates of their original charters, and of those granted by the Grand Lodge; and that the Master of the Mother Lodge Kilwinning for the time being should be *ipso facto* Provincial Grand Master for the Ayrshire district.

This provisional agreement was approved of by the Grand Lodge, November 2, 1807, and shortly afterwards ratified and confirmed by the Lodge of Kilwinning.

Between, however, the Glasgow Conference of October 14 and the Grand Lodge held November 2, an interview took place—October 26—between Sir John Stuart, Bart., one of the Commissioners for the Grand Lodge, and Alexander Deuchar, Treasurer of the Lodge of Edinburgh. The latter urged the injustice of proceeding so far without allowing Mary's Chapel at least the satisfaction of proving her claims to seniority, or seeing the vouchers upon authority of which her seniority was to be thus forcibly wrested from her; also, that Mary's Chapel had already received various decisions in her favor seventy years back, besides having in her possession a charter from the Grand Lodge, wherein her right to stand *first* on the roll was expressly set forth. The further documentary evidence relating to the subject consists of a minute of the Lodge of Edinburgh, October 29; a letter from Sir J. Stuart to Mr. Deuchar, October 30; and the reply of the latter, October 31.[4] The Lodge of Edinburgh consented, "if the Kilwining Lodge could produce any additional satisfactory proof of their being the identical Lodge of Kilwining by whom Masonry was originally introduced into Scotland," that their rivals should stand first on the roll without a number; but the members of the metropolitan Lodge urged with great force "that they did not see how Mother Kilwinning could expect Mary's Chapel to resign the exalted position she held upon mere presumptive proof, or act otherwise upon true Masonic principles, than consent to come down a little in her demands as well as Mary's Chapel." But this appeal was unheeded, the Treaty and Settlement between the Grand Lodge and Mother Kilwinning was forthwith approved of, though, it must be recorded, "under protest," by the Acting Master of Mary's Chapel, who threatened "to call a meeting of the Lodge to consider whether they should not secede."[5] The Lodge of Edinburgh followed up its protest by constituting its office-bearers a committee to defend its privileges. A final attempt to regain its original place was made by the Lodge, May 8, 1815, when "it seemed to be the general sense of the Grand Lodge that after the solemn agreement

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 305, 309. Not to interrupt the general narrative, the history of the Lodge of Kilwinning during its secession from the Grand Lodge will, to the extent necessary, be related at the close of the Chapter.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. VIII., p. 31; and Lyon, p. 247. [3] Lyon, p. 247. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 248 *et seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

entered into with Mother Kilwinning in 1807, and ratified, approved of, and acted upon by all parties ever since that period, the petition and remonstrance by Mary's Chapel Lodge could not be received and entertained."

Although the summary displacement of the Lodge of Edinburgh from the position which had been assigned to it in 1737 did not actually "lead to the formation of a new Grand Lodge," as had been prophesied by Alexander Deuchar,[1] the bitterness thereby engendered was not without influence in the proceedings I am about to relate, which resulted in the temporary secession of several Lodges, and at one time threatened to afflict the Scottish Craft with a schism of even graver character than that which was still running its course in the South.[2]

On May 4, 1807, Dr. John Mitchell, Master of the Lodge "Caledonian," moved in Grand Lodge that "an address be presented to his Majesty" thanking him (*inter alia*) for "supporting the established religion of the country."[3] The motion was negatived by a majority of one vote, the numbers being 28 to 27. A scrutiny was demanded and refused, and at a special Grand Lodge, held June 19, this ruling was upheld, 95 members voting in the majority and 47 in the minority.

In the following year—January 21—Dr. Mitchell was arraigned on several charges, and found guilty—by a majority of 159 to 91—of having at one of the Caledonian Lodge meetings proposed that "it should secede from the Grand Lodge." Sentence of Suspension, *sine die*, from his Masonic privileges was forthwith pronounced, and three days later the Doctor was re-installed in the chair of the Caledonian Lodge, by which body it was resolved "to discontinue their connection with the Grand Lodge." These proceedings having been communicated to the Grand Lodge of England, the Earl of Moira, Acting Grand Master—under the Heir-Apparent—of both Grand Lodges, expressed in a letter to the Substitute G.M.—April 25, 1808—his own and the Prince of Wales' opinion, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland "should consider of a sentence of expulsion from Masonry of Dr. Mitchell for his contumacy, to be followed by a similar sentence against every individual attending what is called a Lodge under him."

Accordingly—May 2, 1808—Dr. Mitchell and some members of his Lodge were expelled, while certain members of Mary's Chapel, and other alleged abettors of the Schism, were suspended. This led—May 24—to an extraordinary meeting of the Lodge of Edinburgh, at which nearly one hundred brethren attended. A series of resolutions was passed, expressing "surprise, astonishment, and regret, at the proceedings taken in Dr. Mitchell's case," and winding up with the old grievance of the Lodge in reference to its position on the roll. These resolutions having been transmitted to the Grand Lodge, by a unanimous decision of that body, the greater part of the office-bearers of Mary's Chapel and St. Andrew—from which Lodge a similar remonstrance had been received—were suspended, the brethren of these two Lodges directed to choose other office-bearers, and it was remitted to certain members of the Grand Lodge to preside at such elections.

The Lodge of Edinburgh—June 21—resolved to discontinue connection with the Grand

[1] In his letter of October 31, 1807, to Sir J. Stuart.

[2] The narrative which follows is abridged from the History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, pp. 256-281.

[3] "The King's opposition to the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities called forth, from various public bodies throughout the kingdom, addresses, and it was probably with the view of contributing to the aggrandisement of the political party to which he belonged that Dr. Mitchell sought to identify the Grand Lodge of Scotland with this agitation" (Lyon, p. 257).

Lodge, until reinstated in its proper place on the roll, and the sentence on its office-bearers recalled. Other resolutions of a more general character followed, and similar ones were adopted by the Lodges—Canongate Kilwinning, St. David, and St. Andrew; whilst counter resolutions were passed by those Lodges in Edinburgh which remained firm in their allegiance to the Grand Lodge.

The dispute now took a wider range, and it was alleged that Dr. Mitchell and his associates fell under the prohibition of the Act of Parliament (1799) for suppressing societies which administer secret oaths,[1] whilst on the other hand the Seceders, following up the resolutions under which they had left the Grand Lodge, met—July 18—in the Lodge room of Canongate Kilwinning, and organized themselves into a separate body, under the designation of "The Associated Lodges seceding from the present Grand Lodge of Scotland." From this time—during the pendency of the Schism—the Masters of the Seceding Lodges occupied the chair by rotation at the annual festivals, and the minutes of the meeting were engrossed in the books of the Lodge whose Master presided on the occasion.

The litigation which ensued has been narrated by Lyon, and it will suffice in this place to remark that the Grand Lodge was thoroughly worsted in the legal struggle, from which the Associated Lodges emerged victorious. Happily, a conciliatory spirit prevailed, or the result might have been the erection of a multiplicity of Grand Lodges.[2] Overtures for a reunion were made on behalf of the Seceders, February 3, 1812; and by the appointment of a special committee, to consider the proposals for a reconciliation, the Grand Lodge met them more than half way. But although this led to the appointment of a similar committee by the Associated Lodges, the breach was not healed until 1813—on March 31 of which year, the sentences of suspension and expulsion (excepting in the case of Dr. Mitchell) were removed, and the Seceding Lodges returned to their former allegiance.

In 1810, "it was unanimously decided that the Master of a Lodge had the right of appointing his own Depute, unless the practice of his particular Lodge, or any by-law thereof, ruled the contrary." In the same year, after consultation with the sister Grand Lodges of England and Ireland, the Grand Lodge declined to grant a Charter for the Naval Kilwinning Lodge, which it was proposed to hold on board H.M.S. "Ardent."[3]

On September 19, 1815, the foundation-stones of the Regent Bridge and the New Jail were laid with the usual Masonic solemnities, and certain "Knights Templars" headed by Alexander Deuchar, not only joined in the procession, but took precedence of the regular Lodges and brethren. The subject was brought before the Grand Lodge in the ensuing November, and after a committee had reported, resolutions were passed—August 4, 1817—that the Grand Lodge only recognized the three degrees of Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason of St. John's Masonry; and that any Lodges admitting persons to their meetings or processions belonging to other Orders, with regalia, insignia, badges, or crosses other than those belonging to St. John's Masonry, would be proceeded against for infringement of the regulations.[4] A few weeks later—August 28—the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Scotland was instituted by the representatives of thirty-four Chapters, at a General Convocation of the Order, held in St. John's Chapel, Edinburgh.

[1] Chap. XX., p. 238 *et seq.*

[2] Some idea of the dimensions of the Schism may be gathered from the fact, that to celebrate one of their legal victories, the Associated Lodges held a General Communication—February 17, 1809—at which upwards of three hundred brethren were present. The R.W. M. of Lodge St. David presided as "Grand Master."

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XX., p. 234.

[4] Laurie, p. 189; Lyon, p. 295.

At the next Grand Lodge, held November 3, it was enacted—by an overwhelming majority of votes—that, from and after December 27 then ensuing, no person holding an official situation in any Masonic body which sanctions higher degrees than those of St. John's Masonry, shall be entitled to sit, act, or vote in the Grand Lodge of Scotland. This produced a dignified protest from the Grand Chapter—July 20, 1818—in which the Royal Arch is styled "a real and intrinsic part of Master Masonry," and a union is proposed between the Grand Lodge and the Grand Chapter, on the same principles as those established between the same bodies in England.[1] But although couched in courteous terms, and signed by two Past Grand Masters—the Earls of Moray and Aboyne—the letter, on the motion of the Proxy Master of "Mother Kilwinning," was not even allowed to be read. An attempt was made—August, 1820—to rescind the resolution of November 3, 1817; but the motion was negatived by 52 votes to 22. "Though still withholding its recognition of other than Craft Masonry,"[2] observes Lyon, "the Grand Lodge has long since set aside its prohibitory enactments against wearing in Lodge Communications the insignia of, or holding office under, the High Degrees."

The Grand Chapter "did not assume a distinct recognition of several of the degrees which it now superintends, until 1845, when it intimated that its Chapters were entitled to grant the following degrees:—Mark, Past, Excellent, and Royal Arch, as also the Royal Ark Mariners and the Babylonish Pass, which last is commonly but erroneously called the Red Cross, and is composed of three points—Knights of the Sword, Knights of the East, and Knights of the East and West."[3]

Many foundation-stones were laid according to the formalities of the Craft between 1820 and 1830, but no events occurred during that period which are worthy of specific mention. In the latter year King William IV. became the patron of the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and in 1831—March 19—William Alexander[4] succeeded his father, *Alexander* Laurie,[5] as Grand Secretary.

On August 3, 1829, a committee was appointed to revise the Laws of the Grand Lodge, which had never previously been embodied into a code.[6] These were sanctioned November 2, 1835, and printed in 1836. Editions were subsequently published in 1848, 1852, 1863, 1874, 1879, and 1881.

The Grand Lodge celebrated the completion of the First Centenary of its existence on St. Andrew's Day, 1836, under the presidency of Lord Ramsay, afterwards tenth Earl and first Marquis of Dalhousie. Gold medals were struck in honor of the event, and one was presented to each of the sister Grand Lodges of England and Ireland.

A patent bearing the same date—November 30, 1836—was granted to the Chevalier—afterwards Sir James—Burnes, appointing him Provincial Grand Master over Western India and its dependencies, but his jurisdiction was extended—August 24, 1846—over the three Presidencies, with the title of Grand Master of Scottish Freemasons in India. After a brilliant career in the Indian Medical Service, extending over a period of nearly thirty years, Dr. Burnes returned to his native country in 1849, and died in 1862.[7]

[1] *Ante*, p. 264. [2] See, however, *post*, p. 329. [3] Laurie, 1859, p. 430. [4] Assist. G. S., 1826–31.

[5] Assist. G. S. 1801; Joint G. S., 1810; Sole G. S., 1812–31.

[6] *I.e.*, with the formal sanction of G.L. (Constit. 1848, p. xxii.), though one was printed with Lawrie's History (1804), and W. A. Laurie (1859) states that the draft was approved in 1801–2 (p. 167).

[7] Lyon, p. 341. See further, Laurie, 1859, p. 396 *et seq.*; and the Masonic Journals, *passim*. Sir James Burnes, it may be briefly added, was the author of "a Sketch of the History of the Knights

In 1838—November 12—an application from the Prov. G.M. of the West Indies, requesting a dispensation to work the Mark Mason degree, was considered, and refused, on the grounds that according to the Constitutions,[1] "the Grand Lodge of Scotland practises and recognizes no degrees of Masonry but those of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master Mason, denominated St. John's Masonry," and that "All Lodges holding of the G.L. of Scotland are strictly prohibited and discharged from giving any countenance, as a body, to any other Order of Masonry."[2]

Lord Glenlyon—afterwards sixth Duke of Atholl—was elected Grand Master in 1843, and this high office he continued to hold until his death in January, 1864.[3]

In 1844 a select committee was appointed to inquire how far Benefit Societies in connection with Lodges were conducive or otherwise to the prosperity of Masonry in Scotland. The facts generally, as ascertained by the committee, may be thus summarized:

"In some Lodges with Benefit Societies it is explained to the candidates that a Benefit Society is connected with the Lodge with which he offers himself for initiation; that the fee for becoming a member of the Lodge is a stated sum, say £1 10*s.*, and for becoming a member both of the Lodge and the Society is so much more, say £2 in whole, besides an annual contribution to the Society funds; and that unless the candidate become a member both of the Lodge and the Society, he can neither elect for, nor be elected to any of the offices of the Lodge, the Office-bearers being generally the Managers *ex officiis* of the Society funds. In other cases, members of the Lodge, but not of the Society, may vote at the election of Office-bearers of the Lodge, but are not eligible for office themselves. And lastly, that the Societies in question are in many instances managed with great care, and are very beneficial to the parties concerned."

The report of the Committee having been duly considered and approved—May 6—it was resolved:

"That all Lodges who may hereafter form Benefit Societies are hereby prohibited from depriving any of the members of their Lodges of the right of voting at the election of Office-bearers, or being chosen Office-bearers; and those Lodges who already have Benefit Societies connected therewith, are instructed to make such alterations upon their bye-laws and practice as will admit every duly constituted Member of the Lodge, not lying under any Masonic disability, to vote, or to be eligible for office, at the election of Office-bearers. The Grand Lodge also recommends all Lodges having Benefit Societies to be very careful in keeping the funds of the Lodge perfectly separate and distinct from those of the Society."

In the same year—August 5—it was ordained by the Grand Lodge that an interval of two weeks should elapse between the degrees of Apprentice and Fellow-Craft, and Fellow-Craft and Master Mason respectively, but the enactment, though aimed at the custom (which, alas, still prevails) of conferring all three degrees on the same night, became a dead letter owing to its being qualified by a proviso, that the regulation might be dispensed

Templars," 1840; and in 1845 he founded a new Order or Brotherhood "of the Olive-Branch of the East." It consisted of three classes—Novice, Companion, and Officer (F.Q. Rev., 1845, p. 377). The reputation of its founder caused it to be received with much enthusiasm by Indian Freemasons, but it never took root.

[1] Edit. 1836, Chaps. I., § 4; XIX., § 1.

[2] The present practice under the Grand Lodge of Scotland will be referred to at the close of this Chapter.

[3] Lord Elcho (1827–29) served a *third* term as G.M.; but with this solitary exception, none of Lord Glenlyon's predecessors in the Grand Chair were elected more than *twice*.

with "in any particular case of emergency, to be allowed by the Master and Wardens of the Lodge."

The Fund of Scottish Masonic Benevolence was established—at the instance of Mr. J. Whyte-Melville—August 2, 1846.

In the following year the Grand Lodge agreed to an interchange of representatives with the Grand Lodge of England; the fees on charters were reduced from £21 to £10 10*s.*; and on May 3 the Grand Lodge—in relation to the installation of R.W. Masters—pronounced the following deliverance:

"The G.L. of Scotland has never acknowledged, as connected with St. John's Masonry, any degree, or secrets of any degree, but those imparted to every Master Mason, Fellow-Craft, and Entered Apprentice. The G.L. farther considers every Master Mason qualified to be elected to, and fill the Chair as R.W. Master, without receiving any additional degree or secrets whatever."

The rare collection of Masonic books and manuscripts amassed by Dr. Charles Morison of Greenfield, was, at his death, presented by his widow—August 24, 1849—to the Grand Lodge of Scotland,[1] and this library is now (December, 1885) being catalogued by the indefatigable Secretary of that body—D. M. Lyon—who, in disposing of the "Arrears" bequeathed to him by his official predecessors, finds his chief recreation in a change of employment—which in this case, however, must be of a congenial character, to a Grand Secretary, whose administrative talent—great as it is—has not yet eclipsed his earlier fame as an historian of the Craft.

Masonic Clubs were prohibited in 1851, but the Grand Lodge, in order to promote the objects which they professed to have in view, consented to grant temporary warrants, without fee, for holding Lodges of Instruction in any District or Province, when a majority of the Masters therein should petition for them. The privilege conferred by this resolution has not to any appreciable extent been taken advantage of, and the Fraternity are still left to the uncontrolled indulgence of their own fancy in the matter of Lodge instruction.[2]

In the same year, a new class of Members were introduced into the Grand Lodge, and the rank of "Honorary Member" conferred in the first instance upon the King of Sweden, and Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, and subsequently, upon George V., King of Hanover, and William I., King of Prussia (now Emperor of Germany). At a Quarterly Communication, held February, 1853, a reduction—from six shillings and sixpence to four shillings and sixpence—in the fees for Grand Lodge Diplomas, was unanimously agreed to.

The want of a suitable Hall for the Grand Lodge having been long felt, a committee was appointed—May 4, 1857—to consider the propriety and practicability of "purchasing or erecting a Building for Grand Lodge purposes, and the means whereby it might be accomplished." Reports were made by the Hall Committee and Grand Architect, and the scheme was sanctioned by Grand Lodge, February 1, 1858. The excavations were commenced April 26, and the Foundation-stone laid with great ceremony, by the Duke of Atholl, G.M., June 24. In the following year, February 24, the New Freemasons' Hall, 98 George Street, Edinburgh, was consecrated and inaugurated.

In January, 1864, the Masonic throne became vacant through the death of the Duke of

[1] May 7, 1855, "The Morison Library was declared to be patent to all Members of the Grand Lodge, and to all other duly qualified Master Masons, recommended by Members thereof" (Laurie, p. 213). *Cf. post*, p. 373.

[2] Lyon, p. 407 *ut supra.*

Atholl, who had occupied it since 1843. John Whyte-Melville of Bennochy and Strathkinness was the next Grand Master—under whose administration it was that gross irregularities in the management of the financial and other affairs of Grand Lodge were discovered as having existed for years, though little or no benefit resulted from the investigation which followed.

The Earl of Dalhousie was elected Grand Master in 1867, and retired in November, 1870. It was during his tenure of office that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales became Patron of the Scottish Craft and an affiliated member of the Lodge of Edinburgh (Mary's Chapel) No. 1. The Prince appeared in Grand Lodge, and was installed as Patron, October 16, 1870, and on the following day laid the foundation-stone of the New Royal Infirmary.

The Earl of Rosslyn was elected Grand Master, November, 1870. This nobleman made an unsuccessful attempt to raise the status of the Craft, in securing from all members of Lodges an annual payment to Grand Lodge as a test of membership. It was during the administration of Lord Rosslyn that Grand Lodge recognized and adopted the Installed Masters Degree.

Sir Michael Robert Shaw-Stewart of Greenock and Blackhall, Baronet, was elected Grand Master in November, 1873, and held the post till his retirement in November, 1881. It was during this period that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the new Post Office at Glasgow, October 17, 1876. In the same year, the Grand Master instituted a searching inquiry into the gigantic mismanagement of Grand Lodge business, by which, for a very long period, the Scottish Craft had been scandalized. He succeeded in having matters placed on a satisfactory footing, and this reformation was inaugurated by the appointment of the present Grand Secretary, and ever since the career of the Grand Lodge has been one of exceptional prosperity. This is due, in great measure, to the unwearied exertions of Mr. David Murray Lyon, who was elected Grand Secretary—on the retirement of Mr. John Laurie—in 1877. In Mr. David Kinnear, Grand Cashier—I must not, however, forget to add—the present Grand Secretary of Scotland possesses a most efficient coadjutor, and it is to the diligence and ability displayed by these two permanent officials of the Grand Lodge, that the order and regularity which has of late years characterized the administrative proceedings of that body, are mainly attributable.

The Earl of Mar and Kellie succeeded to the Masonic throne in November, 1881, and retired in 1884. A scheme for raising £10,000 for the extension of the Fund of Scottish Masonic Benevolence was adopted by Grand Lodge during the presidency of this nobleman.

Colonel Sir Archibald C. Campbell of Blythswood, Baronet, M.P., elected in November, 1884, has been again called to the Grand Mastership (1885). It has fallen to Sir Archibald to give the strongest popular expression of disapprobation, to an undisguised attempt to place a semi-official stamp upon a pretended ritual of Freemasonry—manufactured for publication by unauthorized and irresponsible parties connected with the Craft.

The latest Lodge warrant issued down to December, 1885, bears the number 726, and the Lodges are arranged in 54 provinces, 24 of which are abroad. In the colonies and foreign parts there are 203 Lodges in active operation.

Between November 30, 1884, and November 30, 1885, dues for 4052 entrants have been paid, and within the same period the Grand Lodge receipts have been £4342 10s. 7d., against an expenditure of £3548 7s. 10d., which includes the sum of £662 8s. voted on account of charity to decayed members and widows.

The Lodge of Kilwinning, as we have seen, resumed its independency in 1745, and

from that time until 1808 exercised all the attributes of a Grand Lodge. It was rarely brought into conflict with the governing body from which it had seceded, and on the few occasions in which this occurred, neither side can be said to have emerged victorious from the dispute. The rivalry existing did not therefore disturb the fraternal relations subsisting between the brethren under the two jurisdictions.

In 1758 we find two Edinburgh Masons seeking to be admitted members of "the Venerable Gray-hair'd Mother Kilwinning," and supporting their application by a promise to present a "set of new ribbons" to the Lodge.[1] The Earl of Eglinton was elected M.W.G.M. of the Mother Lodge *ad vitam* in 1778, and the concluding years of the past century were marked by the admission of many distinguished brethren, *e.g.*, the Earl of Crawford, Sir Walter M. Cunningham, Bart., the Earl of Cassilis, Lord Lyle, and others. Down, indeed, to the close of its separate and independent existence, its roll continued to be graced by the names of many brethren who have been famous in history.

It is, however, a somewhat curious circumstance that the Lodge of Kilwinning, which almost alone amongst Scottish Lodges, has evinced an unconquerable repugnance to either working or recognizing more than the three degrees of the Craft, should have been regarded, both at home and abroad, as a centre of the *Hauts Grades*. Yet, as a simple matter of fact, it has never practised, and has always repudiated any connection with the legion of foreign novelties, which, under one name or another, have been *adopted* in many influential quarters as Masonic.

When, at the close of the last century, the Arch and the Templar degrees were practised to such an extent among the Scottish Lodges, as to call forth the censure of the Grand Lodge, they were never introduced into, or even countenanced by Mother Kilwinning. "Of course, as long as she continued to preserve anything of an operative character, the Mark was conferred by the Mother Lodge upon those qualified to receive it, though, even at the present day, the Mark *degree* is unknown to her as a Lodge."[2]

A passage in Ramsay's famous speech doubtless served as the original basis on which so many fanciful conjectures with regard to the mission of the Lodge of Kilwinning have arisen.[3] The belief, indeed, in her connection with Templary was fairly justified, from the grant of a warrant in 1779 to a Lodge with the singular title of "High Knights Templars of Ireland."[4] By this body a correspondence was opened with the Mother Lodge, October 25, 1806, in order to obtain such documents as would establish, beyond doubt, the authority and regularity of their warrant as Knights Templars. The nature of the reply that this must have elicited, may be inferred from the fact that in 1779, "Mother Kilwinning," in a circular to her daughter Lodges, repudiated all connection with any Masonic rites beyond the three degrees of the Craft. The application addressed to the Lodge of Kilwinning in 1813 by some "Sir Knights" in the Shropshire Militia has already been referred to.[5]

In 1817, on the formation of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter for Scotland, the Grand Recorder fell into the error of supposing that "Mother Kilwinning" was also a R.A.

[1] Lyon, p. 379.

[2] Lyon, in the *Freemasons' Magazine*, vol. viii., N. S., p. 426. "This conferring of Marks obtained in the Mother Lodge until the middle of the 18th century (although the custom had for a long time previously been declining), after which period no further record is made of Marks being given or paid for" (*Ibid.*, vol. ix., p. 234). *Cf. ante*, p. 276.

[3] *Post*, p. 342. [4] *Ante*, p. 298. [5] *Ibid.*

Chapter, and urged the propriety of an immediate union with the newly constituted Grand Chapter, which would secure to it that rank to which it was entitled. Indeed, so tenaciously did the high grade Masons cling to the idea, that the Lodge of Kilwinning was at one time in the habit of conferring the Arch and Templar degrees, and even granted warrants for the purpose, that Alexander Deuchar, as G.M. of the Templars of Scotland, is found (1827) putting the following questions to the Master of the "Mother Lodge," viz.: "Has the Lodge of Kilwinning any and how many Lodges holding under her whom she has impowered to make Templars, and how long is it since she granted any such warrant? How far back do your minutes of the Order of Knights Templars go?" To these queries the Mother Lodge replied that "the brethren of Kilwinning have never gone farther in practice than THREE STEP MASONS."[1] The inveteracy of this error becomes apparent if we turn to a publication edited by the Grand Secretary of Scotland in 1859, where it is positively affirmed "that the Ancient Mother Kilwinning Lodge *certainly* possessed in former times other degrees of Masonry than those of St. John."[2]

The degree of Knight Templar doubtless had its origin in some form of the Scots degrees, whence (in all probability) it penetrated into our British Military Lodges during (or before) the Seven Years' War. Whether derived from the Clermont or the Strict Observance systems[3] is immaterial, though the traditions of both may be referred to as possessing attractions which, at least to Scotsmen, may have been irresistible. Thus, passing over the alleged reception of Von Hund by a former G.M. of Scotland—Lord Kilmarnock[4]—the sixth of the Clermont degrees and the whole fabric of the Strict Observance was based on the legend that Pierre d'Aumont was elected G.M. of the Templars in Scotland, 1313, and that to avoid persecution the knights became Freemasons. In 1361 the G.M. is said to have removed his seat to Old Aberdeen, whither (in the time of Von Hund) a deputation was sent to search its "mysterious caverns" for the sublime doctrine and the treasures of the Templars, and found to their surprise that the worthy and astonished brethren there, were not only unconscious of possessing either secrets or treasures, but that their stock of Masonry did not extend beyond the three ordinary degrees.[5]

A history of the so-called "high degrees" lies outside the scope of this work, but a passing glance at a subject of such interest and complexity may not be out of place. I shall first of all bespeak the attention of my readers to some allusions in previous Chapters. Thus, the "dignity of a Highrodiam,"[6] the "Scots Masters,"[7] the Chapter of Harodim,[8] and the Lodges of "Perfect Observance,"[9] and of "des Amis Réunis,"[10] all point to the existence of foreign novelties, of which more will be seen as we proceed.[11]

In Scotland the additional degrees were in the first instance wrought by the Lodges, and afterwards more often in Encampments. A pamphlet, published at Edinburgh in 1788, informs us, that of the "*real* Higher Degrees, there are two *regular* Chapters in the kingdom of Scotland—one in the north, the other in the west, who hold their convents in *Aberdeen* and *Glasgow*." When in 1817, the Supreme Grand Chapter was formed, these

[1] Lyon in Freemasons' Magazine, N.S., vol. ix., p. 354.

[2] W. A. Laurie, "History of Freemasonry and the Grand Lodge of Scotland," 2d. edit., p. 93.

[3] *Cf. post*, pp. 348, 353.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[5] Chap. XI., p. 119; *post*, p. 353; Clavel, Hist. Pittoresque, p. 187; Laurie, 1859, p. 84; Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 329; and Findel, p. 215.

[6] Chap. XIX., p. 210.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Chaps. XVII., p. 91; XVIII., p. 180.

[9] Chap. XVIII., p. 169.

[10] Chap. XX., p. 303.

[11] *Post*, Chap. XXIV., *passim*.

degrees naturally subdivided themselves into two groups; and Alexander Deuchar, the head of the Grand Conclave—established in 1811—held strongly the opinion that all these degrees (whatever number might be introduced into Scotland) should be arranged thus: the non-Christian degrees under the charge of Chapters, and the Christian degrees under the charge of Encampments. The degrees practised in the St. George Aboyne Encampment[1] in 1815, were the following:—

I.	Master past the chair; Excellent and Super-Excellent; Royal Arch, . .	Fee,	£0	7	6
II.	Ark; Black Mark; Link and Chain, ...	"	0	2	1½
III.	Knight Templar; Knight of St. John of Jerusalem; Mediterranean Pass; Knight of Malta, ...	"	0	10	6
IV.	Jordan Pass; Babylon Pass, ...	"	0	2	0
V.	Knight of the Red Cross, ...	"	0	3	0
VI.	High Priest, ...	"	0	5	0
VII.	Prussian Blue, ...	"	0	0	0
			£1	10	1½

Both Master Masons and Royal Arch Masons were received indiscriminately as candidates: if the former, they received first the Group I. of Royal Arch Degrees; if the latter, they began with Group II. When the Royal Arch Degrees were conferred, the meeting was called a Chapter; for all the others an Encampment. When the Supreme Chapter was formed in 1817–18, the Encampment did not cease conferring the R.A. Degrees, although after a year or two the practice seems to have been gradually dropped, apparently more from the circumstance that only R.A. Masons came forward as candidates, than from any idea that the power to do so had been surrendered.

Of Group II., the Ark and Black Mark were uniformly conferred as preliminary to the Templar Degrees proper, down to about the year 1840, when the former at least seems to have become optional. A minute, dated April 28, 1848, informs us:—"The following members of the Encampment, being Black Mark Masons, unanimously resolved that the said degree be conjoined to the Knight Templars, and that the payment for it in the meantime be made voluntary." Of Group III., the Knight Templar, Mediterranean Pass, and Knight of Malta have invariably been conferred, and since 1850 these have been the only degrees communicated openly in the Encampment.

Of Group IV., the last distinct mention is in 1837, after which they seem to have become optional. As in 1851 the Chapters began to practise these as well as the Ark, there arose after that date no further necessity for their being conferred in the Encampment.

No. V. is the same as the Rosy Cross or Rose Croix, and, down to the year 1845, was regularly given with the Templar Degrees. After that date it also became optional, and was seldom conferred.

Nos. VI. and VII. are never mentioned in the minutes, and were not conferred at any of the ordinary meetings of the Encampment, but separately, in presence only of the few to whom they were known.

[1] Chartered in the Aberdeenshire Militia by the Grand Conclave of Scotland, July 6, 1812. The Encampment moved with the regiment, being at Dover 1812, Liverpool 1813, Tower of London 1814, and in Aberdeen—where it has since remained—1815. The Aboyne *Lodge* was formed in the same corps in 1799.

Dr. Beveridge, who identifies Prussian Masonry with the Rite of Perfection, pronounces the degree mentioned in the list as No. VII. to have been the 25° of the latter, or the 32° of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite.

It will be observed that among the degrees enumerated, the Mark Degrees (Mark Man and Mark Master) do not occur. These, when practised, were wrought by the Craft Lodges. This no doubt was in opposition to the Grand Lodge Regulations, but nevertheless in many parts of Scotland, down to the middle of the present century, the old usage was uniformly adhered to. When the Supreme Chapter, in the edition of its laws issued in 1845, made it imperative on Chapters to confer the Mark Degree, the Aberdeen Chapters, regarding this as a violation of the ancient landmarks, absolutely refused to comply.

But in the result an understanding was come to, that the Chapters were not to be interfered with if they chose to continue the old practice. Ten years later, as the old members gradually died out, the Chapters, although with hesitation and reluctance, began to confer the Mark degree; but since the Grand Lodge, in 1860, allowed the degree to be conferred in Craft Lodges,[1] advantage has been taken of this to resort, in part at least, to the old usage.[2]

It is important to note—having regard to the similarity of name—that there is no connection whatever between the ancient *custom* and the modern *degree*. "The taking of a Mark in pre-eighteenth century Lodges was not a *degree*, and the ceremony lay in paying for the Mark and having it booked."[3] The *degree* of the same name is first met with in Scotland in 1778,[4] and was taken up with much earnestness by the Journeymen Lodge in 1789, to whose persistent exertions in later years must be ascribed the qualified recognition of the degree by the Grand Lodge of Scotland.[5]

Before, however, passing away from the consideration of degrees—so-called—which made their first appearance after the "Introduction of Freemasonry Abroad,"[6] it will be essential to refer to a Rite or Order of alleged Scottish origin which the founders were not content to closely associate with "Mother" Kilwinning, but actually labelled with her name. *L'Ordre de Hérédom de Kilwinning*, or Royal Order of Scotland, is composed of two degrees—H.R.D.M. and R.Y.C.S.—or those of *Heredom* and the *Rosy Cross*.[7] The degree of Heredom Kilwinning is declared to have originated in the reign of David I., King of Scotland, and that of Rosy Cross to have been instituted by Robert the Bruce, by whom also the former is supposed to have been revived and incorporated with the latter in 1314. It is further asserted that the "Royal Order" and the Masonic Fraternity of Kilwinning were governed by the same head. Passing, however, from fable to fact, it appears that the oldest records in the possession of the Grand Lodge of the Order at Edin-

[1] Under an anomalous arrangement, whereby, though pronounced by the Grand Lodge "to be a second part of the Fellow-Craft Degree," it is allowed to be conferred on Master Masons only.

[2] Abridged from an article by Dr. Beveridge, in the Aberdeenshire "Masonic Reporter," 1879, p. 53 *et seq.* *Cf. post*, pp. 351, 383, 384; and Thory (Acta Lat.), *s.v.* Noachites, ou Chevaliers Prussiens.

[3] Lyon (*MS.*). [4] *Ante*, p. 275.

[5] Hunter, p. 81. It is noteworthy, that in the records of this Lodge, where the Mark *degree* has been worked from 1789, there is no *previous* reference to operative Marks, whilst in those of "Mother Kilwinning," where the *custom* of taking out a Mark lasted until (*circa*) 1750, there is no *subsequent* allusion to the *degree*. [6] *Cf.* Chap, XXIV., *s. v.*

[7] According, however, to Thory, "Chevalier de Rose-*Croix* is the 48th of the 90 degrees of the Rite of Misraim, and the 4th in the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning" (Acto Latomorum, vol. i., p. 337).

burgh are those of an Anglo-Dutch Provincial Grand Chapter, established, according to the evidence of its own documents, in the middle of the last century.

On July 22, 1750, a patent was granted by the Provincial Grand Master of South Britain —then "in the ninth year of his authority"—to William Mitchell, a Scotsman; Jonas Kluck, and others, at the Hague, who were, on the date aforesaid, "constituted into a regular Chapter, at the sign of the Golden Horseshoe, in Cannon Street, Southwark." The newly-erected body was empowered to act as a Grand Lodge, conditionally upon its making "an acknowledgment once a year to the Grand Lodge from whom it derived its title, at a Quarterly G.L. meeting which is held always at London on the fifth Sunday having so many." Prior to this there appear to have been six Chapters of this Order under the Prov. G.M. of South Britain, viz., five in London and one at Deptford. The seventh was the Chapter then constituted at the Hague, and which is now represented by the Grand Lodge of the Order at Edinburgh. We learn from a "List of the Members of the Royal Chapter at Edinburgh," in the handwriting of William Mitchell, that one was admitted in 1754, two in 1755, one in 1760, and ten in 1763. It is tolerably clear that Mitchell never returned to the Hague after obtaining his patent in 1750, but settled in Scotland, where he continued to act as Grand Master until 1767. He was succeeded by James Kerr, and in the same year William Mason—the brother admitted in 1754—became Deputy (or Depute) G.M. Kerr retired in 1776, and William Baillie, advocate—afterwards Lord Polkemmet—became Grand Master, who in turn was followed by W. C. Little of Liberton in 1778.

Mason was succeeded as Depute G.M. by Lieut.-General Oughton in 1770; and the office was afterwards filled by W. C. Little, 1777—in which year Sir William Forbes was admitted; the Earl of Leven, 1778; and David Dalrymple, Lord Westhall, in 1780.

The Order took root in Scotland in 1763, between which date and 1766, 52 members were admitted. The signatures of William Mason—then Secretary to the Grand Lodge of Scotland—and W. C. Little, appear in the charters under which a Provincial Grand Lodge and Chapter of the Order were in 1786 erected in France.[1]

Between 1819 and 1839 the Order, *i.e.*, the Scottish *branch* (or *trunk*), fell into abeyance, but was revived in the latter year by two members of the Lodge St. David, when a number of brethren were admitted, including George Murray and J. B. Douglas—Treasurer and Secretary respectively in 1873—to whose exertions the Order perhaps owes its present existence, and from one of whom, Mr. Douglas, Lyon derived much of the information given in the XXXIInd. Chapter of his famous work, upon which, more than any other source of authority, this sketch is based. The *Handbuch* is of opinion that the London Chapter was an offshoot of the Emperors' Rite of Perfection or Heredom,[2] but there can be little, if any, doubt, that it was an echo of *French* Scots Masonry.[3] From London the Rite travelled to Scotland, and thence, as will presently appear,[4] it returned with an added lustre to the country of its birth.[5]

[1] *Post*, p. 416. [2] Chap. XXIV., p. 351. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 346. [4] Chap. XXV., *passim.*

[5] Works consulted:——Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 306 *et seq.*; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Heredom; Clavel, Histoire Pittoresque, p. 204; Acta Latomorum vol. i., pp. 163, 169, 174, 179, 215, 229, 231, 246.



Yours Fraternally

Wm. G. Hall

P. R. E. G. Commander of K. T. of Missouri

CHAPTER XXIV.

INTRODUCTION OF FREEMASONRY ABROAD—ADDITIONAL RITES AND CEREMONIES—THE CHEVALIER RAMSAY—MASONIC ABERRATIONS.

IT has been regarded as a matter for astonishment that, in the short space of from ten to twenty years after the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England, Freemasonry should have obtained a firm footing in the remotest parts of the continent of Europe. I am far from sharing this view, and regard the circumstance as the most natural result possible. England at that time was, without doubt, the centre of all eyes, and any important movement in this country was bound to attract especial attention from the world at large. Marlborough's brilliant achievements abroad had made our weight felt on the Continent; the States of Europe were distracted and impoverished by constant wars, whilst England was at least undisturbed within her own frontiers, and exceedingly wealthy. Her possession of Hanover brought her into close contact with Germany, but her alliance, and, above all, her large subsidies, were desired by each of the contending States in turn, and as a consequence her capital was the *rendezvous* of thousands of foreigners. Under these circumstances the formation of the Grand Lodge could barely have escaped notice; but when noblemen of high position, and men celebrated for their learning, began to frequent our assemblies, to accept our offices, to take part in public processions, proudly wearing our jewels and apron, no foreigner resident in the City of London could fail to be struck with the phenomenon. For in those days London was not a province of vast extent. It was a city of ordinary dimensions, and each citizen might fairly be expected to be acquainted with every part of it, and with the personal appearance of its chief notabilities. A duke or earl was not lost amongst the four or five millions of people who now throng our thoroughfares. His person, equipages, and liveries were familiar to the majority of residents, and his words and actions the talk of every club and coffee-house. The fraternity so suddenly brought into prominence must have attracted every one's attention, and many visitors to the metropolis must have been initiated into its circle. Returning to their own country, what more natural than a wish to enjoy there also those charming meetings where kindliness and charity prevailed, where the strife of parties was unknown, and where the slightest allusion to political or religious controversy was forbidden? What more natural than that those debarred from visiting our shores should desire to benefit by the new whim of "those eccentric islanders," and that given a sufficient number of the initiated in any one town lodges should be formed? And even before regular lodges were constituted, it cannot be doubted that informal receptions into our fraternity took place whenever a few masons met together. Wherever the earliest lodges existed, there we find traces of pre-

vious meetings, and in no other way can the presence in the first stated lodges, of undoubted masons initiated elsewhere, be accounted for. I have little doubt that within five years of the Revival Freemasons were by no means scarce on the Continent. But no doubt at all can exist, that no single Freemason ever lived on the Continent or elsewhere, whose Masonic pedigree does not begin in Great Britain. No former association, guild or otherwise, ever grew into a fraternity of Freemasons outside these islands, nor was any connection with the building trades of the Continent ever claimed by the first Freemasons of Europe. The Craft there is a direct importation from England, and in its infancy, and for many subsequent years, was confined entirely to the upper classes without the least admixture of the artisan. Even in Germany the language of the Fraternity was French, being that of the court and of diplomacy. All the earlier minutes are recorded in that tongue, and all the names of the first Lodges are French. For a few years the references are invariably to England and to English usages, but about 1740 a change took place. In contradistinction to English Masonry, a Scottish Masonry, supposed to hail from Scotland, but having no real connection with the sister kingdom, arose, which was presumed to be superior to the hitherto known Craft, and possessed of more recondite knowledge and extensive privileges.

Fertile imaginations soon invented fresh degrees based upon and overlapping our own ritual. These Scottish degrees were supplemented by additions of chivalric degrees, claiming connection with, and descent from, all the various extinct orders of knighthood, till finally we meet with systems of 7, 10, 25, 33, 90, and eventually 95 degrees! The example was no doubt set in France, and the fashion spread like a pestilence throughout Europe, till the Craft's humble origin in the societies of English builders was utterly lost sight of. It has been maintained that the impulse was given by the partisans of the Stuarts —refugees in France at the court of St. Germain—and that it was the result of intrigues to win the Craft to their political purposes. Color is lent to this view by the fact that the earliest names mentioned in connection with French Freemasonry are those of well known adherents of the Pretender. That Scotsmen and Englishmen residing in Paris, should take the lead in an essentially English institution, does not appear to me sufficiently remarkable to warrant such a conclusion, and in the absence of anything like proof I must decline to entertain it. In a solitary instance—the Strict Observance—it is possible that some such political design may have been cherished, but if so, it was dropped as useless almost before it was conceived, and certainly the Stuarts themselves, on their own showing, never were Freemasons at all. Contemporary records are so scarce, that little argument can be adduced on either side, whereas any amount of assertion has been freely indulged in. I am inclined to think that as the inducement to change possibly arose from the unlucky speech of a Scotsman—the Chevalier Ramsay—every arbitrary innovation was at first foisted on Scotland, as the most likely birthplace—in contradistinction to England, the land of the original rite. How could a new rite be fathered on France, Spain, Germany, or Italy, where twenty years previously, as could at once be demonstrated, no Freemasonry had ever been heard of? There was absolutely no choice but Scotland, or peradventure Ireland, and so Scotland obtained the credit of every new invention. The alleged connection with the Jacobites was clearly an afterthought.

In the next chapter I shall attempt to show that Scots Masonry was unknown before the date of Ramsay's speech, and appeared shortly afterwards, and that there is therefore a certain plausibility in representing the two as cause and effect; but I now propose to

consider the man and the discourse, and to endeavor to present the facts in what I believe to be their true light, for I am firmly convinced that never was any character in our annals, with perhaps the single exception of the Baron von Hund, more unjustly held up to opprobrium and the scorn of posterity. Yet Von Hund has always had a few upholders of his probity, whereas until quite recently no name has been too bad for Ramsay. Every petty author of the merest tract on Freemasonry has concurred in reviling a dead brother on whose public or private life no slur can be cast, and who was highly esteemed by great and good men of his own generation—whilst even writers of weight and authority have not disdained to heap obloquy upon him without one thought of his possible innocence. The general accusation against Ramsay is, that he was a devoted partisan of the exiled Royal Family of England; that he delivered or wrote a speech; that in this speech he wilfully and knowingly, of malice prepense, fouled the pure stream of Masonic history; and that he so acted in the interests and to further the intrigues of a political faction. In view of our acknowledged principles, no impeachment of a Freemason could be more serious, no action more reprehensible. Therefore such a charge should only be brought on the clearest possible proof. Now the only particle of truth is, that Ramsay certainly did write the speech. As for the other statements, if it can be shown that Ramsay was not a partisan of the Stuarts the whole libel loses the little consistency it ever possessed.

Rebold says: "Ramsay was a partisan of the Stuarts, and introduced a system of Masonry, created at Edinbro' by a chapter of Canongate-Kilwinning Lodge, in the political interests of the Stuarts, and with the intention of enslaving Freemasonry to Roman Catholicism."[1] The statement respecting the Edinbro' Chapter is too absurd to require refutation.

Even the usually critical and judicious Kloss declares "that it is clear that Ramsay purposely introduced higher degrees in order to make a selection from the ranks of the brotherhood in the interests of the Stuarts, and to collect funds for the Pretender;"[2] whilst Findel does not scruple to call him *infamous*. Two writers only have attempted to clear Ramsay's good name. Pinkerton,[3] the first of these, unfortunately takes up wrong ground. He argues that the speech is evidently a skit on Freemasonry, and therefore not Ramsay's at all; and further, that in view of Pope Clement's Bull—"*In Eminenti*"—Ramsay, who was a sincere convert to Romanism, could not by any possibility have been a Freemason. But facts have since come to light which render it probable that the speech was delivered on March 21, 1737, whilst the Bull is dated 1738; and it is well known that in spite of repeated Bulls, many conscientious members of the Roman Church have been at all times, and are now, members of the Craft. A few years ago, however, the Rev. G. A. Schiffmann, who on other occasions has shown that he possesses an unprejudiced mind and the courage of his convictions, published a pamphlet study of Ramsay,[4] and although a few trifling details in his work may be subject to correction, his views—in spite of Findel having done his best to prove their fallacy—are in the main those which merit

[1] Em. Rebold, Histoire des trois grandes-loges, Paris, 1864, p. 44.

[2] Georg Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, vol. i., p. 46.

[3] William Pinkerton in *Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, Dec. 18, 1869.

[4] G. A. Schiffmann, Andreas Michael Ramsay, Eine Studie, etc., Leipsic, 1878. Although holding an official appointment in Zinnendorff's Grand [National] Lodge, he, in 1870-76, gave expression to his opinion of the duplicity and deceit on which the whole rite is based, supporting the Crown Prince's demand for inquiry and reform. He was consequently expelled in 1876, but received with high honor by all the more enlightened Lodges of Germany.

the adoption of every critical reader. Had Masonic history always been studied in the same spirit of fearless, candid inquiry, we should now have fewer fables and errors to correct.

Andrew Michael Ramsay was born at Ayr, in the neighborhood of the celebrated Lodge of Kilwinning. The dates ascribed to his birth vary considerably. Rees' "Cyclopædia" states he died in 1743, aged 57, which would place his birth in 1686. Chambers' "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen" gives the date as June 9, 1688. Findel also has 1686, and that date has been accepted by D. Murray Lyon. But according to his own account (if correctly reported), he must have been born in 1680-81, because in 1741 he told Herr von Geusau [1] that he was then 60 years old. This would make him 62 at the time of his death in 1743. He was educated at Ayr and the University of Edinburgh. We next find him in Flanders under Marlborough fighting against the French.[2] Inasmuch as the Pretender, or the Chevalier St. George, was under arms on the opposite side, we may safely assert that at that time Ramsay was not a Jacobite. Of a deeply religious (but not bigoted) temperament, Ramsay now became much exercised about matters of faith. He has described his religious studies and researches in his "Life of Fenélon." Need we wonder that he was attracted by the beautiful life, words, and actions of this celebrated prelate, whose all-embracing Christianity never shone more conspicuously than during the Flemish campaigns. He determined to ask his advice, left the army in 1710, obtained a French pass, and sought out Fenélon at Cambray.[3] By that prelate he was converted to the Roman faith, and lived with him till his death in 1715.[4] We may here inquire whether he was such a fervid Ultramontanist as has been stated. There is absolutely no symptom of a proof that he was. The character of his master would almost forbid it. Fenélon was one of the pillars of the Gallican Church, which was by no means in servile submission to that of Rome, although in communion with it; and the liberal breadth of his views was so widely spread as to incur the enmity of the great Bossuet and the open hostility of the Jesuits. Ramsay's printed works breathe a spirit of toleration worthy of his master. To Geusau [5] we are indebted for an anecdote which goes far to prove that he was no bigot. During his short residence at Rome an English lord lived at James' Court who was married to a Protestant lady. A little girl was born to the couple, and the parents being in doubt as to their proceedings, Ramsay advised that she should be christened by one of the two *Protestant* chaplains of the household, and exerted himself to such good effect in the cause as to win the consent of the Cardinal Chief of the Inquisi-

[1] Herr von Geusau was tutor to the son of the sovereign prince of Reuss, and accompanied him in his travels through Germany, France, and Italy. In Paris they met Ramsay, then tutor to the Prince of Turenne. Geusau kept a careful diary, anecdotical, personal, historical, and geographical of the whole tour. This diary came into the possession of Dr, Anton Friedrich Buesching, who made extensive use of it for his geography. He further gave copious extracts from it in Beiträge zu der Lebensgeschichte denkwürdiger Personen, Halle, 1783-89, 5 vols. In vol. iii. some 50 pp. are devoted to Ramsay's conversations with Geusau respecting himself in general and his Masonic proceedings in particular, together with Geusau's reflections thereon. The diary has unfortunately never been published *in extenso*, all allusions therefore by Masonic writers to Geusau's diary are really to this collection of anecdotes of celebrated men. The value of the work consists in the fact that we have here a contemporary account of Ramsay, written with no ulterior object, and (although at second hand) Ramsay's own words concerning his Masonic career. Geusau was not a Freemason —a fact which enhances the value of his testimony—nor I believe, was Buesching?

[2] Buesching, vol. iii.; and Schiffmann, Andrew Michael Ramsay, p. 25.

[3] Buesching vol. iii., p. 319. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 323. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

tion. And Geusau, himself a Protestant, declares that Ramsay was a learned man, especially well informed in both ancient and modern history. He praises his upright and genial nature, his aversion to bigotry and sectarianism of all kinds, and avers that he never once made the least attempt to shake his faith.[1] Was this the kind of man to pervert Freemasonry in the interest and at the bidding of the Jesuits?

From Cambray, Ramsay proceeded to Paris, and became tutor to the young Count Chateâu-Thierry. He won the friendship of the Regent, Philippe d'Orléans, who was Grand Master of the Order of St. Lazarus, to which he admitted Ramsay. Hence he is called Chevalier and sometimes Sir Andrew M. Ramsay. He remained in Paris till 1723, editing and publishing his "Life of Fenélon," and, on difficulties being thrown in his way by the "Sorbonne" and the Jesuits, threatened to leave Paris (so he told Geusau) and publish in London. Evidently he was not yet a political intriguer, a noted Jacobite, as so many writers have averred, even insisting that he was obliged to obtain a *Salvum Conductum* from King George before visiting Oxford in 1730. In 1724 he was persuaded by his friends to accept the post of tutor to the two young sons of the Pretender at Rome. He only remained there about fifteen months. Pinkerton[2] says he resigned because the constant intrigues of the deposed family disgusted him. I am unable to find his authority for this statement, but certainly Ramsay's short stay does not argue for the depth of his attachment to the cause. From Rome he returned to Paris, but the length of his sojourn there is uncertain; probably he returned to England in 1727. We know that he was back again in Paris in 1737. The "Biographia Britannica" states he went to Scotland in 1725, and lived there nine or ten years, which agrees pretty well with respect to dates, but scarcely so well as regards locality. Rees' "Cyclopædia" tells us that he lived during that time with the Duke of Argyle and Greenwich. However this may be, he certainly spent some years in the southern half of the island, for on March 29, 1729, he was made a member of the "Gentlemen's Society" of Spalding.[3] In December of the same year, on the 11th, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and on the 18th he was admitted. His name appears in the appendix to Thomson's "History of the Royal Society." His autograph is not on the books of the Society, but this omission was apparently not unusual, because the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Walter White, in kindly answering my inquiries, writes, "It is possible that the worthy gentleman was *one of those* admitted into the Society without signing the Charter-book."

On April 10, 1730, Ramsay received the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford. Chambers[4] is under a mistake in stating that the degree was conferred upon him by Dr. King, principal of St. Mary's Hall. Dr. King not being Vice-Chancellor, could not have conferred the degree, though he might have been instrumental in procuring it for him. The only record of members of St. Mary's Hall is the buttery-book, and Ramsay's name first appears there as charged for battels on the same date, but although his name is kept on the books for

[1] Buesching, Beiträge, etc., vol. iii., p. 332. Ramsay's posthumous work, "The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion," amply sustains the view advanced in the text. Hume gives a long extract from it, and says of the author:—"Having thus thrown himself out of all received sects of Christianity, he is obliged to advance a system of his own, which is a kind of *Origenism*, and supposes the pre-existence of the souls both of men and beasts, and the eternal salvation and conversion of all men, beasts, and devils!" (Essays, 1777, vol. ii., p. 509).

[2] Notes and Queries, Dec. 18, 1869.

[3] *Ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 36, note 3.

[4] Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, 1835, vol. iv., p. 137.

some years afterwards, he is never again charged, so that it is to be presumed he never went into residence. Curiously enough the usual entry of his admission to the Hall cannot be found, and another peculiarity is, that he is always described in the buttery-book as "Chevalier Ramsay, LL.D.," probably in error, this being the Cambridge degree, whereat the Oxford degree was D.C.L.[1] Evidently this man, taking such a prominent position in London life, could not have been a notorious Jacobite *intriguant*, and as a further proof to the contrary, I may quote his own assertion,[2] made to Geusau in 1741, when he was 60 years old and approaching his end, that on his return to Paris from Rome in 1725, he was privately offered the post of tutor to the young Duke of Cumberland, but that he refused the offer on grounds of delicacy, because he had been converted to the Church of Rome. This was the action of an honest man, but unnatural to one who was imbued with the doctrines of the Jesuits. Such a person would not have let slip so good an opportunity for intrigue. On his return to Paris he married an English-woman of property, and became tutor to the Prince of Turenne, son of the Duke of Bouillon, stipulating that he should receive no salary, in order that he might feel under no constraint in his duties.[3] He died at St. Germain-en-Laye in 1743.

That he was a Freemason and Grand Chancellor of the Paris Grand Lodge, we know from his conversations with Geusau,[4] but he never stated when and where he was initiated. Inasmuch as he was in Flanders in 1709, and did not return to England till 1725 at the earliest, he could scarcely at that time have been a member of the Craft, unless "entered" at Kilwinning previous to the era of Grand Lodges. Lyon, however, vouches for the fact that he was not a member of Kilwinning.[5] It would appear probable that he was initiated in London *circa* 1728-29. Among his fellow members of the Gentlemen's Society of Spalding, were no less than seven very prominent Freemasons, and among his brother Fellows of the Royal Society, from 1730 to 1736 (the probable limit of his stay in England), were Martin Folkes, Rawlinson, Desaguliers, Lord Paisley, Stukeley, the Duke of Montagu, Richard Manningham, the Earl of Dalkeith, Lord Coleraine, the Duke of Lorraine (afterwards Emperor of Germany), the Earls Strathmore, Crawford, and Aberdour, Martin Clare, and Francis Drake. In such a company of distinguished Freemasons, we can scarcely doubt that Ramsay soon became a prey to the fashion of the hour, and solicited admission to the Fraternity, also that the Lodge to which he is most likely to have applied was the "Old Horn," of which Desaguliers and Richard Manningham were members. This supposition cannot be verified, because that lodge (unlike some of the rest) has preserved no list of its members for 1730.[6] If he left the Continent *circa* 1726, he could hardly have been initiated there, except perhaps by individual masons, in an irregular manner, because the first lodge we hear of—out of Britain—was held at Paris in 1725. The facts, however, are by no means as clear as might be desired.

The *Almanack des Cocus* was published in Paris from 1741-43. I have not been able to examine a copy, but, as Pinkerton states, it was no doubt a vile and obscene publication. If so, it merely reflected the lascivious tendencies of the age and country, and I see no reason on that account to declare that Ramsay could be the author of no part of its contents. It naturally treated the subjects of the day, and might have published his oration without previously consulting the writer. In the edition for 1741 appeared "Discourse pro-

[1] Letter from Mr. E. L. Hawkins of Oxford.
[2] Buesching, Beiträge, etc., vol. iii., p. 326.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 308.
[6] Chap. XVII., pp. 95, 98.

nounced at the reception of Freemasons by Monsieur de R——, Grand Orator of the Order." The next publication of the same oration was in 1742 by De la Tierce,[1] who describes himself as a former member of the Duke of Lorraine's Lodge, London, and whose book is in substance a translation of the Constitutions of 1721, supplemented by the new articles of 1738, with various introductions by the author. He claims to have produced facts omitted by Anderson, and indeed gives a very detailed account of the Grand Masters, from Noah onwards, reserving a distinguished place to Misraim.[2] The introduction preceding the "Obligations of a Freemason" consists of "the following discourse pronounced by the Grand Master of the Freemasons of France, in the Grand Lodge, assembled solemnly at Paris, in the year of Freemasonry, five thousand seven hundred and forty." It re-appeared in other publications, London, 1757 and 1795 (in French); the Hague, 1773 (also French); in the Appendix to the second (1743) and third (1762) editions of the first translation into German of Anderson's Constitutions (Frankfort, 1741); and elsewhere. It will be observed that the Almanack attributes the speech to a Mr. R., and gives no date; Tierce, to the G.M. in 1740; whilst according to Kloss,[3] the German translations merely state that the Grand Orator delivered it. That the speech was Ramsay's we know from his own confession to Geusau, and the only remaining matter of doubt is the exact date of its delivery. Jouast[4] maintains that it was delivered on June 24, 1738, on the occasion of the installation of the Duc D'Antin as G.M., referring to the Duke some expressions therein which probably applied to Cardinal Fleury; and states that the speech was first printed at the Hague in 1738, bound up with some poems attributed to Voltaire, and some licentious tales of Piron. If such a work really existed at that date, it was probably the original of the "*Lettre philosophique par M. de V——, avec plusieurs piéces galantes,*" London, 1757, and again in 1795; but Kloss, in his "Bibliographie," knows nothing of it.

Thory dates the appearance of Ramsay as orator, December 24, 1736.[5] But Daruty would appear to have settled the matter almost beyond doubt, by the discovery, in a very rare work,[6] of the two following letters[7] addressed by Ramsay to Cardinal Fleury, the all-powerful prime minister of France.

Letter of March 20, 1737.

"Deign, *Monseigneur*, to support the Society of Freemasons[8] in the large views which they entertain, and your Excellency will render your name more illustrious by this protection than Richelieu did his by founding the French Academy. The object of the one is much vaster than that of the other. To encourage a society which tends only to reunite

[1] Histoire, Obligations et Statuts de la tr. ven. Confraternité des F. M., etc. Traduit par le Fr. de la Tierce. Francfort, Varrentrapp, 1742. A second edition was published at Paris in 1745.

[2] It would therefore be quite as just to lay the blame of the creation of the rite of Misraim on Tierce, as to hold Ramsay responsible for all the other "Innovations in the Body of Masonry." *Cf.* Chap. XVII., p. 125.

[3] Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 44.

[4] A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient de France, Paris, 1865, p. 63.

[5] Thory, Acta Latomorum, Paris, 1815, vol. i., p. 32.

[6] P. E. Lemontey, Histoire de la Régence et de la Minorité de Louis XV., jusqu'au Ministère du Cardinal de Fleury, Paris, vii., pp. 292 *et seq.* *Cf.* Daruty, p. 287.

[7] J. Emile Daruty, Rechercher sus le rite Ecossais, etc., Mauritius and Paris, 1879, pp. 287, 288.

[8] Ramsay uses the English word, not *francsmaçons.*

all nations by a love of truth, and of the fine arts, is an action worthy of a great minister, of a Father of the Church, and of a holy Pontiff.

"As I am to read my discourse to-morrow in a general assembly of the order, and to hand it on Monday to the examiners of the *Chancellerie*,[1] I pray your Excellency to return it to me to-morrow before mid-day by express messenger. You will infinitely oblige a man whose heart is devoted to you."

Letter of March 22, 1737.

"I learn that the assemblies of Freemasons displease your Excellency. I have never frequented them except with a view of spreading maxims which would render by degrees incredulity ridiculous, vice odious, and ignorance shameful. I am persuaded that if wise men of your Excellency's choice were introduced to head these assemblies, they would become very useful to religion, the state, and literature. Of this I hope to convince your Excellency if you will accord me a short interview at Issy. Awaiting that happy moment, I pray you to inform me whether I should return to these assemblies, and I will conform to your Excellency's wishes with a boundless docility."

Cardinal Fleury wrote on the margin of this letter in pencil, "*Le roi ne le veut pas.*" This probably explains Ramsay's meteor-like appearance in our annals; for the only sign we have of his activity in lodge is connected with this speech. Thory's assertions that he promulgated a new rite, I reject, as unfounded statements made 60 years afterwards without a shadow of proof. His speech may possibly have given rise to new Degrees, but what grounds are there for ascribing their invention and propagation to him? But precisely because Ramsay is only known to us by this one speech, does it appear probable, that in the above letters he is alluding to this one and no other; and if so, it was beyond doubt delivered on March 21, 1737.

The speech itself—in its entirety—is unknown, in an English garb, and as the various versions differ slightly, I have chosen for translation that of De la Tierce, which is generally accepted as the most correct.

Ramsay's Oration.

The noble ardor which you, gentlemen, evince to enter into the most noble and very illustrious Order of Freemasons, is a certain proof that you already possess all the qualities necessary to become members, that is, humanity, pure morals, inviolable secrecy, and a taste for the fine arts.

Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, and all political legislators have failed to make their institutions lasting. However wise their laws may have been, they have not been able to spread through all countries and ages. As they only kept in view victories and conquests, military violence, and the elevation of one people at the expense of another, they have not had the power to become universal, nor to make themselves acceptable to the taste, spirit, and interest of all nations. Philanthropy was not their basis. Patriotism badly understood and pushed to excess, often destroyed in these warrior republics love and humanity in general. Mankind is not essentially distinguished by the tongues spoken, the clothes worn, the lands occupied, or the dignities with which it is invested. The world is nothing but a huge republic, of which every nation is a family, and every individual a child. Our

[1] The Censors of the Press—previous to publication.

Society was at the outset established to revive and spread these essential maxims borrowed from the nature of man. We desire to reunite all men of enlightened minds, gentle manners, and agreeable wit, not only by a love for the fine arts, but much more by the grand principles of virtue, science, and religion, where the interests of the Fraternity shall become those of the whole human race, whence all nations shall be enabled to draw useful knowledge, and where the subjects of all kingdoms shall learn to cherish one another without renouncing their own country. Our ancestors, the Crusaders, gathered together from all parts of Christendom in the Holy Land, desired thus to reunite into one sole Fraternity the individuals of all nations. What obligations do we not owe to these superior men who, without gross selfish interests, without even listening to the inborn tendency to dominate, imagined such an institution, the sole aim of which is to unite minds and hearts in order to make them better, and form in the course of ages a spiritual empire where, without derogating from the various duties which different States exact, a new people shall be created, which, composed of many nations, shall in some sort cement them all into one by the tie of virtue and science.

The second requisite of our Society is sound morals. The religious orders were established to make perfect Christians, military orders to inspire a love of true glory, and the Order of Freemasons, to make men lovable men, good citizens, good subjects, inviolable in their promises, faithful adorers of the God of Love, lovers rather of virtue than of reward.

Polliciti servare fidem, sanctumque vereri
Numen amicitiæ, mores, non munera amare.

Nevertheless, we do not confine ourselves to purely civic virtues. We have amongst us three kinds of brothers: Novices or Apprentices, Fellows or Professed Brothers, Masters or Perfected Brothers. To the first are explained the moral virtues; to the second the heroic virtues; to the last the Christian virtues; so that our institution embraces the whole philosophy of sentiment and the complete theology of the heart. This is why one of our worshipful brothers has said—

Freemason, illustrious Grand Master,
Receive my first transports,
In my heart the Order has given them birth,
Happy I, if noble efforts
Cause me to merit your esteem
By elevating me to the sublime,
The primæval Truth,
To the Essence pure and divine,
The celestial Origin of the soul,
The Source of life and love.

Because a sad, savage, and misanthropic philosophy disgusts virtuous men, our ancestors, the Crusaders, wished to render it lovable by the attractions of innocent pleasures, agreeable music, pure joy, and moderate gaiety. Our festivals are not what the profane world and the ignorant vulgar imagine. All the vices of heart and soul are banished there, and irreligion, libertinage, incredulity, and debauch are proscribed. Our banquets resemble those virtuous *symposia* of Horace where the conversation only touched what could enlighten the soul, discipline the heart, and inspire a taste for the true, the good, and the beautiful.

O noctes cœnæque Deum . . .
Sermo oritur, non de regnis domibusve alienis
. . . sed quod magis ad nos
Pertinet, et nescire malum est, agitamus ; utrumne
Divitiis homines, an sint virtute beati ;
Quidve ad amicitias usus rectumve trahat nos,
Et quæ sit natura boni, summumque quid ejus.

Thus the obligations imposed upon you by the Order, are to protect your brothers by your authority, to enlighten them by your knowledge, to edify them by your virtues, to succor them in their necessities, to sacrifice all personal resentment, and to strive after all that may contribute to the peace and unity of society.

We have secrets; they are figurative signs and sacred words, composing a language sometimes mute, sometimes very eloquent, in order to communicate with one another at the greatest distance, and to recognise our brothers of whatsoever tongue. These were words of war which the Crusaders gave each other in order to guarantee them from the surprises of the Saracens, who often crept in amongst them to kill them. These signs and words recall the remembrance either of some part of our science, or of some moral virtue, or of some mystery of the faith. That has happened to us which never befell any former Society. Our Lodges have been established, and are spread in all civilised nations, and nevertheless, among this numerous multitude of men, never has a brother betrayed our secrets. Those natures most trivial, most indiscreet, least schooled to silence, learn this great art on entering our Society. Such is the power over all natures of the idea of a fraternal bond ! This inviolable secret contributes powerfully to unite the subjects of all nations, and to render the communication of benefits easy and mutual between us. We have many examples in the annals of our Order. Our brothers, travelling in divers lands, have only needed to make themselves known in our Lodges in order to be there immediately overwhelmed by all kinds of succour, even in time of the most bloody wars, and illustrious prisoners have found brothers where they only expected to meet enemies.

Should any fail in the solemn promises which bind us, you know, gentlemen, that the penalties which we impose upon him are remorse of conscience, shame at his perfidy, and exclusion from our Society, according to those beautiful lines of Horace—

Est et fideli tuta silencio
Merces ; vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanum, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Salvat phaselum. . . .

Yes, sirs, the famous festivals of Ceres at Eleusis, of Isis in Egypt, of Minerva at Athens, of Urania amongst the Phenicians, and of Diana in Scythia were connected with ours. In those places mysteries were celebrated which concealed many vestiges of the ancient religion of Noah and the Patriarchs. They concluded with banquets and libations, and neither that intemperance nor excess were known into which the heathen gradually fell. The source of these infamies was the admission to the nocturnal assemblies of persons of both sexes in contravention of the primitive usages. It is in order to prevent similar abuses that women are excluded from our Order. We are not so unjust as to regard the fair sex

as incapable of keeping a secret. But their presence might insensibly corrupt the purity of our maxims and manners.

The fourth quality required in our Order is the taste for useful sciences and the liberal arts. Thus, the Order exacts of each of you to contribute, by his protection, liberality, or labour, to a vast work for which no academy can suffice, because all these societies being composed of a very small number of men, their work cannot embrace an object so extended. All the Grand Masters in Germany, England, Italy, and elsewhere, exhort all the learned men and all the artisans of the Fraternity to unite to furnish the materials for a Universal Dictionary of the liberal arts and useful sciences, excepting only theology and politics.[1]

The work has already been commenced in London, and by means of the union of our brothers it may be carried to a conclusion in a few years. Not only are technical words and their etymology explained, but the story of each art and science, its principles and operations, are described. By this means the lights of all nations will be united in one single work, which will be a universal library of all that is beautiful, great, luminous, solid, and useful in all the sciences and in all noble arts. This work will augment in each century, according to the increase of knowledge, and it will spread everywhere emulation and the taste for things of beauty and utility.

The word Freemason must therefore not be taken in a literal, gross, and material sense, as if our founders had been simple workers in stone, or merely curious geniuses who wished to perfect the arts. They were not only skilful architects, desirous of consecrating their talents and goods to the construction of material temples; but also religious and warrior princes who designed to enlighten, edify, and protect the living Temples of the Most High. This I will demonstrate by developing the history or rather the renewal of the Order.

Every family, every Republic, every Empire, of which the origin is lost in obscure antiquity, has its fable and its truth, its legend and its history. Some ascribe our institution to Solomon, some to Moses, some to Abraham, some to Noah, and some to Enoch, who built the first city, or even to Adam. Without any pretence of denying these origins, I pass on to matters less ancient. This, then, is a part of what I have gathered in the annals of Great Britain, in the Acts of Parliament, which speak often of our privileges, and in the living traditions of the English people, which has been the centre of our Society since the eleventh century.

At the time of the Crusades in Palestine many princes, lords, and citizens associated themselves, and vowed to restore the Temple of the Christians in the Holy Land, and to employ themselves in bringing back their architecture to its first institution. They agreed upon several ancient signs and symbolic words drawn from the well of religion in order to recognise themselves amongst the heathen and Saracens. These signs and words were only communicated to those who promised solemnly, and even sometimes at the foot of the altar, never to reveal them. This sacred promise was therefore not an execrable oath, as it has been called, but a respectable bond to unite Christians of all nationalities in one confraternity. Some time afterwards our Order formed an intimate union with the Knights of St.

[1] The proposed Dictionary is a curious *crux*—it is possible that the Royal Society may have formed some such idea? But at least Ramsay's express exclusion of theology and politics should have shielded him from the accusation of wishing to employ Freemasonry for Jesuitical and Jacobite purposes. With the exception of the constant harping on the Crusades, there is so far nothing in the speech to complain of.

John of Jerusalem. From that time our Lodges took the name of Lodges of St. John. This union was made after the example set by the Israelites when they erected the second Temple, who whilst they handled the trowel and mortar with one hand, in the other held the sword and buckler.[1]

Our Order therefore must not be considered a revival of the Bacchanals, but as an order founded in remote antiquity, and renewed in the Holy Land by our ancestors in order to recall the memory of the most sublime truths amidst the pleasures of society. The kings, princes, and lords returned from Palestine to their own lands, and there established divers Lodges. At the time of the last Crusades many Lodges were already erected in Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and from thence in Scotland, because of the close alliance between the French and the Scotch. James, Lord Steward of Scotland, was Grand Master of a Lodge established at Kilwinning, in the West of Scotland, MCCLXXXVI.,[2] shortly after the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, and one year before John Baliol mounted the throne. This lord received as Freemasons into his Lodge the Earls of Gloucester and Ulster, the one English, the other Irish.

By degrees our Lodges and our rites were neglected in most places. This is why of so many historians only those of Great Britain speak of our Order. Nevertheless it preserved its splendour among those Scotsmen to whom the Kings of France confided during many centuries the safeguard of their royal persons.

After the deplorable mishaps in the Crusades, the perishing of the Christian armies, and the triumph of Bendocdar, Sultan of Egypt, during the eighth and last Crusade, that great Prince Edward, son of Henry III., King of England,[3] seeing there was no longer any safety for his brethren in the Holy Land, from whence the Christian troops were retiring, brought them all back, and this colony of brothers was established in England. As this prince was endowed with all heroic qualities, he loved the fine arts, declared himself protector of our Order, conceded to it new privileges, and then the members of this fraternity took the name of Freemasons, after the example set by their ancestors.

Since that time Great Britain became the seat of our Order, the conservator of our laws, and the depository of our secrets.[4] The fatal religious discords which embarrassed and tore Europe in the sixteenth century caused our Order to degenerate from the nobility of its origin. Many of our rites and usages which were contrary to the prejudices of the times were changed, disguised, suppressed. Thus it was that many of our brothers forgot, like the ancient Jews, the spirit of our laws, and only retained the letter and shell. The beginnings of a remedy have already been made. It is only necessary to continue, and

[1] This idea forms the groundwork of all subsequent Scots grades: Knightly Scotch Masons who in the old Temple rediscovered the Sacred Name, the trowel in one hand, the sword in the other Ramsay's allusion, it will be observed, is not to any existing degree of his day, but an innocent allegory in illustration of his thesis.

[2] This passage has been seized upon by the inventors of Scots rites, all pretending to hail from Heredom Kilwinning, and asserting the superiority in point of antiquity and pure tenets of the Grand Lodge held there,—which body, it is almost unnecessary to say, never existed.

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XII., p. 143 *et seq.*

[4] Ramsay having previously allowed that the Lodge at Kilwinning, with all the others, neglected the rites, and that they were only preserved by the great efforts of Prince Edward as above, must be acquitted of having desired to elevate Scottish Masonry at the expense of English. He can only be held accountable for his own words—not for the glosses of the subsequent inventors of (so-called) high degrees.

to at last bring everything back to its original institution. This work cannot be difficult in a State where religion and the Government can only be favourable to our laws.[1]

From the British Isles the Royal Art is now repassing into France, under the reign of the most amiable of Kings, whose humanity animates all his virtues, and under the ministry of a Mentor,[2] who has realised all that could be imagined most fabulous. In this happy age, when love of peace has become the virtue of heroes, this nation [France], one of the most spiritual of Europe, will become the centre of the Order. She will clothe our work, our statutes, and our customs with grace, delicacy, and good taste, essential qualities of the Order, of which the basis is the wisdom, strength, and beauty of genius. It is in future in our Lodges, as it were in public schools, that Frenchmen shall learn, without travelling, the characters of all nations, and that strangers shall experience that France is the home of all peoples. *Patria gentis humanæ.*

Now what does this speech amount to? a mere embellishment of Anderson! Builders and princes had united in Palestine for a humane purpose; the Society had been introduced into Europe, especially Scotland; had perished and been reintroduced into England by Prince Edward. From that time they had continued a privileged class of builders—Ramsay no longer claims for them knightly attributes—and had lost their moral tenets during the Reformation, becoming mere operative artisans; they had lately recovered or revived their old doctrines; and France was destined to be the centre of the reformed Fraternity. The introduction of the legend of the Crusades I take to be a natural consequence of Ramsay's position in life, and of the high nobility and gentry he was addressing, to whom the purely mechanical ancestry may have wanted toning down. But surely the Oration is not such a very heinous one? More dangerous and absurd speeches are still made in the Craft. That inventive minds, for their own purposes, may have seized upon and falsely interpreted certain passages, is no fault of Ramsay's. It was looked upon with approbation by his contemporaries, and it is simply impossible to find in it any indication of a desire to pervert our ceremonies. One or two points may be further inquired into. The cause of the allusion to Kilwinning, I assume to be simply this—Ramsay was from Ayr, and probably, as an antiquary acquainted with its very ancient history, brought in the lodge merely as an ornament. His choice of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem may be easily accounted for. It was not the St. John of Malta, nor was he ever known to allude to the Templars. The fact is, he was himself a knight of St. John of Jerusalem, and thus paid a tribute to his own Order. In 1714-19 Heylot's great work on the spiritual and temporal orders was published at Paris.[3] The third volume contains the history of the Order of St. Lazarus, of which Ramsay was a knight. Who can doubt that he read it? This states that in the

[1] This whole paragraph evidently means that the original broad principles of religious toleration and universal brotherhood had been forgotten in the religious wars, and that Freemasons had degenerated into a mere trade guild, keeping only the letter and not the spirit of their laws; that they had lost the speculative moral aims attributed by Ramsay to their founders in Palestine. "The beginnings of a remedy have already been made," *i.e.*, the revival has taken place; the Craft has once more commenced to be a society of not only operative builders, but also builders of "living temples of the Most High." And yet commentators always assert that Ramsay here avows that "the beginnings have already been made," *i.e.*, that he had already invented and partly introduced new rites; that he had already begun to pervert Freemasonry.

[2] Evidently Cardinal Fleury.

[3] Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, Religieux et Militaires.

4th century an Order of St. Lazarus was established in Palestine, and erected everywhere hospitals for Lepers, which were called Lazarettes. Later on the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem were established. The two associations united and worked under the same master, called the Master of the Hospital. When the Order of St. John added the vow of celibacy, these two separated. One retook the name of St. Lazarus, the other changed theirs to St. John the Baptist. At the time that the Hospitallers were in the service of the King of Jerusalem, they consisted of three Orders—knights to fight, servitors to nurse, and clerics or chaplains. King Henry of England considerably increased their income, but France did most for the Order, and it ultimately took refuge in that country. The Grand Master of that day was styled G.M. of the Holy Order of Lazarus *cis et transmare.* In 1354 the G.M. empowered Bro. John Halliday, a Scot, to rule over the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Order in Great Britain. In some sort, then, Ramsay was a descendant of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which, however, as such, was extinct, and thus we understand the very natural selection made of that Order on which to found his romance.

Following the Oration we have a copy of "Statutes in usage [at that time] in France." These are a paraphrase, more or less, of Anderson's Old Regulations. One in particular must be quoted, because they are all attributed to Ramsay—though without rhyme or reason—and because this especial one has been used to prove that he intended to employ Freemasonry for the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion.

"Every incredulous brawler who shall have spoken or written against the holy dogmas of the ancient faith of the Crusaders shall be for ever excluded from the Order," etc., etc.

But who would ever think that this was meant to exclude Protestants? The ancient faith of the Crusaders was Christianity. At a time when the Protestants were not thought of, no distinction could possibly be made between them and the then Universal Church. It would be absurd to call the Crusaders Roman Catholics in contradistinction to Protestants. The article simply means that Masons must be Christians; must be of the Catholic Church, whether Roman, Anglican, Greek, or any other variety, was not even thought of. Therefore, even should these articles owe their inspiration to Ramsay, a supposition I neither affirm nor deny—owing to want of evidence,—they are quite powerless to strengthen the odious calumny under which he has so long lain.

One other matter must be referred to, although of no great importance. In 1736 the Lieutenant-General of Police in Paris, Hérault, is said to have obtained, through an opera dancer, Madame Carton, a Masonic examination, mainly a translation of Pritchard's "Masonry Dissected," which he caused to be published as an exposure of Freemasonry. In reply to this appeared "Rélation apologique et historique de la Société des F. M., par J. G. D. M. F. M., Dublin, Chez Patrice Odonoko, 1738, 8°."—second edition, in London, 1749. It was burned at Rome, by order of the Inquisition, by the Public Executioner, on February 1, 1739. The *Gentleman's Magazine* of April, 1739, vol. ix., p. 219, thus speaks of the transaction:—"Rome. There was lately burnt here with great solemnity, by order of the Inquisition, a piece in French, wrote by the Chevalier Ramsay, etc., etc." Since then many ingenious attempts have been made to prove the truth of this statement, and to show the community of style and ideas between Ramsay's Oration and the *Rélation.* As long as there was reason to suppose that the Oration was delivered in 1740, it was difficult to decide why Ramsay should have been selected to father this production, and the very

audacity of the assertion carried conviction with it. It could only be assumed that the correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* was possessed of certain private information. But if—as I have shown to be probable—the Oration was delivered in 1737, it is easy to conceive that the *Rélation* might well have been attributed to the same hand in 1738. A mere guess at the hidden authorship. This fact tends to corroborate the Oration's date of 1737, for it may safely be affirmed that Ramsay did not write the *Rélation.* Its style is far less pure than his, and the orthography is totally distinct. Ramsay doubles all his consonants in such words as *apprendre, combattre, difficile;* the author of the *Rélation* writes *aprendre, combatre, dificile,* etc.[1] The initials of the author, J. G. D. M. F. M., might perhaps be read as J. G., Dr Med., Free Mason.

But if Ramsay stands acquitted of wilfully perverting Freemasonry, can he be brought in guilty of unintentionally being the cause of the numerous inventions which so soon followed his discourse? I am even here inclined to think not. Given a nation such as we know the French to be, volatile, imaginative, and decidedly not conservative in their instincts, suddenly introduced to mysterious ceremonies unconnected with their past history,[2] —given a ritual which appeals in no way to their peculiar love of glory and distinction—which fails to harmonise with their bent of mind—and it was almost inevitable that some *improvements* should have been attempted. Add to this a certain number of more or less clever men, ambitious to rise at once to an elevated position in the Craft, or perhaps to replenish their purses by the sale of their own inventions. All these elements existed, as events have proved, and thus France was ready for the crop of high grades which so soon sprang up. Finding in Ramsay's speech indications which they could twist to their own purpose, they cleverly made use of them as a sort of guarantee of the genuineness of their goods. But they soon went far beyond any allusions contained in the Oration, for not a word can there be found pointing to the various degrees of vengeance, *Elus, Kadosch,* etc., or to the Templars. I do not believe that this speech first *suggested* additional degrees, but I think it probable that it aided intending inventors in their previously conceived designs. The distinction is a fine one, and not worth arguing. It will suffice to have proved that Ramsay did write the speech, that his intentions were quite compatible with the most absolute innocence, and that he was neither a Stuart intriguer nor a Jesuit missionary in disguise. As already remarked, he immediately disappeared from the Masonic stage, although he lived for seven years afterwards. His name had not previously been mentioned in connection with Freemasonry, and, therefore, if any persons assert that he was the concoctor of a new rite of seven degrees, the *onus* of proving anything so wildly improbable rests entirely upon themselves.

I shall now give a short sketch of the more important of the systems of degrees that from about 1740 invaded the Craft, which will enable us to proceed with the history of Freemasonry on the continent of Europe without constant breaks to introduce some new rival rite. I have sought to disentangle the truth from conflicting statements, and in each case append a list of the authorities consulted. It has been, however, impossible, in the space at my disposal, to enter into the reasons which have influenced me in preferring one account to another, nor do I wish—if such were indeed possible—to force my personal opinion on my readers. A comparison of the authors referred to, will enable the student to correct my description by his own judgment.

[1] Schiffmann, Andrew Michael Ramsay, p. 18.

[2] See, however, Chap. V., *passim*

Scots Masonry.[1]

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that all so-called Scottish Masonry has nothing whatever to do with the Grand Lodge of Scotland, nor, with one possible exception—that of the Royal Order of Scotland—did it ever originate in that country. If we add to this rite that of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of 33°, we may even maintain that none of the Scots degrees were at any time practised in Scotland. As a slight mark of distinction I shall therefore, whenever possible, allude to these degrees as *Scots* and not *Scottish*. In the Scots Masters we have the first of the legion of additions to Freemasonry on the Continent. Thory, it is true, tells us that "Irish Chapters existed in Paris from 1730, and held their constitutions from the Grand Chapter of Dublin. They were divided into Colleges, and their degrees were pretty generally spread throughout France. They fell into disuse since the institution of Scots chapters." This statement is positively all we know of these Chapters, and has been copied "*ad nauseam*" by every subsequent writer. If true, how can the same writers attribute the deterioration of Freemasonry to Ramsay's unlucky speech seven years afterwards? But it is not true. There is not a tittle of evidence to support it, and we may unhesitatingly reject it. All allusions to so-called Irish degrees are of much later date. Neither should these Scots masons be confounded with the *Orient de Bouillon*, as is so often done, this *Orient de Bouillon* being simply a Grand Lodge established in the Duchy of Luxembourg many years later.[2] The Scots degrees seem to have sprung up about 1740 in all parts of France,[3] and at this distance of time it would be impossible to define their precise teaching. This impossibility is not caused by the absence of Rituals, of which any number exist, but by their diversity. One chief idea, however, runs through all—the discovery in a vault by Scottish Crusaders of the long lost and ineffable word—also, that in this search they had to work with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. The epoch referred to is, however, that of the Crusades, not that of Zerubbabel's (or the second) temple. We do not even know whether the title applied in the first instance to one degree only or to a series. The former is probable.[4] But however this may be, the Scots Master claimed to be in every way superior to the Master Mason; to be possessed of the true history, secret, and design of Freemasonry; and to hold various privileges, of which some few may be mentioned. He wore distinctive clothing, remained covered in a Master's Lodge, and in any Lodge, even as a visitor, ranked before the W.M.

[1] Authorities consulted:—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipsic, 1863-79—*s.v.* Schotte Schottische Grade, Schottische Logen, Schottische Maurerei; C. A. Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., Paris, 1815, pp. 52, 63, 319; C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, Berlin, 1879, pp. 148, 150, 186, 231, 449; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, Leipzig, 1878, 4th German Edit., pp. 111, 273, 317, 334, 387, 577; W. Keller, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland, Giessen, 1859, pp. 93, 103; G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, pp. 68, 71–74, 77–78; and the three Encyclopædias—which will be in future referred to under the names of their compilers, Mackey, Woodford, and Mackenzie—*s.v.* Ecossais, Scottish.

[2] *Cf.* Chap. XXVI., *s.v.* Luxembourg.

[3] *Cf.* Chap. XIX., pp. 209, 210.

[4] Schiffmann considers that the Scots Masters at first formed no degree, and claimed no superiority, being a sort of volunteer inspectors who banded together to reform many abuses which had crept into the Craft; that their name "*maîtres écossois*" is a corruption of their special token, the acacia, whence they were called "*maîtres acassois*;" and that they ultimately developed into a separate degree. Space precludes my dwelling upon this theory, which has much to recommend it. See, however, Schiffmann, Die Freimaurerei in Frankreich, etc., Leipsic, 1881; and G. W. Speth in the *Freemason*, May 2, 1885.

At any time or place, he could personally impart, either with or without a ceremony, the secrets of the E.A.: F.C.: and M.M. degrees. If he was a member of a Lodge, none but Scots Masons could adjudicate upon his conduct. Later still, when Scots Lodges became more numerous, they were grafted on the ordinary Lodges, and not only asserted but obtained still greater privileges. The W.M. was not chosen by the Lodge, but appointed by the Scots Lodge, and was almost always one of themselves; and the finances of the Mason's Lodge were disposed of by the Scots brethren, who also decided in all matters of doctrine and ritual. The Scots Lodge further usurped the privileges of a Grand Lodge, and issued warrants of constitution. In this way arose throughout France the numerous Scots-Mother-Lodges. One of the most important of these was the *Mére-Loge-Ecossaise* at Marseilles, *said* to have been founded by a travelling Scotsman in 1751, under the title of St. John of Scotland. This Lodge warranted a great number of Lodges throughout France, and even in Paris itself, also in the Levant, and the Colonies. The *Mére Loge du Comtat Venaissin* at Avignon,[1] the founder of the Scottish Philosophic Rite, was probably of this class originally. Many of these Mother-Lodges then developed extended systems of degrees of their own, which were worked in Chapters, all independent of each other. From France the earliest form of the Scots degree was carried to Germany, it is believed, by Count von Schmettau. In 1741 we find a Scots Lodge at Berlin erected by members of the "Three Globes;" in 1744 at Hamburg—and shortly afterwards a second; in 1747 at Leipsic; in 1753 at Frankfort, etc., etc. But in Germany their development was arrested because they were very soon absorbed by the Clermont system, becoming the stepping-stone to the lowest Chapter degrees, and shortly after that the Clermont Chapters were annihilated by the Templar system of the Strict Observance. But between 1742 and 1764 no less than 47 such Lodges were erected in Germany, of which, however, 15 may be ascribed to Rosa and the Chapter of Clermont.[2] Even now some of these Scots Lodges form the basis of what is called in some German Grand Lodge systems the "Inner Orient."

In France, however, some of the Scots Lodges would appear to have very early manufactured new degrees, connecting these very distinguished Scots Masons with the Knights Templars, and thus given rise to the subsequent flood of Templarism. The earliest of all are supposed to have been the Masons of Lyons, who invented the Kadosch degree, representing the vengeance of the Templars, in 1741. From that time new rites multiplied in France and Germany, but all those of French origin contain knightly, and almost all, Templar, grades. In every case the connecting link was composed of one or more Scots degrees. The Handbuch enumerates over 68 such degrees forming parts of different rites. Thory and Dr. Oliver present us with even more, and, if at all necessary, I myself could extend the list. Besides which, many Rites, or series of degrees, took the name of Scottish to designate the whole system; for instance, the Scottish Philosophic Rite and the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°. The Chapter of Clermont was but a Templar continuation of the Scots degrees. This probably grew into the Emperors of the East and West, and these in turn blossomed into the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°.[3]

[1] *Post*, p. 371. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

[3] According to a MS. in the possession of Kloss when he wrote his "History of Freemasonry in France," the date of which he fixes at 1751 (latest), the sequence of degrees apparently in most general use in France shortly before the rise of the Chapter of Clermont was as follows:—1°, E.A.; 2°, F.C.; 3°, M.M.; 4°, Perfect Master, or Irish Architect; 5°, Select Master; 6°, Scots Apprentice; 7°, Scots Fellow Craft; 8°, Scots Master; 9°, the Knight of the East.

Foolish and unnecessary as it will always appear to destroy the original beautiful simplicity of the Craft, the great evil of these innovations lies in their destruction of an important principle. Freemasonry is founded upon the perfect equality of all its members, and its governing body is an elective and representative one. In fact the Craft governs itself. But in almost every one of these new systems, with scarcely an exception, the governing power is autocratic and irresponsible. A Hierarchy is formed, each superior degree directs without appeal those below it, and the highest class rules all the others. Each class is self-elected, that is, it receives into its sacred circle those only whom it pleases, so that those of the lower classes have no voice whatever in the administration of their affairs or in the election of their rulers. This one consideration alone precludes these systems from ever being entitled to call themselves Masonic. They are not and never can be Freemasonry. They are simply separate societies, all of whose members happened to be Freemasons.

Chapter of Clermont.[1]

Of this system in France, the land of its birth, we know next to nothing. All later statements are merely reproduced from Thory, who informs us—sixty years after the event—that on November 24, 1754, a certain Chevalier de Bonneville founded a chapter of high degrees; that he caused a very fine building to be constructed for its use in a suburb of Paris, *La Nouvelle France;* and that it took the name of *Chapitre de Clermont.* His other statements in this connection, *e.g.*, that Von Hund took the Templar degrees here, are palpably false; inasmuch as Von Hund left France for the last time in 1743, or eleven years previously, and erected his first Templar Chapter in Unwurde in 1751. According to the same writer, the Chapter was based on the three degrees of Freemasonry, and the Scots or St. Andrew's degree, and worked three higher, 5°, the Knight of the Eagle or Select Master; 6°, the Illustrious Knight or Templar; 7°, the Sublime Illustrious Knight.

The first French historian of Freemasonry, Lalande, in his article in the *Encyclopédie,* Yverdon, 1773, vol. iv., has the following passage:—"As late as 1760 there existed in the *Nouvelle France,* to the north of Paris, a celebrated Lodge, which was brilliantly conducted and visited by persons of the first rank; it was founded by the Count of Benouville." Kloss supposes this extract to refer to the "Emperors of the East and West;" I am inclined to think that the Count of Benouville and the Chevalier Bonneville were one and the same person—Lalande wrote in 1773, Thory in 1815—and that the two statements refer to the same fact. This is really all that can be gleaned of the doings of this Chapter in France, and it is highly probable that it soon after developed into the "Emperors of the East and West," of which an account will be given later. Its history, as connected with Germany, is more important.

The Baron von Printzen was in 1750-51 and 1757-61 W.M. of the Mother-Lodge, "Three Globes" of Berlin, *i.e.*, he was *ex officio* Grand Master of all the Lodges constituted by that body. In 1742 the members of the "Three Globes" erected the Scots Lodge "Union" to work the fourth or Scots degree. In 1757 the French Marquis, Gabriel Tilly de Lernais (also written Lerney and Lernet), came to Berlin as a prisoner of war, and in

[1] Authorities consulted:—Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Clermont, Lernais, Printzen, Rosa, etc.; Mackey and Woodford, *s.v.* Clermont; Thory, Acta Latomorum, i., pp. 68, 300; Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, p. 140 *et seq.;* Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, i., p. 84 *et seq.;* Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th edit., p. 387 *et seq.;* O'Etzel, Geschichte der Grossen National Mutter-Loge, p. 49 *et seq.*



Dear Sir
Your faithful Bro[ther]
Geo Oliver DD

Brother Geo. Oliver, the Celebrated English Masonic Author.

BORN 1782—DIED 1867.

Was initiated into Masonry in 1801, in "St. Peter's Lodge," Peterborough; and from that time until his decease he displayed the warmest interest and the most ardent affection for Freemasonry.

As a man and a Mason, he was all that eulogy can affirm or affection desire. Genial and friendly, honest-hearted and sincere, just and considerate, respectable and respected in every position of duty and every aspect of life, he seems to have been indeed a comely ornament of the Order to which it was his pride and privilege to belong.—*Rev. A. F. A. Woodward, P.·.G.·.C.·. of England.*

1758 together with Printzen founded a Chapter of the three Clermont degrees, grafted upon the Mother-Lodge of the Three Globes and the Scots Lodge "Union." On June 10, 1760, this Chapter constituted the Chapter "Sun" at Rostock: and on July 19, 1760, took the title of "Premier Grand Chapter of Clermont in Germany." The next step was the appointment of Philipp Samuel Rosa as *legatus capituli hierosolymitani Berolinensis supremi et primi nationis Germanicæ*, to travel over the north of Germany, and bring the Lodges under the supremacy of the "Three Globes,"—also to institute Chapters. A sketch of Rosa's life would lead us too far, but he appears to have been a needy man, not in the best repute. The commission, therefore, suited him, all his expenses being paid. Possessed of an ingratiating address, he was also gifted with a persuasive tongue. He had previously been excluded his Lodge, and a similar fate awaited him later on. It is impossible to state the exact date at which he began his travels, but it is known that the fourth Chapter of Clermont was constituted by him at Stettin in March, 1762; that he erected others at Halle, Jena, Königsberg, Brunswick, Rostock, Greifswald, Dresden, and Prague; that in June 1763 his Masonic career was terminated by expulsion from the Craft; and that his successor, Schubart, instituted on November 27, 1763, at Magdeburg, the fifteenth and last German Chapter of Clermont. The greater part of North Germany had thus in a few years submitted to the new system, which, however, speedily effaced itself before the mightier advance of the Strict Observance.

Many writers have contended that the original Chapter in Paris took its name from the Jesuit College of Clermont in the immediate neighborhood, and attribute the fabrication of these degrees to the followers of Loyola. I am unable to believe that the Jesuits could have consented to glorify the Knights Templars, nor can I see anything new in these degrees, being, as they were, merely amplifications and rearrangements of previous ones. I prefer to consider the title a delicate compliment to the Duke de Clermont, Grand Master of French Masonry from 1743 to 1770.

Knights of the East.[1]

The only real attempt to arrive at the true facts concerning this, one of the earliest systems of "improved" Masonry, has been made by Dr. Kloss. Thory, Mackey, and Woodford, have almost entirely overlooked the separate existence of these Knights—"Sovereign Princes of Masonry;" either confusing them with certain special degrees of other systems, or treating them as an offshoot of the "Emperors of the East and West." Even the usually diffuse "Handbuch" is excessively meagre in the information which it supplies. Yet if Kloss's extensive and minute researches are to be given their just weight, it is to the rivalry between the Knights and the Emperors that must be attributed the sorrowful picture of discord presented by the Grand Lodge of France, 1760-80.

In 1755 the Grand Lodge of France admitted the superiority of, and the privileges claimed for, the so-called Scots Masons. We shall perhaps not be far wrong in ascribing this concession to the influence in Grand Lodge of the members of the Chapter of Clermont, established the previous year, 1754. From all that is known of this chapter, it was

[1] Authorities consulted:—G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, vol. i., p. 86–106; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipsic, 1863–79—*s.v.* Frankreich, Pirlet, Valois, Tschudy; C. A. Thory, Annales Originis magni Galliarum O., Paris, 1812, pp. 16, 17. *Cf.* the *Freemason*, of Jan. 17, 1885, and later dates, where the subject of early French Masonry is very ably discussed by Woodford and Speth.

probably composed only of high nobility, courtiers, military officers, and the *élite* of the professions. Under these circumstances we might expect to find a rival association formed by the middle classes, and less highly placed officials. In 1756 such an association was instituted, calling itself "Knights of the East, Princes and Sovereigns of Masonry." At first its separate subdivisions were termed colleges, and took their title from their president; the chief college being that of Valois at Paris. Who this Valois was, is still undiscovered; but it appears almost certain, from the few names that have survived, that the membership of the Knights was recruited in great part from the lower middle class. Titled members, such as the Baron Tschoudy, may be met with, but are exceptions. Article 2 of its statutes provides that the high position of Sovereign shall be held for a year by each brother in turn.—Article 7. In like manner as the Scottish Masters are the Grand Superiors of the Masonic Order, so are the Knights of the East, the born princes of the complete order. —Article 8. A travelling Knight of the East may, where no Lodge exists, dispense the light of the first 6 degrees to a Master Mason. From this we may conclude that there were at least 7 degrees beyond the Master's; or at least 10 in all, thus improving on the Chapter de Clermont by 3 degrees.

In 1762 a quarrel arose in the College Valois, which finally led to its deposition from the position of ruling body, and to the establishment of a "Sovereign Council of the Knights of the East." Pirlet, a Parisian tailor, was apparently the prime mover of this revolution. The following Officers of the Grand Lodge of France were members of this council:—the Grand Keeper of the Seal, Brest de la Chaussée; the President; one of the Grand Wardens; the Grand Orator; the Secretary General; and the Grand Secretary: and Kloss produces other reasons for believing that this date marks the decline in Grand Lodge of the influence of the aristocratic "Emperors," established 1758, and the rise of that of the middle class "Knights." In 1764, Pirlet had already deserted the new Council to become a leading member of the rival Emperors. In 1766, however, the Knights would appear to have been once more beaten by the Emperors, and many of their members were expelled. The Council revenged itself by issuing a circular to all Lodges, conjuring them to cease working Templar degrees. The Emperors, as we shall see, probably were a continuation of the Chapter of Clermont, and certainly did work Templar degrees. The Knights evidently did not. In 1767 the quarrels of the two parties reached a climax, and in the same year the government issued an edict dissolving the Grand Lodge altogether. From that date the Knights, as a body, cease to wield any great influence, although many of their members play important parts at a later period.

Emperors of the East and West.[1]

It is perhaps not a matter of great importance whether this system was merely a development of the Chapter of Clermont or a totally distinct organization. The Chapter of Clermont, as we have seen, was founded in 1754. In 1755, the Grand Lodge of France admitted the superiority of the supplementary degrees—owing, it may be supposed, to the influence exercised in that body by the Chapter members. In 1756 the Knights of the

[1] Authorities consulted:—G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, pp. 86–106, 136, 137, 268–270; C. A. Thory, Annales Originis, etc., pp. 15 *et seq.*, 26 and 121 *et seq.;* Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Kaiser vom Osten und Westen, Frankreich; Mackey, Woodford, and Mackenzie, *s.v.* Emperors, Empereurs d'Orient et d'Occident; A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient de France, 1865, pp. 109–125, 161–168.

East arose. In 1758, we first hear of the Emperors, whereas the Clermont Chapter is no longer mentioned. I have already quoted Lalande's statement, that a distinguished company met in 1760 in the premises of the Chapter, which meeting Kloss refers to the Emperors, and I to the Chapter of Clermont. But if we suppose the two titles to refer from 1758 to the same society, all difficulties vanish. The *probability* is—it must be remembered that in the absence of contemporary documents early French Masonic history can be carried no higher—that the Chapter of Clermont, composed of the higher classes, ruled the Grand Lodge; that in 1756 the plebeian Knights were erected as a counterpoise, outbidding the Chapter in the number of degrees, but rejecting the Templar connection; and that in 1758 the Chapter added further degrees, and developed into the "Council of the Emperors of the East and West, Sovereign Prince Masons, Substitutes General of the Royal Art, Grand Surveillants and Officers of the Grand Sovereign Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem." Their system also took the title of "Heredom of Perfection." The very name of Emperors looks like an attempt to outbid the Knights, and East and West like an improvement on East only. In 1762 the Knights formed an improved Council, comprising many officers of Grand Lodge, and appear to have ousted the Emperors from the supreme power. The Emperors, although not possessing as members so many of the elective officers of Grand Lodge, yet numbered among themselves some of the highest of those nominated by the Grand Master, the Count de Clermont; for instance, Chaillon de Jonville, the Grand Master's Substitute General; and Lacorne, his Substitute Particular. In consequence of this defeat Lacorne appears to have formed a dissenting Grand Lodge, with which the Emperors sided. It lasted, however, only a few months. A reconciliation was effected under Jonville, and Lacorne disappears from the scene. In 1765 the elections in Grand Lodge favored the Emperors. Quarrels arose, and the most demonstrative—apparently on both sides—were expelled in 1766, about the same time as the Grand Lodge sought to put an end to all bickering and strife by a decree of August 14, 1766, forbidding its Lodges to practise the Chapter degrees. The Emperors, thus left in possession of the field, managed to get this decree annulled on October 2, 1766, and then proposed a fusion of their Council with the Grand Lodge. All efforts in that direction were, however, rendered void by the compulsory closing of Grand Lodge in February, 1767. Meanwhile, if we are to believe copies produced by De Grasse-Tilly some fifty years later—the originals have never been seen—the Sovereign Council of Paris united in 1762 with their own offspring, the Sovereign Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at B———, to formulate in that city the grand constitutions of the system, or Rite of Perfection, or Heredom, or of Emperors of the East and West, for all these names refer to the same association. According to these statutes the rite was built up of 25 degrees in 7 classes: the first class comprised Freemasonry; the second, 5 additional degrees; in the fourth class, 13°, we find Knight of the Royal Arch; in the fifth class, 15°, Knight of the East; 17°, Knight of East and West; 18°, Sovereign Prince Rose Croix; and the 5° and last of the seventh class was the Sovereign Prince of the Royal Secret. The other degrees may be here omitted. These constitutions are still acknowledged by the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33° as the groundwork of their present system, on which subject I shall have more to say when dealing with that widely spread rival of many foreign Grand Lodges, and the celebrated patent granted to Stephen Morin in 1761.

The account of the above quarrels is given on the authority of Kloss, who has devoted astonishing patience to the elucidation of the matter. It would be more satisfactory if we

did not find the name of Brest-de-la-Chaussée as a member of both organizations, and that of Daubertin among the expelled brethren; Daubantin, probably identical with him, being one of the principal members of the Emperors. Again, Labady was also one of the expelled, and yet we find him afterwards working for the Emperors. It is certain, however, that the Emperors retained sufficient influence in 1766 to propose a fusion in the October sitting of Grand Lodge, and that the Knights from that time lose their importance as a body.

In 1772 the Grand Lodge having resumed work under the supreme authority of the Duke de Chartres, at the same time Grand Master of the Emperors, a commission was given to four members of the Council, among them Labady, their Grand Secretary, to again propose a fusion of the two systems in the next general meeting of Grand Lodge, which fusion was finally effected on August 9, 1772. But about this time two Grand Bodies were formed in France out of the members of the Grand Lodge, viz., the Grand Orient and the Grand Lodge. The latter maintained that it was the original authority. The Emperors sided with it, and as far as can be ascertained worked their supplementary degrees under its authority. The last we hear of the Emperors consists of some circulars issued in 1780 inveighing against all degrees not included in their own system. They had meanwhile changed their title to "Sovereign Council Mother-Lodge of Excellent Masons, formerly called Scottish Mother-Lodge of the French Grand Globe." The French Revolution, no doubt, put an end to them, as it practically did to the Grand Lodge itself, of which they formed part—they were, however, soon succeeded by their Americanized offspring, the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°.

The "English" Lodge, No. 204, Bordeaux.

This Lodge "l'Anglaise, No. 204," merits a short sketch. Not because it founded a new system, but because, for a long series of years, it remained independent of the Grand Bodies of France—clinging to its English parentage—and usurped the privileges of a Grand Lodge. Another claim to our notice is, that throughout the Masonic revolutions of the last century, it remained true to the three grades of English Freemasonry, a distinction which it probably alone shares with the Lodge "Union" in Frankfort-on-the-Main. It is the only Lodge still active in France which was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England,[1] and retains to this day, as part of its title, the last number granted to it on the roll of that body.

This Lodge first appears on our roll in the list for 1766,[2] where it is shown at the number 363, with the clause, "have met since the year 1732." According to the *Handbuch*,[3] its first meeting was held under the presidency of Martin Kelly, Sunday, April 27, 1732, and we may probably conclude that its original members consisted largely of English merchants. The labors of the Lodge appear to have been several times suspended, but from 1737 they were for many years uninterrupted, although the civil authority ordered it —but in vain—to close its doors in 1742. It constituted in 1740 the Lodge, *La Française*, in Bordeaux; in 1746, two Lodges in Brest; in 1751, one at Limoges; 1754, one at Paris; 1755, one at Cayenne; 1760, one at Cognac; and in 1765, one each at Périgueux and New Orleans. Over these Lodges it exercised the patriarchal sway of a Mother-Lodge— *i.e.*,

[1] With the exception of the Lodge at Valenciennes, No. 127, constituted 1733.

[2] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 61.

[3] Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipsic, 1863-79, vol. i., p. 121.

all the authority of a Grand Lodge without its representative character. In 1749 it threatened to erase the *Loge Française* unless it ceased at once to content itself with a promise instead of an oath, and from the fact that the latter did not receive a Warrant from the Grand Lodge of France until 1765, we may conclude that it made due submission. In 1782 it showed itself equally active in enforcing pure and ancient Freemasonry, for it threatened the proprietor of the building in which it met, to leave the premises if he continued to allow a Rose Croix Chapter to assemble there. On March 8, 1766, the Lodge obtained a Warrant of Confirmation from the Grand Lodge of England as No. 363, which number was successively altered in 1770 to 298, in 1781 to 240, and in 1792 to 204. The Lodge would appear at one time to have joined the Grand Orient, being included in the list of that body for 1776 as constituted May 11, 1775. The Calendar of the Grand Orient of 1810 gives, however, the date as 1785, and that of 1851 as 1778. In 1790 *l'Anglaise* was once more independent, for on August 31 of that year this Lodge and four others of Bordeaux formed a separate body, and it only joined the Grand Orient definitely in 1803, preserving its number 204 and date of 1732. None of its daughter Lodges received at any time an English number or constitution. During this long period its rivalry was a cause of much uneasiness to the rulers of the Craft in France.[1]

The Strict Observance.[2]

Of all the wonderful perversions of Freemasonry which owe their origin to the fervid imaginings of our brethren of the last century, none can compare in point of interest with the system of the Strict Observance. For twenty years from its birth it either lay dormant, or made only infinitesimal progress; during the next twenty years it pervaded all continental Europe to the almost entire exclusion of every other system; within the next ten it had practically ceased to exist; and yet a faint survival may even now be traced in France. The whole system was based upon the fiction that at the time of the destruction of the Templars a certain number of Knights took refuge in Scotland, and there preserved the existence of the Order. The sequence of Grand Masters was presumed never to have been broken, and a list of these rulers in regular succession was known to the initiates; but the identity of the actual Grand Master was always kept—during his life-time—a secret from every one except his immediate confidants, hence the term, "Unknown Superiors." In order to ensure their perfect security these Knights are said to have joined the Guilds

[1] *Cf.* G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, vol. i., p. 21.

[2] Authorities consulted:—C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, pp. 231-489—Allgemeines Handbuch der F., *s.v.* Albernia, Burgundia, Braunschweig, Bordeaux, Convente, Conferenzen, Gugumos, Hund, Johnson, Klerikalisches system, Kleriker, Mecklemburg-Strelitz, Matrikel, Marschall, C. G. von, Marschall, A. D. Graf von, Naumburg, Oekonomischer Plan, Occitania, Oxenstierna, Provinzen des Templelordens, Prangen, Patent, Plommenfeldt, Raven, E. W. von, Rhetz, A. W. von, Sachsen, Schubart, Schmidt, K. J., Schmidt, E. J. G., Systeme, Schwartz, Schweden, Tanner, Baron von, Tempelherren, Wismar, Weiler, Wächter, etc. ; J. Georg B, F. Kloss, Annalen der Loge zur Einigkeit, Frankfurt, 1842, pp. 4, 5; Dr G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 507; Latomia, vol. xxi., p. 116 *et seq.* ; W. Keller, Gesch. der Freim., pp. 119-182, 210, 211; W. Keller, Geschichte des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, Giessen, 1857, pp. 60-62, 64-66, 78-87; Findel, Gesch. der Freim., pp. 389-392, 401-418, 458-461; Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., pp. 62, 71, 82, 84, 90, 94, 103, 117, 122, 123, 141, 145, 146, 152, 191; Dr Karl Paul, Annalen des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, Frankfurt, 1883, pp. 2-25; O'Etzel, Geschichte der Grossen National-Mutter Loge, Berlin, 1875, pp. 46-80; Mackey, Woodford, and Mackenzie, *s.v.* Hund, Starck.

of Masons in Scotland, and thus to have given rise to the Fraternity of Freemasons. At the time of the origin of the Strict Observance system, the period was assumed to have arrived when it would be advantageous to boldly proclaim the continued existence of the Ancient Order of the Temple, and to endeavor to reinstate it in its former possessions, organization, and privileges. Their hitherto restricted numbers were to be increased (and in gratitude for past events) from the ranks of the Freemasons only, and at the proper period the Grand Master was to make himself known. All this was supremely ridiculous, but it was firmly believed in by Von Hund and his contemporaries, and their suspicions all pointed at first to the Young Pretender as the veritable Grand Master. There can be no doubt that these general outlines had been instilled into Von Hund's mind, but the ritual and the plan of operations were quite unknown to him, and, therefore, in the absence of instructions from his Superiors, had to be perfected by himself and colleagues. The persistency with which so many forms of the high grades have been ascribed to the political tendencies and conspiracies of the Jacobites, together with a comparison of dates and the confessions of Von Hund himself, might almost justify us in believing that during his stay in Paris, *circa* 1742, he was made acquainted with an ill-defined and half-formed scheme of the Stuarts for recruiting men and money, their political intentions being carefully concealed from him; that this scheme was dropped after the crushing defeat of Culloden in 1746; and that, consequently, when Von Hund set about reviving the Templars in earnest in 1751, he was left to his own devices. This will account for the fact, that although he certainly received his first instructions from Lord Kilmarnock and other partisans of the Stuarts, no trace of Jacobite intrigues ever blended with the teachings of the Strict Observance: and as a passing remark, it may be observed, that Von Hund was not the kind of man to lend himself as a tool to any party. Von Hund may therefore be described as the wet-nurse of the system; but he was not its parent, and those who accuse him of wilful imposition, have done a grievous injustice to the memory of a generous, impulsive, honest, warm-hearted, enthusiastic—but withal, pomp-loving and somewhat weak-minded man. His sincerity seems to me to be beyond all question, and, I think, fairly merited the sympathy of his contemporaries in the state of embarrassment and uncertainty to which he was so often reduced, by the absence, at important crises, of any directions from the "Unknown Superiors" to whom he looked for instruction. Bearing this in mind, we shall understand why he so easily fell a prey to every new impostor, as he never could be certain that the "latest arrival" was not really an emissary from his chief.

Von Hund was not, however, quite the first link in the chain. His forerunner in Germany was *C. G.* Marschall von Bieberstein, whose identity still remains slightly a matter of doubt, but Keller, Findel, Nettelbladt, and others have with an inexcusable want of circumspection confused him with *H. W.* Marschall, appointed Provincial Grand Master of Upper Saxony by Lord Darnley in 1737. He was a contemporary and relative, but not identical. Von Hund always referred to him as his predecessor in the office of Prov. G.M. of the VIIth. province (of Germany, between the Elbe and the Oder), and states he was directed in Paris to place himself in communication with him, and receive his instructions; he died about 1750. Marschall does not appear to have done much towards preparing the way; but two lodges existed in the first years of the forties, one at Naumberg and the other at Dresden, both of which conferred chivalric titles upon their members, even upon the apprentices, these being first recorded instances of the usage.

The Lodge in Dresden existed from 1738, and is *supposed* to have owed its existence to Marschall; the Lodge of the Three Hammers in Naumberg is *known* to have been constituted by him in 1749, and its members afterwards took a prominent part in the institution of the new rite.

Karl Gotthelf, Baron von Hund and Alten-Grotkau, was born September 1, 1722, lost his father when nine years old, was educated *circa* 1738 at the University of Leipsic, and subsequently visited Strassburg and Paris. In 1742 he was present in Frankfort as an *attaché* in the suite of the Ambassador of the Elector of Saxony, on the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Charles VII. According to his friend, Von Springseisen, he there received the three degrees of Freemasonry on March 20, 1742, in the "Union" Lodge. Kloss has shown, however, that the "Union" Lodge did not initiate Von Hund; but that as there are some signs of a former, and probably unchartered Lodge, having existed in Frankfort as late as April 21, 1742, he was possibly either made there or by some of the numerous Masons attending the coronation. From Frankfort he returned to Paris, and of his doings there his diary bears witness that on February 20, 1743, he consecrated a new lodge as Worshipful Master, and on August 28 served as Senior Warden in a lodge at Versailles. At the Altenberg Convent of 1764 he declared that "an unknown Bro., the Knight of the Red Feather, in the presence of Lord Kilmarnock,[1] received him into the Order of the Temple, and that Lord Clifford officiated as Prior on the occasion; also that he was subsequently introduced as a distinguished Brother of the Order to Charles Edward Stuart, the young Pretender." He appears to have wavered as to the identity of the Grand Master; sometimes inclining towards Lord Kilmarnock, but more often towards Charles Edward. He further stated that "they gave him a patent signed 'George,' and directed him to apply for further instructions to Marschall, the Prov. G.M. of the VIIth. province, whose successsor he was to consider himself. But on application Marschall declared he had burnt all papers except the list of the sequence of Grand Masters, and the Red Book or *Matricula* of the Order."

According to this "Red Book," the VIIth. province, or Germany between the Elbe and the Oder, was to be divided into four Sub-Priories, which were to be further split up (as directed) into some twenty Prefectories, and these again into smaller subdivisions—in reality, Lodges. The Prov. G.M. was to appoint four Grand Commanderies, and the heads of these and of the four Sub-Priories were to form the Chapter. In due course of time every Province of the Order had its "red book" as soon as it became properly constituted.

Von Hund's actions, so far as they are known, certainly bear out his story, for upon his return to his own estates in 1743 he made Marschall's acquaintance, but delayed taking any important steps; nor was it till 1750 *circa*, on Marschall's death, that he assumed the position and authority of Prov. G.M. He then conferred with the Naumburg Lodge, and more especially with those of the brethren who were supposed to be in Marschall's confidence, and he has himself stated that, failing advices from his Superiors, he determined to carry out the restoration of the Templars as best he could. He and the Bros. Schmidt and Von Tanner of the N. Lodge are presumed to have arranged the rituals and all other matters. In or about 1751 Von Hund erected a Lodge and a Provincial Chapter on his estate at Unwurde; and in 1753 issued a new Warrant to the Lodge at Naumburg. It was

[1] G.M. of Scotland from November, 1742, to November, 1743. Beheaded for high treason August, 18, 1746.

in this Lodge that the first financial scheme was worked out, for without funds it was of course impossible to restore the Order of the Temple. On it was probably based the second scheme of 1755.[1] Von Hund also began at this time to make a few Knights of the Order, each of whom assumed a descriptive Latin title, but the number was very slowly increased. Europe was divided as in old times—according to the Red Book—into nine provinces:—I. Arragon, II. Auvergne, III. Occitania, IV. Leon, V. Burgundy, VI. Britain, VII. Elbe and Oder, VIII. Rhine, IX. Archipelago. These provinces were to be revived as opportunity offered of gaining over the various Lodges to the cause, and a special dress or uniform resembling that of the Old Templars was adopted. In the very first or Entered Apprentice degree, an oath of implicit and unquestioning obedience to the superiors was exacted, hence the title of STRICT OBSERVANCE.[2] The 5° was the Noviciate, the 6° and last the actual Knighthood. The W.M. of a Lodge—who was in all cases to be a Knight—was appointed by the Chapter, and not elected by the members. Only noblemen were eligible for the Knighthood; others might, however, be accepted as *Socii*. In after years, and especially in such towns as Hamburg, rich merchants were received into the body of Knights on paying exorbitant fees. The seven years' war—1756-63—prevented, however, any considerable progress. The contending parties more than once committed great havoc on Hund's property, and he himself was often obliged to fly, owing to his sympathy with Austria. The consequence was, that in 1763—so it is maintained—no more than thirty Knights had been elected, and the scheme devised, as is *perhaps* possible, by the partisans of the Stuarts twenty years previously, but almost immediately afterwards given up by them (if indeed it was ever more than half conceived), had made no substantial progress. Perhaps it would have died out altogether had not Hund's hand been forced in a most remarkable manner by Johnson.

Who Johnson was will probably never be ascertained, but there is no doubt he was a consummate rogue and an unmitigated vagabond. He is described as of almost repulsive demeanor and of no education, but gifted with boundless impudence and low cunning. Professedly an Englishman, he was nevertheless unable to speak what he alleged to be his mother tongue, and it is variously stated that his name was either Becker or Leucht. It is surmised that in reality he had been valet to a Mr. Johnson, a recipient of some high Templar degrees, whom he robbed of his Masonic papers, and whose name he usurped. Various circumstances give an air of probability to this conjecture. It is also stated, with more or less possibility of truth, that he had been previously concerned as a principal in certain alchemical frauds, for which he had undergone imprisonment. He must have had some slight knowledge of Von Hund's projects, and, as shown by the correspondence which has been preserved, he artfully contrived to learn more from the Prov. G.M. himself.

It will be remembered that in 1762 Rosa established in Jena a Clermont Chapter,[3] and that these Chapters all practised Templar degrees, and were thus more than half prepared to accept Hund's reform as soon as it might be communicated to them. In September, 1763, Johnson suddenly appeared at Jena, where he resided till May, 1764. Obtaining a

[1] All these schemes were so arranged as not only to accumulate a large treasure for the Order, but also to provide the officials, even to the W.M.'s of Lodges, with a stipend. They came out beautifully on paper, but failed in practice. It would be wrong, however, to attribute any mercenary views to Hund and his colleagues, for at this time they were *all*, and afterwards, with very few exceptions, men of large means, proved probity, and high position. Many of them, indeed, made great pecuniary sacrifices for the good of the Order.

[2] For an explanation of the correlative term—Lax Observance—see *post*, p. 367. [3] *Ante*, p. 349.

footing in the Jena Chapter, he declared himself the emissary of the Order of the Temple, deputed by the Sovereign Chapter in Scotland to organize the Order in Germany. His chief lever wherewith he moved the mass of brethren was a thinly disguised pretension of being able to impart the true secret of Freemasonry, viz., the preparation of the philosopher's stone. The Jena Chapter went over to him with one accord, and on November 6 received at his hands a new warrant, the old one being burned by the Servitor in open Chapter amidst the blare of trumpets and horns. Rosa was summoned before him, examined, and declared an ignorant cheat, and was so taken aback that he was fain to confess the "soft impeachment." The Berlin Chapter was required to submit to the new order of things, and, refusing, was formally erased, whilst all Chapters, including Hund's, were kept well posted up in these occurrences by circular. Meanwhile Johnson was learning more and more through Hund's letters, who, devoutly believing in "Unknown Superiors," was inclined to credit Johnson's account of his mission. Every hint which fell from Hund was immediately utilized by Johnson to blind and deceive those around him. At length, on January 3, 1764, Hund proposed a conference with Johnson, recognizing his position as special envoy; and these admissions were immediately printed and sent to all the Lodges and Chapters of Germany—January 20—in order to strengthen Johnson's position. Thus by degrees the imposture gained strength and plausibility, and deputies arrived at Jena from numerous Chapters and Lodges to receive new instructions and constitutions. Their old warrants were either burnt or forwarded to Von Hund, and the deputies themselves were made Novices or dubbed Knights according to Johnson's pleasure. A regular discipline was maintained, the Knights were summoned by trumpet call at unearthly hours, knightly sentinels were placed at Johnson's door, and he was accompanied by a body guard of Knights Templars. Let it not be forgotten that these Knights were all gentlemen of ancient and honorable lineage. Surely such another triumph of brazen-faced impudence has never been witnessed!

At last, when Johnson thought that he was firmly established in the saddle, he issued a summons to a congress at Altenberg for the beginning of May, announced to the Knights that Von Hund was their future Superior, and employed the interval in raising large sums of money from his dupes. He journeyed to Altenberg surrounded by a numerous company of Knights, and on May 26, 1764, Von Hund appeared there. At first all went well; Hund made due submission, and was confirmed in his post; and Johnson doubtless hoped with Hund's help to continue the deception. Hund, at his orders, knighted all his nominees, and Johnson handed them over to the Prov. G.M. as his future subjects. But Hund was no charlatan, neither was he a fool, and in course of time his conversation with Johnson's dupes opened his eyes. He then boldly attacked him, and exposed the whole fraud. Johnson swore and denied, but Hund persisted, and the end of it was that Johnson fled. He was pursued, and arrested in Alsleben on February 24, 1765, but was never brought to public trial, being, doubtless through the influence of his former victims, confined in the Wartburg on April 18. There, in the room formerly occupied by Luther, he was detained in durance vile at the expense of the Order, and died on May 13, 1775. The matter was hushed up, the papers and other matters relating to his arrest and examination were never published, and unless they are some day brought to light, it is improbable that the mystery of his identity will ever be revealed.

It was only natural that after this experience the brethren should have been somewhat suspicious of Von Hund's own authority, in spite of his acknowledged probity and posi-

tion. Hund, however, candidly confided to them the history of his admission into the Order (as above related), and showed several of the brethren the "Red Book" and other documents, and the majority of those present at the Convent[1] resolved to acknowledge his authority and receive new instruction from him. From that moment the movement spread till it almost annihilated English Freemasonry in Germany, and threw out branches of the S.O. in Russia, Holland, France, Italy, and Switzerland. A large majority of the princes of Germany from time to time swore fealty to the Order, the Unknown Superiors, and the Prov. G.M., Von Hund, and signed the act of unquestioning obedience. The chief convert at the Altenberg Convent was J. C. Schubart (1734-87)—during the seven years' war in the British, *i.e.*, Hanoverian, service. In 1763 he was made Deputy Master of the Grand Mother Lodge of the Three Globes; and has been already mentioned as succeeding Rosa, and erecting the last of the Clermont Chapters.[2] He was knighted by Von Hund, and made *delegatus* to all Lodges of the "Lax Observance."[3] For five years he was indefatigable in his exertions, and traversed the whole Continent in the interests of the Order, which, however, some slight misunderstanding caused him to leave in 1768, and from that time until his death he devoted himself to scientific agriculture. Through him, Zinnendorff and the whole of the Lodges appendant to the Three Globes were won over; and of his efforts and successes in Hamburg and elsewhere I shall have much to say in my account of the various German Grand Lodges.

Hamburg, with its English Provincial Grand Lodge, and also Denmark, gave in their adhesion in 1765. It was again Schubart who in 1766 worked out a new financial scheme whilst on a visit to Hund at Unwurde, and to his persuasions the Order owed a most influential convert, Bode, of whom more hereafter. On November 16, 1766, Zinnendorff resigned all further participation in the Strict Observance in order to introduce into Berlin the Swedish system, since developed into the "Grand National Lodge." From its very first institution this rite proved a thorn in the side of the Strict Observance, and it very rapidly grew to be a potent rival. On the other hand, the members of the Order were beginning to be anxious for something more definite than Von Hund had yet offered. To be dubbed a Knight and to pay heavy fees was all very well; to receive high-sounding titles was something better; and to be a real Knight Templar was no doubt glorious—but what was it all to lead to? If the Superiors still refused to make themselves known, at least they might impart some of that occult knowledge which the eighteenth century so firmly believed was formerly in the possession of the Order of the Temple, and which doubtless had descended as a heritage to the unknown G.M. and his colleagues. Von Hund was himself by no means satisfied; the financial scheme was not a success; money was scarce; and the whole expenses of the Prov. Chapter at Unwurde fell upon his private purse. He complains in a letter that he could not continue for ever keeping open house and laying covers daily for twenty emissaries, officials, etc. As for mystic lore, he probably believed in it himself, but nothing had been revealed to him, and he was too honest to substitute any invention of his own. He must have been waiting for a sign from his Superiors with as much impatience as any of his disciples. Thus in 1767 the ground was well prepared for the appearance of the Clerics and their rite, the leaders of which strove to obtain the control of the Strict Observance. Of what this rite consisted no one exactly knows, as the

[1] Although I do not like this word, which in the sense employed is German and not English, and signifies congress or convention, as it has been generally adopted by English Masonic writers I shall follow (albeit somewhat reluctantly) in their wake. [2] *Ante*, p. 349. [3] *Post*, p. 367.

inventors only allowed a very select few to peruse the rituals, and it was not practised, because the leaders never quite succeeded in their intentions. On February 17, 1767, some Masons, chief amongst whom may be mentioned Von Vegesack, Von Bohnen, and Starck, founded at Wismar the Lodge of the Three Lions; and attached thereto a Scots Lodge, "Gustavus of the Golden Hammer." Shortly afterward they added a hitherto unknown body, a Clerical Chapter. To these brethren we are indebted for the historical fiction that the Knights Templars were divided into military and sacerdotal members; that the latter possessed all the secrets and mystic learning of the Order; and that they had preserved a continuous existence down to the eighteenth century. Starck claimed to be the emissary of these Clerical Templars, asserted their and his superiority over the secular Knights, and offered, on his claims being acknowledged, to impart their valuable secrets to Von Hund and his disciples. Starck (1741-1816) was a student of Göttingen, and a very learned man, an oriental linguist of great attainments, and had held scientific appointments in St. Petersburg, Paris, Wismar, and elsewhere. Starck and Hund entered into a mutual correspondence, the latter evidently believing that in the former he had at last found the right clue, and being still more convinced of the truth of this supposition from the report furnished to him by his ambassador Von Raven, who had easily fallen a dupe to Starck's charlatanry. Starck pretended that the secrets had been conveyed by Natter from Florence to St. Petersburg, and were preserved there in a Lodge of which he was a member, and as the price of his assistance, claimed that his Lodges should be independent of and superior to the Strict Observance Lodges, and hold from the Prov. G.M. only. As a result the three Clerics swore fealty to Hund, and were knighted by him. Baron von Prangen was sent to Wismar in 1768 to arrange all subsequent matters, and was made a "Cleric," sending home enthusiastic reports. Then Starck wished to journey to St. Petersburg to complete his instructions, and in April, 1768, asked for 200 thalers from the Provincial Funds for the purpose. Hund refused because the treasury was bare, and Prangen's mission had already cost him 500 thalers without any result. Starck answered with such insolence, that from that moment all communications were broken off, and he left for St. Petersburg. Hund's first ambassador then became the mainspring of the movement in Germany, and erected a Clerical Priory in Wismar toward the end of 1771,—ritual, patent, etc., being sent to him from St. Petersburg by Starck. On his side Starck erected Templar bodies (secular) in St. Petersburg, which acknowledged Hund as their Prov. G.M. At last Starck came back, and on February 29, 1772, Von Hund was formally summoned to accept or reject an alliance with the Clerics. But the Prov. G.M. was no longer in a position to decide such important matters for himself. The brethren had to be consulted through the Provincial Council, and as many other matters were pressing for a solution at the same time, a general Convent was summoned to meet at Kohlo. Prominent among these other subjects were the widely spread dissatisfaction with the financial scheme, the refusal of many districts to fulfil its terms, and the necessity of some more perfect governing body than the very informal Provincial Chapter at Unwurde. But during the period which I have briefly sketched, some highly influential personages had cast in their lot with the upholders of the Strict Observance. First of all, may be mentioned Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, the victor at Minden, who was born in 1721, and died in 1792. During a part of the seven years' war, he was appointed General of the allied forces, and in 1760 the Grand Lodge of England voted £50 to the Masons in the army under his command.[1]

[1] Chap. XVII., p. 149.

He was initiated on December 21, 1740, in the Lodge of the "Three Globes," and in 1770 was appointed English Prov. G.M. for the Duchy of Brunswick. In January, 1771, however, he forsook English Freemasonry, and was admitted into the Strict Observance.

Karl, Duke, and afterward Grand Duke, of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (born 1741; died 1816), until his accession Governor of Hanover and a Lieutenant-General in the British service, was also admitted to the Knighthood in 1767. Karl, Prince of Courland, joined the Order in 1772.[1] Many other Princes had already joined, but space forbids my referring to them. No less than twelve were actually regnant in 1774.

In the Convent at Kohlo (June 4 to 24, 1772) the whole system was rearranged. The seats and limits of the various Prefectories were settled; the financial plan (Schubart's) replaced by other arrangements; the representation of the different bodies in the capitular government organized, and Dresden chosen as its seat; Von Hund's Prov. Chapter at Unwurde abolished; and *inter alia*, the following appointments made:—Duke Ferdinand to be *Magnus Superior Ordinis* and Grand Master of all the Scots Lodges of the system; Prince Karl of Courland to be *Sup. Ord.* and Protector in Saxony; Duke Karl of Mecklenburg, *Sup. Ord.* and Protector in Mecklenburg and Hanover; Prince Frederick August of Brunswick (nephew of Duke Ferdinand), *Sup. Ord.* and Protector in Prussia. The basis of the system was the usual Lodges, with their various Grand or Mother Lodges; above these stood the Scots Lodges, all united under the G.M. Ferdinand. As these returned the greater part of the members to the Grand Chapter at Dresden, the President of which was Ferdinand himself, that Prince virtually became the Prime Minister of the whole system, Von Hund, as Prov. G.M., thenceforth assuming more the *rôle* of a Constitutional Monarch. A Concordat was then arrived at with the Clerics. Their Chapter at Wismar was recognized, but future Chapters were to be regarded as emanating from the authority of Von Hund only, and not from that of the Grand Chapter. The Clerics were to institute their own government; to be taken into council at elections of future Prov. G. Masters; to elect their own Prior, with the sanction of the Prov. G.M.; they were not to be judged by the Temporal Knights; they were to have no vote in financial matters, but only a consultative voice, and to be free from all imposts and taxes; the Grand Prior to have a seat in the Grand Chapter at Dresden, and his signature was to be attached to all future Warrants of Constitution, etc. In return, the Knights previously made were acknowledged as such, but with the proviso that whenever they came to a Clerical Chapter they were to obtain the sacerdotal investiture, and no future Knights were to be made without priestly assistance; the Clerics also promised to make their knowledge useful to the Order, and so on. But unfortunately for the equity of this compact, the Clerics were, as events afterwards proved, most chary of extending their circle of members, and only dropped very vague and delusive hints respecting their peculiar secrets, so that the Order benefited very little by the arrangement. Von Hund, as a last act of the Congress, was requested to legitimate himself, and did so in the same manner as previously. He also showed to a deputation of the Knights his patent as Prov. G.M. It has been vaguely stated that about the year 1751 the Bros. Schmidt brought this from England. It was written in a peculiar cypher, which has not been solved to this day, but the deputation expressed themselves quite satisfied, and the Convent broke up.

About the time of the Kohlo Convent, and shortly afterwards, four of the supposed nine provinces of the Order were constituted and organized. The first to lead the way

[1] For Carl and his connection with Schrepfer, see "The New or Gold Rosicrucians," *post*, p. 369.

was the VIIIth. Province—South Germany and Italy. It was divided into two great Priories, and elected Von Hund as Prov. G.M. Chapters were erected in Vienna, Munich, Stuttgart, Meiningen, and Turin. After Von Hund's death they elected in 1777 Count Bernez in Turin as Prov. G.M., and erected further Chapters in Naples and Padua. The chief instrument in organizing the three French Provinces was the Baron von Weiler (born 1726; died 1775). He professed to have been received into the Order of the Temple by Lord Raleigh (?), at Rome, in 1743 or the following year; became personally acquainted with Von Hund in 1769; was *rectified* by him, that is, received anew, and with proper formalities, into the Strict Observance system; employed in various delicate negotiations; and finally appointed by the Prov. G.M. *Commissarius et Visitator specialis.* He was a man of means, and made it his sole object in life to spread the Strict Observance. In his official capacity he went to France, and visited the Lodges working Templar degrees, some of which were veiled under the name of Knights of the Dragon. Weiler consented to leave these rites unchanged, and to consider them equivalent to the S. O. degrees, and superadded Hund's newest and highest degree, *"Equus professus."* The result was that in 1772 the Vth. Province—Burgundy—was organized. This included Burgundy, Switzerland, Alsace, Lorraine, Artois, Flanders, Brabant, Luxemburg, and a part of Zeeland. Strassburg was the seat of government, and the French brethren chose Von Hund as their Prov. G.M. The Grand Prior and real director was Baron Landberg, Postmaster-General, Master of the Lodge Candour in Strassburg. After 1773 the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen became protector of the Province, and on April 8, 1777, Baron von Durckheim was elected Prov. G.M.

In 1774 the IInd. Province—Albernia (Auvergne)—was constituted also by Von Weiler. This included Provence, Dauphiné, Auvergne, Piedmont, Beaujolais, Bourbonnais, Nivernais, Berri, Touraine, Blaisois, Anjou, Vendome, Orleans, Maine, Normandy, Picardy, Isle de France, and Champaign. The seat of government should have been Paris, but as no Chapter existed in that city the Directory was transferred to Lyons. Baron von Hund was elected Prov. G.M., and the directing Grand Prior was De Royer, Lieut. of Police.

The same year Von Weiler organized the IIIrd. Province—Occitania—the chief seat of which was at Bordeaux. Here again Von Hund was elected Prov. G.M., so that he was now the nominal head of five Provinces, viz., VII., Germany; VIII., South Germany; V., Burgundy; II., Auvergne; III., Occitania. By slightly anticipating, we may here close the history of the French Provinces. For many reasons their open existence might have led to trouble. The unconcealed claim to revive the Order of the Temple was not without political danger in the land of its former persecution; their dependence upon a foreign potentate, Ferdinand of Brunswick, could not be viewed with equanimity by the State, nor their obedience to a foreign jurisdiction by the Grand Orient; they therefore entitled themselves simply Scots Directories, and after 1775 only gave the Templar degrees *historically,* that is, explained without conferring them. In 1776 they further managed to form a compact with the Grand Orient, which flattered the *amour propre* of the latter without materially increasing its power over their Lodges. To this, reference will again be made in the history of Freemasonry in France. In 1778 a congress of these three Provinces was held at Lyons, usually denominated the *Convent des Gaules,* at which it was decided, out of consideration for their French fellow subjects, to drop the name of Templars altogether, to alter the ritual and its whole significance, and in future to make the last degree a purely moral one under the title of Beneficent Knights of the Holy City. During the Revolution

the order disappeared for a time, but revived in the early years of this century as the *système rectifié*. In 1808 and 1809 Burgundy and Auvergne elected the G.M. of the Grand Orient, Prince Cambacères, as their Prov. G.M.; and on June 2, 1811, the Concordat of 1776 with the Grand Orient was renewed. During the succeeding twelve or fifteen years the rite died out almost entirely in France.

But these French Provinces had been organized on Von Hund's responsibility, and without the co-operation, nay, rather in spite of the hesitation of the Dresden Directory. A feeling of uncertainty with regard to the legality of Von Hund's authority was also abroad, and strong symptoms of dissatisfaction were evoked by the failure of the Clerics to confer the great benefits they had promised. A Convent was therefore held at Brunswick in 1775, which met on May 23, and lasted till July 6. Hund went through the old proceedings relative to his warrant of authority. Pressed to declare the name of the Knight of the Red Feather, he affirmed with tears in his eyes that he had sworn on his sword and his honor not to divulge it. He further volunteered the information that as the Stuarts had evidently for some time ceased to exert their power as head of the Order, or to take any interest in it, it would not be unadvisable to elect a new Grand Master. The Clerics persisted that the Order was more indebted to them than it believed, and refused to be hurried, and the new Provinces were formally admitted. The Directory was moved to Brunswick to suit the convenience of Ferdinand, its president; and officers were appointed to assist him. This really amounted to an autocracy of five brethren, because it was obviously impossible to continually summon the delegates from the end of Europe. The Convent dissolved with a general feeling of dissatisfaction, and with an evident desire to probe the Templar descent, the Grand Mastership of the Duke of Albany (Charles Edward, the young Pretender) and other matters to the bottom. This very determination paved the way for a fresh impostor—Gugumos—who was perhaps even more audacious than Johnson. The Brunswick Directory deputed Von Wächter to search out the truth. Wächter was born in 1746, practised the law at Stuttgart, held several court appointments in Saxe-Meiningen and Gotha, in 1779 was ennobled by the King of Denmark on the recommendation of the Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel, and at the time of the Revolution was Ambassador at Paris. On June 10, 1810, he was punished at Paris for dishonorable proceedings, degraded at Copenhagen, and deprived of the Danebrog-Order. After this he disappears from our view. According to one account he died in England; whilst another informs us that his death occurred at Stuttgart in 1825. Initiated—in all probability—during his university career at Tübingen, he joined the Strict Observance at Frankfort in 1774, and was present as a deputy from Stuttgart at the Brunswick Convent in 1775. He was at first a devoted believer in Gugumos, the new false prophet, of whom mention is about to be made, but in later years became one of his most energetic adversaries. Subsequently he was Chancellor of the VIIIth. Province, and on his return from Italy in 1778 became a leading light of the New or Gold Rosicrucians,[1]—his chief pupils in alchemy being, according to his own statements, which have every air of probability, Ferdinand of Brunswick, Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel, and the Crown Prince, afterwards King Frederick William II. of Prussia. He formally resigned the Strict Observance at the Wilhelmsbad Convent in 1782.

The Princes George and Ludwig of Hesse Darmstadt had also determined to make strict and extended inquiries on their own account, and undertook a long journey for that

[1] *Post*, p. 369.

purpose. In France they made the acquaintance of Gugumos, who accompanied them to Italy, and became a companion in their researches.

Of this adventurer's early life very little can be ascertained beyond what is disclosed by his own statement—about the very worst authority to which we could appeal! It is, however, almost demonstrable that he was not made a Mason until after 1773, and it is known that in 1746 he was in the service of the Margrave of Baden. He appeared at the Brunswick Convent, where he dropped mysterious hints of special knowledge, and awoke the curiosity of Von Raven and Von Wächter, both predisposed to alchemical studies. He immediately left for France, and travelled to Italy with the young princes, where he met Von Weiler, and where, according to Prince George, his demeanor curiously changed, and he became most preoccupied and mysterious: he also appeared to have suddenly become possessed of a well-lined purse, although formerly of very narrow means. He gradually disclosed to his intimates that the Strict Observance was an illusion; that the members were a *branch* only of the old Order, and that the founders had been taught the symbols merely—not the full knowledge; that the real head of the fully instructed branch lived at Cyprus as Patriarch of the Greek Church; that he himself was an important member of the body; and that its special knowledge comprised all the long-sought-for secrets of the alchemists. The rituals, clothing, jewels, etc., of the S. O. were incorrect and must be reformed; he was willing to instruct the brethren and to admit a few into the higher class; and would endeavour to obtain the permission of the Master of the Temple to disclose the secrets to those worthy of that confidence. The two princes and Wächter were initiated by him into the new rite.

On his return to Germany he issued an invitation on April 19, 1776, to a Convent at Wiesbaden. The Prince of Nassau-Usingen, himself a member of the S. O., gave his consent to the meeting because he foresaw no harm, and was not unwilling that his subjects should profit by the influx of strangers. A great deal of preliminary cross-examination of Gugumos was previously carried on by correspondence, and his letters are masterpieces of impudent self-assertion. Eventually the conference was formally inhibited by Ferdinand, but privately he deputed Schwartz to attend on his behalf. The Convent opened on August 15, 1776, and among others there were present the Prince of Nassau, sovereign of the country; the Duke of Gotha, the Landgraves Ludwig and George, and Wächter—the three last being already supporters of Gugumos—Bischoffswerder, Hymnen, Wöllner, Raven, Ropert, Gemmingen, all subsequently shining lights of the later or Gold Rosicrucians; and Von Lestwitz, who in 1764 had been appointed English Prov. G. M. of Brunswick, but joined the S. O. before organizing his Provincial Grand Lodge. With so many members tending towards the practice of the occult sciences it is not to be wondered at that Gugumos for some time had things his own way. He produced a wonderful patent of authority (too lengthy for insertion), and made a long and obscure speech. The Duke of Gotha was soon surfeited, and retired; many of the others submitted to be *rectified, i.e.*, re-initiated, paying dearly for their jewels and clothing—the jewels ultimately proved to be of pinchbeck; and others, although inclined to believe, had doubts, and insisted on an immediate trial of Gugumos' skill. Among these Rosskampf of Heilbronn deserves special mention. Gugumos at last declared that if the brethren would build the necessary *Adytum sacrum* he would meanwhile travel to Cyprus and fetch the essential altars and sacred implements, and on that understanding the Convent broke up on September 4, 1776. Gugumos retired to Frankfort, where, in spite of his philosopher's stone, he was

unable to pay the hotel bill; and meanwhile, his servant was closely interrogated by Rosskampf, who induced him to reveal the whole truth, and swear an affidavit naming the very student who had prepared Gugumos' papers, and the "armour-smith" who had manufactured his harness. Gugumos fled for a time to Holland, where he is said to have taken part in the Bavarian war of succession; and in 1780 published a circular stating that he had been deceived by false teachers (it is supposed he was persuaded to take this step by the Rosicrucians); and died at Munich in 1818 as Colonel on the Bavarian general staff.

On October 28, 1776, Von Hund died after an illness of twelve days at Meiningen. His estate, which had suffered largely during the seven years' war, had been still further reduced by his personal sacrifices for the welfare of the Order. This fact alone should suffice to bid us pause, before we follow the example so often set us, and stamp him as a charlatan and knave.

After his death a period of confusion ensued. According to the statutes in that case made and provided, certain high dignitaries in the Order should have ruled pending the appointment of a new Master, but their great distance from each other's residences made this difficult. Duke Ferdinand and his council, on their side, appear to have thought that the moment had arrived when they could gather up all the reins into their own hands. Even respecting Von Hund's official papers quarrels arose. These, Ferdinand wished to place in the Brunswick archives unopened, but others insisted on searching them in order to find some trace of the veritable Grand Master of the Order. This was done, but no sign of his existence was discovered, except that Von Hund evidently believed Charles Edward Stuart to be the man. In 1777 Von Wächter sought him out in Italy, when the Prince, to his dismay, declared he not only was not G. M. and knew nothing about it, but that he was not even a Freemason.[1] At this moment of suspense the brother of the King of Sweden presented himself as a candidate for Von Hund's office. The proposal at first held out many advantages. A Swedish Freemason, Von Plommenfeldt, had visited Ferdinand at Brunswick in 1776, and made the acquaintance of the chiefs of the S. O. Sweden, then as now, worked a peculiar system of its own, based upon the Templar descent theory, and a branch of it had been introduced into Germany by Zinnendorff, and constituted the most formidable, indeed almost the only rival of the Strict Observance. Mutual explanations were of course, exchanged; and Plommenfeldt assured the Germans that not only were the Swedes aware of and in communication with the veritable G. M., but also that in their higher degrees they preserved the true long-sought-for mysteries of the Order. Through Plommenfeldt the Directory hoped to make arrangements of a profitable character with Sweden, and to benefit at the expense of their rivals of the Grand National Lodge. But whilst these negotiations were in progress Von Hund died, and the Duke of Sudermania, Karl, brother of Gustavus III. of Sweden, seized the opportunity of acquiring control over the German brethren, and offered to accept the vacant office. He was already G. M. of the Grand Lodge of Sweden, and it appears probable that political motives were not unconnected with the proposal. Indeed the Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel did not scruple to oppose his candidature on those very grounds. Although therefore many brethren anticipated great results from the proposal, others advanced very strong arguments against it, and the Brunswick Directory acted entirely on its own responsibility in the subsequent stages of the proceedings. The

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Stuart, Karl Eduard.

Directory agreed to further the Duke's candidature provided Karl would cancel the warrant formerly granted to Zinnendorff, and thus render illegal the Grand National Lodge of Berlin—but with regard to this I shall enter into fuller detail in Chapter XXVI.

However, the Grand Lodge of Sweden declared—April 28 and July 29, 1777—that it had never constituted Lodges out of the kingdom nor granted Zinnendorff a patent, and therefore if he possessed such an authority it was of no value. A meeting of deputies was then arranged to take place at Hamburg; Sweden appointed Count Oxenstierna and Von Plommenfeldt, and the Directory deputed General Major Von Rhetz and Count Marschall; Schwartz attending on behalf of Prince Ferdinand.

The Hamburg Conference lasted from the 4th to the 16th July, 1777, the deputies exchanged rituals of the two systems, arranged a *modus vivendi*, and the Swedes produced the above Grand Lodge decree of April 28, 1777.

On July 26 the Directory informed the Order in general by a circular of the upshot of the negotiations. The information was by no means well received in all quarters, and a state of mutual recrimination followed, which I have not space to depict, and can only glance at the results.[1] After the Swedish deputies had paid a visit to Berlin, the Chapter there convoked a Convent—though of course not empowered to do so of its own authority—which was held at Leipsic, October 16 to 22, 1777. Only twelve Chapters attended, and all, with the exception of that of Dresden, agreed to ratify the Hamburg resolutions, and work for Karl's election.

At last a circular appeared on January 15, 1778, from the Vicars-general and the Directory, summoning a Convent of the Order.

This met at Wolfenbüttel, the country residence of Ferdinand, on July 15, 1778, but was not formally opened by him till the 28th, and closed on August 27. The proceedings at Leipsic were legalised; the statute forbidding the appointment of a prince of a reigning family to the office of Prov. G.M. was suspended; the Duke of Sudermania was elected; the act of union confirmed; and the ratification on the part of Sweden was to be forwarded before October 1. The act conferring protection on the Clerics was allowed to lapse, because they were desirous of withdrawing from the system. In all these years this branch had made no progress, had established no more Chapters, and had fulfilled none of its promises. The Clerics, Starck, Von Raven, and others, thus disappear from the scene, and little more is known of them. In Darmstadt they still possessed a Chapter in 1792, of which the Landgrave Christian was Prior; but it must have died out shortly afterwards. In fact the Clerics, in spite of the noise they made in the world, never had any real consistency. But this Convent also marked the turning point of the whole system, for the Chapters in Silesia and Berlin, *i.e.*, all the Lodges under the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes, declared their intention of retiring from the Strict Observance, and in future, of working only the Craft and the Scots degrees, still acknowledging, however, Duke Ferdinand as their Scots Grand Master; his nephew being at that time their Craft Grand Master. Another heavy blow was the solemn protest of the Danish Lodges against the election; those bodies having the most to fear from the political influence of Sweden. Other Chapters also protested on one ground or another, and even in Sweden the action of their own deputies was not fully ratified; the act of union especially being objected to, and another

[1] The materials exist for a tolerably complete history of the Strict Observance, and in the absence of any detailed work on the subject in English, fully deserves to be taken in hand by a competent writer.

one proposed to be substituted. This led to another meeting at Brunswick, August 24 to December 9, 1779, at which only deputies were present, and not *all* who were entitled to attend a Convent. The meeting is therefore known by the name of the Brunswick *Diet.* After interminable wrangles the Act of Union was replaced by a pact of amity and reciprocity; the Danish Lodges exempted from subservience to the Prov. G.M.; the Duke of Sudermania finally elected and installed by proxy; and the Landgrave Karl of Hesse elected as his coadjutor and eventual successor. In spite of all this the end of the Strict Observance was approaching. Its most enthusiastic supporters commenced to be wearied of its uselessness; the grand secrets had not yet been revealed; the G.M. persisted in preserving his *incognito;* the members asked, did he exist? were they Templars? etc. Sweden had not helped them as expected. The Rosicrucians were seducing their Lodges on one side; Bode on the other was scenting Jesuit intrigues in every phase of Freemasonry. Wächter came back rich (!) from Italy, and stated that the German Fraternity knew nothing, but that he had approached the true light; and even the Duke of Sudermania was disappointed because he found he could not rule the German Fraternity like his own Swedes.

On September 19, 1780, Ferdinand issued a summons for a new Convent, proposing the following questions for deliberation:—Is the Order only *conventionally*, or is it *actually* derived from some older Society, and if so, which? Are there really Unknown Superiors in existence, and if so, who are they? What are the aims and purposes of the Order? Can the restoration of the Order of the Temple be considered as such? How may the ritual and ceremonies be best arranged? Does the Order conceal any scientific knowledge? etc., etc. The crushing effects of such a blow delivered at such hands may be easily understood, and need no description! The Duke of Sudermania, on February 20, 1781, issued a decree forbidding this Congress:—he had not even been consulted on the project—and on April 20, 1781, he resigned his office. Ferdinand issued several other circulars preparatory to the Convent, which was more than once postponed. However, on July 16, 1782, it was at length opened at Wilhelmsbad, and lasted till September 1 following.

Several princes were present at this Convent—thirty-five deputies in all—and each of the five restored Provinces of the Order was represented. The IXth. Province—Sweden—was not, and in fact was looked upon as non-existent. Besides the actual members, emissaries from various contemporary systems introduced themselves. Some were merely heard as visitors; others claimed a voice in their capacity as Knights Templars. Thus the Eclectic Union of Frankfort, then springing into existence, appeared in the person of Ditfurth; the Illuminati in that of Knigge; the Rosicrucians in the delegates of the Berlin Scots Grand Lodge; and the Zinnendorff system in the deputies from Austria. The results of the Conference were a complete revolution. It was resolved and declared that the Freemasons were not the successors of the Templars, although connected with them; the playing at Knight Templars was to be discontinued, and a merely historial instruction substituted; the rituals were to be amended, and the last degree was to be called Knights of Beneficence—in fact the French system and rite—established at the *Convent des Gauls*, 1778, was adopted—but the Lodges were not to be forced to work the higher degrees in opposition to their own wishes. Ferdinand was elected Grand Master General of the allied Lodges. The rite was reformed in ritual and ceremonial, and consisted of the three degrees of the Craft, together with those of Scots Master, Novice, and Knight. The order of the Provinces was changed, and became as follows:—1. Lower Germany; II. Auvergne; III. Occitania; IV. Italy and Greece; V. Burgundy; VI. Upper Germany; VII. Austrian

possessions; VIII. and IX. were reserved for Russia and Sweden should they care to join. The Directory was removed to Weimar, because the reigning Duke of Brunswick was not a Mason, which might perhaps place the archives in danger.

The upshot of the whole affair was, that the system practically ceased to exist. The Grand Lodge of the Three Globes announced its intention of working the three English grades (of course with a superstructure of hermeticism); many other Lodges returned in practice to English Masonry; Italy in great part followed suit; the newly established Eclectic Union gained in strength; the Zinnendorff system seduced numbers of Lodges; and eventually only the three French Provinces and the Lodges in Denmark remained true to the new arrangement. Even Prince Karl of Hesse Cassel failed to assume (in Ferdinand's life-time) the position of Prov. G.M. of the 1st. Province, which belonged to him as coadjutor of the Duke of Sudermania on the resignation of the latter. On January 30, 1784, the Three Globes system formally declared its independence, and on December 31 notice was given of the re-establishment in Hamburg of the former English Prov. Grand Lodge, and the consequent refusal of all Lodges in that constitution to work anything else in future but English Craft Masonry. The Strict Observance was moribund; Ferdinand gradually withdrew himself more and more from its direction; soon there was nothing left to direct; and on July 3, 1792, the Prince died. His rich Masonic library and collections, and the entire archives of the Ist. (formerly VIIth) Province, came into the possession of the Landgrave Karl of Hesse in Schleswig. They are now in the Grand Lodge of Denmark at Copenhagen. According to a Cabinet decree of the King of Denmark, November 2, 1792, Karl became Grand Master of all Danish Lodges, and no others were recognized in the kingdom. There the system and rite established at Wilhelmsbad preserved a footing, but only in the first three degrees, and in the Scots degree, as the others gradually fell into disuse. Karl still considered himself Prov. G.M. of Germany, and in that capacity founded Lodges at Frankfort and Mayence, which, however, were not recognized by the other Lodges in those cities, and became the source of much bitterness. Karl died in 1836, and the Crown Prince of Denmark became Protector. The rite was not changed, so that in a mutilated form—the very name of Strict Observance or Knight Templar being almost forgotten—it *may* be said to have existed till 1855; but it would be more correct to say that it had been gradually supplanted by pure English Freemasonry, with an additional Scots degree. In 1855, however, the Protector, King Frederick VII., ordered the Swedish rite to be adopted. Thus perished the last lingering trace of this wonderful system—the French Directories, to all intents and purposes, having long since gradually disappeared—the description of which has occupied much more space than I desired to devote to it. In extenuation I must plead that for nearly a generation the history of the Strict Observance is also that of Freemasonry over a great part of the continent of Europe, and that fewer details would have left a very blurred image of the subject.

The term "Observantia Lata"—variously translated *Laxe Observanz, Observance Relachée,* and *Lax Observance*—was used by the disciples of Von Hund, to distinguish the other systems of Masonry from their own. Thus, the members of the English and Zinnendorff systems were regarded as of the *Lax,* and those of the Templar (their own) as of the *Strict,* Observance. Many writers, however, have fallen into the unaccountable error of calling the Lax Observance a *schism* established at Vienna in 1767—evidently confounding it with

the Spiritual Branch of the Templars, or Clerical Chapter (*Clerici Ordinis Templarii*), founded by Starck in that year.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE.

1739.	C. G. Marschall constituted the Lodge of the Three Hammers in Naumburg.
1742. March 20.	K. G. Von Hund initiated at Frankfort-on-the-Maine.
1743.	Von Hund, according to his own account, received the Templar degree in Paris.
1750 *circa.*	Marschall died. Succeeded as P.G.M. VIIth. Province by Von Hund.
1751 *circa.*	Von Hund erected the first Templar Chapter on his estate at Unwurde.
1753.	Von Hund reconstituted the Naumburg Lodge.
1763.	Johnson commenced his proceedings at Jena.
1764. May 26.	Convent at Altenburg; meeting of Johnson and Von Hund; exposure of Johnson and his flight; organisation of the Strict Observance; and commencement of Schubart's missionary efforts.
1765. Feb. 24.	Arrest and imprisonment of Johnson.
1766.	Promulgation of the financial plan.
Nov. 16.	Zinnendorff left the S. O. and founded the Swedish system in Germany.
1767. Feb. 17.	Starck and his colleagues instituted the Lodge of the Three Lions at Wismar, and on it founded the Clerical Chapter of the Order.
1768.	Schubart retired from the S. O.
1771. Jan. 15.	Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, joined the Strict Observance.
1772. Feb. 29.	Ultimatum of the Clerics.
June 4 to 24.	Convent at Kohlo. Reorganization of Order; Directory of Dresden established; financial plan renounced; pact with the Clerics; Ferdinand elected *Magnus Superior Ordinis.*
1772.	VIIIth. Province—South Germany and Italy—constituted; Von Hund Prov. G.M. Von Weiler undertook a mission to France and Switzerland.
1772.	Vth. Province—Burgundy—organised; Von Hund Prov. G.M.
1774.	IInd. Province — Albernia — organised; Von Hund Prov. G.M. IIIrd. Province—Occitania — organised; Von Hund Prov. G.M. The IInd. IIIrd., and Vth. Provinces assume the title of Scots Directories.
1775. May 13.	Death of Johnson.
May 23 to July 6.	Convent at Brunswick. Directory removed to Brunswick; first mysterious appearance and hints of Gugumos; Wächter started on his mission.
1776.	French Directories entered into a Concordat with the G. O. of France.
1776.	Von Plommenfeldt's visit to Duke Ferdinand at Brunswick.
1776. April 19.	Gugumos issued an invitation to a Convent at Weisbaden.
Aug. 15 to Sep. 4.	Convent at Weisbaden. Gugumos' pretensions and exposure.
Oct. 28.	Death of Von Hund at Meiningen.
1777.	Charles Edward Stuart repudiated any connection with Freemasonry.
1777.	Candidature of Prince Karl of Sweden, Duke of Sudermania, for the vacant post of Prov. G.M.
April 8.	Baron von Durckheim elected Prov. G.M. of Vth. Province —Burgundy.
April 28.	Grand Lodge of Sweden repudiates Zinnendorff and his doings.
July 4 to 16.	Conference at Hamburg. Karl's candidature accepted.
Oct. 16 to 22.	Convent at Leipsic (informal). Karl's candidature approved.
1778.	Convent of the Gauls at Lyons; French Directories modified the system.
J'ly 15 to A'g. 27.	Convent at Wolfenbüttel. Prince Karl of Sweden



Very Truly Yours.
Geo. W. Moulton

Gd.·. Con.·. of the Gd.·. Council, and Gd.·. Standard Bearer of K.·. T.·. of Illinois,
President of the Illinois Masonic Orphans Home.

	elected Prov. G.M.; departure of the Clerics; dissent of the "Three Globes" and Daughter Lodges.
1779. Aug. 24 to Dec. 9.	Diet of Brunswick. Prince Karl of Sweden installed per proxy, and Landgrave Karl of Hesse Cassel elected co-adjutor.
1780. Sept. 19.	Ferdinand issued his celebrated circular and summoned a Convent.
1781. Feb. 20.	Prince Karl of Sweden forbade the Convent to meet.
April 20.	Prince Karl of Sweden abdicated.
1782. July 16 to Sept. 1.	Convent at Wilhelmsbad. The system and rite reorganised and the French modification adopted; Ferdinand elected Grand Master General; numeration of Provinces altered; Directory removed to Weimar.
1784. Jan. 30.	The system of the "Three Globes" severed all further connection with S. O.
Dec. 31.	The Hamburg Lodges followed suit.
1792.	Last traces of the Clerics.
July 3.	Prince Ferdinand expired, and the system lapsed except in Denmark and France.
Nov. 2.	Prince Karl of Hesse appointed G.M. of Denmark by Royal decree.
1808-9.	French Directories elected Cambacères, G.M. of the Grand Orient of France, as their Prov. G.M.
1811.	French Directories renewed Concordat with Grand Orient, gradually almost dying out. A small remnant still professed to work the "Rite Rectifié" under the control of the Grand Orient.
1836.	Prince Karl of Hesse died.
1855	Danish Lodges adopted the Swedish rite, and thus extinguished the last feeble spark of the Strict Observance.

The New or Gold Rosicrucians.[1]

This association, which invaded, and for some twenty years perverted Freemasonry—(1770-1790 *circa*)—must not be confounded with the *Rose Croix* grade found in so many systems of *Ineffable* (*?*) Masonry, neither is there any strong reason to connect its first beginnings with the isolated adepts or small coteries of alchemists who existed (especially in South Germany) both before and after that time. It is more probable that at first some few dabblers in hermeticism failing to transmute the details into gold according to the rules of the art, decided to procure in a still less legitimate, but more practical manner, a transfer of the latter into their own pockets from those of their victims. The movement arose in South Germany about the year 1756. Mysterious hints were thrown out, and unfortunately among the first to be deluded were some enthusiastic and well-meaning Freemasons. Gradually the plan grew more detailed. Grades were manufactured, initiatory ceremonies invented, fees established, and a widely reaching system developed. Each new Brother knew only his "Master;" in return for his hard cash he received foolish chemical formulæ. If his own knowledge led him to hint at their worthlessness, he was told to be less forward and behave himself properly, and like a good child, ask no questions. Occasionally he was advanced a degree, perhaps became the head of a circle, and if of no

[1] Authorities consulted:—C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurerischer Systeme, Berlin, 1879, pp. 505-553; Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Rosenkreuz, Schlegel, Ecker, Raven, Röpert, Schröder, F.J.W.; Schroeder, C. N. von; Schrepfer, Bischofswerder, Brenckendorf, Frohlich, Kurland, Herzog, Karl von; Bosc, F. du; Braunschweig (Brunswick), Prinz Fried. August; Wurmb, Lestwitz, Freidrich Wilhelm II. (of Prussia) [these and other princes, as also many highly placed officials and statesmen, some few of whom are mentioned above, belonged to this absurd system]; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th German edit., pp. 123-128, 392-399.

further use, was never raised any higher, so that he could not say that the pretended knowledge of the "Unknown Fathers" was a fraud. If too importunate, his superiors ceased to answer his letters. In the slang of the system "he lost his Father." If he showed himself unscrupulous as well as importunate, he was admitted behind the scenes, and helped to swindle others. Absolute obedience in all things was enjoined. There is much reason to believe that at a very early stage the Jesuits joined in the scheme. Certain it is, that the whole plan of operations was directed to foster superstition and the subjection of the human intelligence. Hence the enmity of these Rosicrucians towards the Illuminati of Bavaria—the sworn foes, the conscious imitators, of the school of Loyola.

The Rosicrucians of course gave out that they had been the originators of Freemasonry; that the Craft was designed as a nursery for adepts; that in the higher degrees the symbols would receive their true interpretation, and so on; that ultimately the true adept would not only be able to make gold, brew the elixir of life, command spirits white, black, and grey, but would absolutely incorporate himself with God, and partake of the knowledge, prescience, and power of the Deity. Every ten years the Fathers were supposed to meet and decide what was to be revealed during the following decade. Unfortunately the times were propitious, alchemy was still believed in, mesmerism was at its height, and the Templar descent theory was commencing to prove unsatisfactory. Hundreds of the best men in Germany were deluded into joining, and scores of the worst. Some of each class were disappointed, but some were buoyed up even unto the end. Those of the first class retired in grief or disgust; those of the second—from being pigeons became rooks. Yet a third class, without actually sharing the pecuniary spoils, worked the system to secure influence with the princes of Europe, and thus provide good posts for themselves and friends. Wöllner, of whom more anon, was apparently one of this class, although most writers give him a still worse reputation.

The first active apostle of this system was J. G. Schrepfer, an ex-hussar, of good manners and boundless imprudence, but without education, and possessed of a violent temper. In 1768 he opened a coffee-house in Leipsic; in 1772 held a Scots Lodge at his house, and based on it the Rosicrucian degrees. His *forte* was "calling spirits from the vasty deep," and they came. Their appearance was most realistic, so much so, that shortly previous to Mrs. Schrepfer becoming a mother, the materialised spirit was observed to be in a decidedly interesting condition. Schrepfer and his doings were treated with contumely by the Minerva Lodge of Leipsic, and Schrepfer, in his arrogance, insulted the Lodge. Now Prince Karl, Duke of Courland, was a member of the Lodge, and a highly placed military officer withal. He caused Schrepfer to be conducted to the guard-house and soundly cudgelled, taking a stamped receipt for the punishment—which was printed in the newspapers. But in 1773 both the Duke and his friend Bischofswerder became converts, and the Duke and the Seer were in the habit of promenading the open places arm in arm. In spite of his successes, however, Schrepfer spent his money too freely to become rich; he quarrelled once more with the Lodge; a judicial inquiry by the members threatened exposure; and on October 8, 1774, he gave his last *séance;* invited the brethren to dinner; took a walk with them in the woods in the cool of the day, stepped aside and blew out his brains.

C. N. von Schröder (not to be confounded with F. L. Schroeder) joined in 1773, and through him the Lodges in Russia and Poland were corrupted. As he was never advanced to the highest degrees, we must regard him as having been more dupe than knave.

In 1777 the system obtained a footing in Prussia. Bischofswerder was a companion in arms of the Crown Prince Frederick William, and obtained for Wöllner in 1782 the position of political teacher to the Prince. At the same time he made a Rosicrucian of him. Wöllner, who was "Scots Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Three Globes," became the head of the movement in North Germany, and through his exertions the whole system of the Three Globes was won over to the new cause. He even induced the Crown Prince to become a Rosicrucian, to the immense delight of the sect.

But the end was not to be avoided. From 1785 complaints of bad faith grew louder, and invaded the public prints. Schröder rode post from St. Petersburg to Wöllner in Berlin, in order to procure some elixir for the Rosicrucian Schwarz, who was "sick unto death." After much delay he obtained a precious bottle and posted back. Schwarz was dead without the medicine, but some animals to which it was administered died from its effects, and an analysis proved that the smallest dose must inevitably be fatal to human life. The results were published by the indignant Schröder, and helped to swell the storm of general dissatisfaction. The leaders published a circular advising all brothers to wait for the next general meeting in 1787—but that never took place—for the "Unknown Fathers," seeing "*le commencement de la fin*," ordered a general *silanum* or cession of work, which immediately took effect in South Germany. Frederick William II.—who had meanwhile ascended the throne—and Wöllner contrived to prop up the decaying edifice for a time in the Prussian States, but it gradually succumbed to destiny, and disappeared entirely after the king's death in 1797.

The Scots Philosophic Rite.[1]

From 1740 onwards there existed at Avignon, capital of the department Vaucluse, a school or rather many schools of Hermeticism, working in some cases under Masonic forms on the basis of the Craft degrees, with an intermediate structure of so-called Scots degrees. The head of the movement was apparently Dom. Ant. Jos. de Pernety (1716-1801), a Benedictine monk, alchemist, and mystic. Later on—1787—the Polish Starost Gabrianca, founder of the Illuminati of Avignon, added Martinist and Swedenborgian philosophy. Among the many rites which originated here may be mentioned the *Elus Coens, Illuminés du Zodiaque, Frères noirs*, etc. Of most importance to French Freemasonry was the "Mother-Lodge du Comtat Venaissin," the date of constitution of which I have been unable to ascertain. About the year 1766 this Mother-Lodge worked the following extra degrees: —4°, True Mason; 5°, True Mason on the Right Road; 6°, Knight of the Golden Key; 7°, Knight of Iris; 8°, Knight Argonaut; 9°, Knight of the Golden Fleece. On July 22, 1757, the Archbishop issued a mandate against the whole system; and on February 3, 1775, the Inquisitor P. Mabille, himself a Freemason (so it is said), surprised the Mother-Lodge with an armed following and forced its dissolution.

A Lodge existed in Paris under the name of Saint Lazarus, which had been constituted

[1] Authorities consulted :—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, Leipsic, 1863-79, *s.v.* Avignon, Boileau, Contrat social, Hermetisches System, Pernety, Schottisch-Philosophischer Ritus ; C. A. Thory, Annales originis magni Galliarum O., Paris, 1812, pp. 163 171 ; C. A. Thory, Acta Latomorum, Paris, 1815, vol. i., pp. 120, 128, 135, 139, 143, 149, 151, 156, 159, 165, 171, 175, 180, 187, 208, 220, 226, 230, 233, 237, 241, 245, 248, 252, 256, 259 ; Georg Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, Darmstadt, 1852, vol. i., pp. 207, 229-233, 274, 275, 278, 317, 362-368 ; A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient de France, Paris and Rennes, 1865, pp. 163, 221-228.

by the Grand Lodge of France on May 30, 1766, and founded by Lazare Phil. Bruneteau. On April 2, 1776, this Lodge constituted itself the "Mother-Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite in France," changing its title to "Social Contract." On May 5, 1776, it was installed as such by commissioners from the "Scots Mother-Lodge du Comtat Venaissin," which on August 18 amalgamated with the *Contrat Social;* thus the Mother-Lodge, broken up at Avignon, revived in the bosom of a Paris Lodge, founded by the Grand Lodge of France, and since 1772 owing allegiance to the Grand Orient.

The "Social Contract" apprised the Grand Orient of its new departure, but for years the latter refused to recognise it as a Mother-Lodge, *i.e.*, a Lodge with power to constitute others, and erased it from the roll. The history of the negotiations belongs to that of the Grand Orient, and it will be sufficient to state here, that in 1781 a Concordat was agreed to, which reinstated the Social Contract as a daughter of the G. O. in regard to the three degrees proper of Freemasonry, but which left it sole control over the Scots Hermetic grades. It was prohibited from warranting Lodges within the jurisdiction of the G. O., but permitted to do so elsewhere, and to affiliate to itself French Lodges already in existence, and to endow them with Chapters, Tribunals, etc., etc. This was practically a victory for the Philosophic Rite.

I shall now give a short summary of its subsequent history.

1776. December 27.—It elected as G.M. the Marquis de la Rochefoucault-Bayers, Baron Bromer being chosen Dep. G.M.

1777. February 20.—Its Grand Chapter prohibited all affiliated Lodges from working the Templar degrees.

1777. December 26.—It convened the first Philosophic Convent. At these assemblies, Masons of all rites were allowed to be present, and to take part in the discussions. The subjects ranged through the whole field of Masonic and archæological research—art, science, alchemy, and social economy, etc.,—and are acknowledged by all writers to have done very much to raise the tone of Freemasonry in France. Papers were read and discussed by the first men of the age, and many of the most celebrated names in the literature of the Craft may be recognised amongst those of the contributors to the proceedings. For example, and quoting almost at random, Count de Gebelin, Dr Boileau, C. A. Thory, and Alex. Lenoir—not to mention other eminent literary characters—were members of this rite. Convents were held in 1778, 1779, 1780, 1782, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1788, 1789, 1812.

1779. June 19.—A building and a plot of land in the Rue Coquéron was purchased by the rite—and on August 16, it affiliated the notorious Paul Jones.

1780. October 4.—M. de Montausier was granted a patent to establish the Philosophic Rite in St. Domingo and the French islands.

1783. March 12.—There was a "meeting in the symbolical degrees to initiate François Frist, military veteran, age 103 years (?)."

October 17.—Dr Boileau, claiming to be National Grand Superior of the Lodges and Chapters of the Scots Philosophic Rite in France, instituted the Supreme Tribunal and various suffragan Tribunals. The members bore the title of Grand Inspector Commander, and their duty was to supervise the dogma and supreme administration of the Rite. There is much doubt about the validity of Boileau's patent, as it is impossible to conceive who possessed the right to grant it, but inasmuch as he transferred all his rights of National Grand Superior to the Dep. G.M. of the system, I am inclined to believe that it was manufactured for the occasion. During the existence of this rite seven Tribunals were erected, but after 1814 those of Antwerp and Brussels of course ceased to be French.

1783. December 27.—M. Dubuissonnais presented the Grand Metropolitan Chapter with the sword used by the Count de Clermont when presiding over the Grand Lodge.

1785. July 20.—It refused to recognize Cagliostro's Egyptian Rite.

1786. December 24.—The Viscount de Gand was elected G.M.

1788. March 10.—C. A. Thory (born 1759; died 1827) was appointed Grand Librarian. The library of this Grand Lodge was at that time one of the finest in existence. In 1789 it was partly pillaged, but the missing documents were subsequently recovered. In 1806 Thory enriched it with the most valuable of the works formerly belonging to the library of the *Philalethes,* Lodge of the *Amis Réunis,* dispersed during the Revolution. On the extinction of the Philosophic Rite this grand collection remained in Thory's custody, and at his death passed to Dr. Charles Morrison of Greenfield, whose widow presented it—upwards of 2000 volumes—to the Grand Lodge of Scotland in 1849.[1] It is, however, possible that even these 2000 volumes do not comprise the whole collection; as in 1860 and 1863 sales were advertised in Paris purporting to be from the library of the *Contrat Social?*

December 13.—Francis, Lord Elcho—Grand Master of Scotland, Nov. 30, 1786, to Dec. 1, 1788—received the Philosophic degrees in the Grand Metropolitan Chapter.

1791. July 31.—Outbreak of the Revolution. The Mother-Lodge resolved to suspend work, and invited her daughters to follow her example. From subsequent statements it appears that the Grand Chapter did not dissolve.

1801. June 28.—The members of the Social Contract having been dispersed by the Revolution, the position of Mother-Lodge devolved by the statutes on the next oldest Lodge of the system in the capital, and failing this on the senior Lodge of the provinces. It will be perceived that this rule acted as a preventive of any possible fusion of the Rite with any other system, because the creative power remained unimpaired so long as a single Lodge withheld its adhesion. The Senior Lodge in Paris belonging to this system was constituted by the Grand Lodge of France May 19, 1777, under the title "St Charles of Triumph and Perfect Harmony of St Alexander of Scotland;" and the warrant was made out to the Chevallier Delamacque, Perpetual Master—a proprietary Lodge. At the time of affiliating with the Philosophic Rite—1782—it changed its name to St. Alexander of Scotland simply. In 1801 it became the Mother-Lodge, and in 1805 the remnant of the Social Contract united with it. The Grand Chapter and Grand Tribunal of course attached themselves to the new Mother.

1807. March 4.—Prince Cambacères, G.M. of the Grand Orient, was also elected G.M. of the Philosophic Rite.

1808. November 24.—C. A. Thory in the chair. Askeri-Khan, ambassador of the Shah of Persia, was initiated, and presented the Lodge with a sword which had served him in twenty-seven battles.

1809. November 23.—The Mother-Lodge acquired a curious collection of Indian idols formerly belonging to the Baron de Horn, then lately deceased.

In 1815 Thory gives the following list of its degrees:—4°, Perfect Master; 5°, Select Philosophic Knight; 7°, Grand Scots Mason; 8°, Knight of the Sun; 9°, Knight of the Luminous Ring; 10°, Knight of the Black and White Eagle; 11°, Grand Inspector Commander. Clavel in 1843 gives a yet more extended list, but inasmuch as the Rite had ceased to exist at that time, we must accept Thory as the more competent authority.

[1] Lyon, History of the Lodge of Edinburgh, p. 403. *Cf.* Freemason, November 22, 1884.

Its calendar of 1818 (the last) shows 76 Lodges warranted or affiliated to the system between 1776 and the last in 1814, besides the Chapters and Tribunals. But at this time, and in spite of the exertions of Thory, the rivalry of the 33 degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite appears to have overwhelmed it. Its last Lodge was warranted in 1814. In the same year the Grand Chapter met for the last time. Its last public act appears to have been the issuing of a Calendar in 1818, and in 1826 it had ceased to exist. In spite of its theosophic and hermetic degrees, the Philosophic Rite merits our admiration for the high tone of its literary labours and the quality of its membership.

The Philalethes, or Searchers for Truth, and the Philadelphians, or Primitive Rite of Narbonne.[1]

The multiplicity and confusion of rites and systems in France and throughout the continent of Europe gave rise *circa* 1770 to a curious effort to probe their value, the outcome of which was an apparently new combination of degrees under the above titles. The Paris Lodge of the "*Amis Réunis*" was constituted April 23, 1771, and shortly afterwards directed a commission of its members to draw up a plan of operations to assist them in ascertaining the truth. This plan was ready in 1775, from which date the Lodge took the title of Philalethes or Searchers for Truth. Their system comprised twelve classes, to each of which a ceremony of admission was attached. The first three classes consisted of the three degrees of Freemasonry; the 12th and last was called Master of all Grades. But the brethren refused to recognise the last nine classes as degrees; they were merely societies for the study of all known Masonic degrees, and their object was to establish Freemasonry on a clear and sound basis. That the higher classes became ultimately tinged with a pronounced touch of alchemy, theosophy, Martinism, and Swedenborgianism, must be ascribed to the tendencies of the times, not to the intentions of the founders. Among the prominent members may be mentioned Count de Gebelin, the Landgrave Frederick Louis of Hesse Darmstadt, Baron Gleichen, Count Stroganoff, Tassen de l'Etang, Willermoz, and above all Savalette de Langes, Keeper of the Royal Treasure, and life and soul of the whole movement. In the course of a few years the Lodge affiliated upwards of twenty Lodges and Chapters to its system, and formed a remarkable library of works especially rich in rituals and hermetic writings.

In 1780 a somewhat similar society was formed at Narbonne, which took the name of Philadelphians, Lodge and Chapter of the Primitive Rite. It was established by a Chevalier Pen, "Grand Officier de l'Orient des *free and accepted Masons*," in the name of the "Supérieurs généraux majeurs et mineurs de l'ordre des *free and accepted Masons*." Who Pen was, whence he obtained his wonderful title and authority, are unknown; but from the use of English words in the above designation, it is reasonable to conclude that he represented his authority as derived from some supposed English body. The Narbonne brethren divided their system into three classes, comprising all the known degrees. They were unattached to any Grand Orient, and founded no subordinate or

[1] Authorities consulted :—Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Narbonne, Philadelphen, Philalethen, Convente der P. ; C. A. Thory, Annales Originis, etc., pp., 191-196; G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 263-265, 270, 271, 312-315 ; Em. Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 74, 79 ; Mackey, Woodford, Mackenzie, *s.v.* Philadelphes, Philalethes ; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th German edit., Leipsic, 1878, pp. 307, 308.

daughter Lodges. In 1784 they concluded a Concordat with the Philalethes of Paris, which declared that the two systems followed the same object under similar although not identical forms.

In 1784 the Philalethes issued invitations to a Masonic Convent in Paris. One hundred and twenty-eight prominent Masons—of whom only 28 belonged to their own system—were invited to appear and return answers to ten questions of Masonic interest. The Convent lasted from February 15 to May 26, under the presidency of Savalette de Langes, without, however, much furthering the object in view. From March 8 to May 26, 1787, a second and equally fruitless Convent to answer thirteen questions was held. From this time the system appears to have become contaminated with tendencies towards magic, etc., and to have lost its pristine vigour. We hear of it again in 1792, at which date De Langes was still alive. After his death Roëttiers de Montaleau, one of the foremost Masons of France, vainly endeavoured to galvanise it into fresh life. The French Revolution utterly dispersed its members, and their splendid library was destroyed. In 1806 a large number of its more valuable books and manuscripts were discovered by Thory, and purchased for the Mother-Lodge of the Scots Philosophic Rite.

The Narbonne Philadelphians survived the Revolution, and in 1806 affiliated with the Grand Orient. From that date the Rite ceased to be worked. The Lodge itself was still in existence in 1810, but is now extinct.

The Illuminati.[1]

The secret society of the Illuminati of Bavaria is connected with the Masonic Brotherhood by the feeblest thread imaginable. Nevertheless I am forced to devote valuable space to the consideration of its history, because its suppression entailed the extinction of Freemasonry throughout Bavaria and a great part of Southern Germany, a blow from which, after the lapse of a century, the Fraternity has not yet recovered.

Professor Adam Weishaupt was born at the university town of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, February 6, 1748. He attended the schools there, which were directed by the Jesuits—expelled in 1773—but instead of becoming their disciple acquired a bitter hatred of the Order and of its aims. In 1772 and 1775 he was appointed to important chairs in the university in place of his former teachers, and this fact, together with his well-known disapproval of their doctrines, earned him the implacable enmity of the followers of Loyola, to whose intrigues he was incessantly exposed. He then conceived the idea of combating his foes with their own weapons, and forming a society of young men, enthusiastic in the cause of humanity, who should gradually be trained to work as one man to one end—the destruction of evil and the enhancement of good in this world. Unfortunately he had uncon-

[1] Authorities consulted :—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Bronner, Bode, Costanzo, Ditfurth, Illuminaten, Knigge, Kustner, Weishaupt, Zwackh, etc., etc. ; Mackey, Woodford, Mackenzie—*s.v.* Illuminati [Woodford's article—under the above title (Kenning's Cyclo.), is a model of its kind, though in the conclusions at which he arrives I am unable to concur] ; C. C. F. W. von Nettelbladt, Geschichte Freimaurereischer Systeme, Berlin, 1879, p. 733 *et seq.* ; J. G. Findel, Geschichte der Freimaurerei, 4th German edit., Leipsic, 1878, p. 443 *et seq.* [a most concise and clear exposition of the subject, the best summary with which I am acquainted]; Karl Paul, Annalen des Eklektischen Freimaurerbundes, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1883, pp. 7, 226 ; C. A. Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., pp. 122, 130, 173 ; Professor Robison, Proofs of a Conspiracy, etc., 1797, pp. 100-271 ; W. Preston, Illustrations of Masonry, 12th edit., 1812, p. 334 *et seq.* ; W. Keller, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Deutschland, 2d edit., Giessen, 1859, p. 187 *et seq.*

sciously imbibed that most pernicious doctrine that the end justifies the means, and his whole plan reveals the effects of his youthful teaching. His disciples were to be gradually prepared for the great work, and those who were deemed fit to be admitted. Each novice knew none of his companions, but only his immediate teacher. After the proper schooling he was advanced a step, and learned to know others, till he himself became a teacher. Throughout the whole system a course of *espionage* prevailed,—each member reported on the others to his immediate superior, who reported again higher up; oral and written confession to one's superior was inculcated; and finally all the threads converged in Weishaupt's own hands. He subsequently confessed that he had determined to use the weapons of his enemies, but which, unlike them, he meant to employ for good purposes only; and does not appear to have foreseen that he was creating an *imperium in imperio* —a most dangerous secret society—which, had it increased, might have been as great a foe to all good government as the Jesuits themselves, an engine which he was not personally strong enough to direct, whereas if the control fell into the hands of unscrupulous leaders, its effects were bound to be inexpressibly mischievous. The man himself was without guile, ignorant of men, knowing them only by books, a learned professor, an enthusiast who took a wrong course in all innocence, and the faults of his head have been heavily visited upon his memory in spite of the rare qualities of his heart.

The first members of the new society were enrolled May 1, 1766, and at that time none of them were Freemasons, although Weishaupt confesses that he had conceived a very high estimate of the Craft. In the early part of 1777, however, he was initiated in a Strict Observance Lodge in Munich—Lodge of Caution—and it is therefore not surprising to find that he afterwards destined the Craft to play a very subordinate *rôle* in his system. One of his followers, Franz Xaver von Zwackh—initiated November 27, 1788—is said to have proposed to utilise Freemasonry, to which Weishaupt agreed, arranging that all the Areopagites or leaders of divisions in the first series should pass through the degrees of the Craft, and if capable be further initiated in the so-called Scots degree. For those who proved unworthy of further trust this was to be the end. They were not to be allowed to suspect any further development. The elect, however, were to pass on into the directing degrees. So far, the operations had been confined to Southern and Roman Catholic Germany; but in 1780 the Marquis Costanzo von Costanzo, a Privy Councillor of Karl Theodore, Elector of Bavaria, was deputed to carry the propaganda into North Germany. In Frankfort he made the acquaintance of the Baron von Knigge—a Saxe-Weimar Privy Councillor, a celebrated novelist and a lovable enthusiast, who was gifted with a most ingratiating address (born 1752; died 1796). Knigge was initiated at Cassel in 1772, and received the high Templar degrees in 1779, which he found disappointing. Costanzo revealed the existence of the Illuminati to him, and he entered heart and soul into the spirit of the project. It is remarkable that all the prominent members of this association were estimable men, both in public and private life. Knigge was under the impression that the society was of some standing, and not the creation of yesterday. His enthusiasm made converts in every direction of the better class of Masons, who were rapidly becoming tired of the Strict Observance and its aimless pursuits. These converts, after some time, naturally demanded of Knigge the rituals, etc., of the new Freemasonry, and he then found, to his consternation, that Weishaupt had so far only perfected the Minerval degrees, or those preparatory to the Craft which, as above said, was to act as a filter and reservoir for the advanced degrees. Weishaupt had, however, made a large collection of materials

which he unreservedly placed in Knigge's hands for elaboration. Knigge worked at these, and meanwhile at the Wilhelmsbad Congress made another important convert of Bode, of whom I shall have something to say in another connection. The rituals completed, Weishaupt and Knigge quarrelled over the details, and the consequent retirement of the latter in 1784 was the first deadly blow to the organization. At this time the system was arranged as follows:—

A. Nursery.—1°, Preparatory Literary Essay; 2°, Novitiate; 3°, Minerval Degree; 4°, Minor Illuminatus; 5°, Magistratus.

B. Symbolic Masonry.—1°, Apprentice; 2°, Fellow Craft; 3°, Master; 4°, Scots—divided into Major Illuminatus and Directing Illuminatus.

C. Mysteries.—1°, Lesser; *a.*, Priest; *b.*, Prince; 2°, Greater; *a.*, Magus; *b.*, Rex (these latter were never completed).

By this time the association had created a great stir. The Masonic Rosicrucians and the suppressed Jesuits made open war upon it in public print, and by private intrigue. The good intentions of the leaders were skillfully repressed; the dangerous organization of the society was as skillfully revealed. The first mutterings of the ominous thunder cloud of Revolution were already making themselves heard across the French frontier, and statesmen were fully justified in dispersing the society of the Illuminati, although all its enemies' accusations of revolutionary tendencies may be confidently and absolutely disbelieved. A rejected candidate, Strobl, a publisher, printed a pamphlet in 1783 denouncing the society; the Lodge of the Three Globes issued a circular warning Masons against it in the same year; and several professors and men of learning, who had seen the impracticability and danger of the scheme, publicly recanted about the same time. On June 22, 1784, an Electoral edict suppressed not only the Illuminati, but likewise all Freemasonry throughout Bavaria. Both Masons and Illuminati obeyed, and even offered to produce all their papers as a proof of innocence. They were not afforded the opportunity of clearing themselves. A second edict followed, March 2, 1785, although it is an historical fact that both societies had scrupulously obeyed the first. Then followed an era of persecution; the unfortunate accused were denied the privilege of trial, and, with the exception of those very highly placed, languished for years in prison. Weishaupt was forced to fly, leaving his wife in childbed, and took refuge with Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Gotha, a Freemason, to whom he became Councillor, dying in 1830. Costanzo was cashiered and exiled to Italy; Zwackh fled. The Illuminati ceased to exist, and with them Freemasonry in the South of Germany. This is the only reason which renders them of interest to us. Their influence, such as it was, came to an end, and no trace of it ever reappeared. But this influence must not be too highly appraised. No writer claims a larger membership than 2000 for the society. On its roll, however, there were some of the greatest names of the age, though its whole existence extended over less than ten years.

The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°.[1]

In dealing with this, the most important rival of the Craft, except in Anglo-Saxon

[1] Authorities consulted:—Handbuch, *s.v.* Schottischer Ritus; Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 443-545. G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 408-476, 547-576; vol. ii., pp. 6-10, 14, 39, 57-122, 133-144, 156-160, 179-182, 226-244, 325-330, 385-390; J. G. Findel, Gesch. der Freim., pp. 321-328, 331-348, 366; Thory, Annales Originis, pp. 121-127, 140-162; Jouast, Hist. du G. Orient, pp. 261-328, 351-368, 386-409, 453-464; Nettelbladt, Gesch. Freim. Systeme, pp. 169 *et seq.*; Pyron, Abregé historique, etc., des 33 degrés du rit, etc., etc., Paris, 1814 [published anonymously].

countries, where it perforce contents itself with the modified position of a supplement to Freemasonry, it will be necessary to devote more space to the consideration of its history than I have thought requisite to a due comprehension of most of the other systems. I purpose in this section to enter at full length into those matters only which are pertinent to the Rite itself, and merely to glance at those other circumstances which bring it into close connection with the governing body of the Craft in France. The latter, however, will be detailed with some fulness in the ensuing chapter.

Its first appearance in Europe was in 1804, and the scene of its early struggle and rise into notice was Paris. At that time Paris—and France—literally swarmed with systems[1] of so-called Scots Masonry, all differing from one another—some claiming and exercising the right of warranting Lodges under the Grand Orient and merely governing the supplementary degrees—with widely diverging rites, rituals, and dogmas, but all at one in arrogating for their members a superiority over the simple Master Mason. Curiously enough, the high officials of one system frequently held posts of equal dignity in the other and rival systems, as well as in the Grand Orient itself. At this propitious moment appeared the Count De Grasse-Tilly, claiming to be the sovereign of a new Scots rite, founded upon one of the oldest and most important rites of the preceding century. Arrogating to himself an unlimited power and authority over every person and thing connected with Masonry, offering an imposing series of thirty-three degrees, and boldly attacking the Grand Orient or common enemy, he at once succeeded in rallying to his support every class of Scots Dissenters, who proceeded without delay and without renouncing their previous rites to acquire fresh light at the new source. This will sufficiently explain the cause of Tilly's wonderful success.

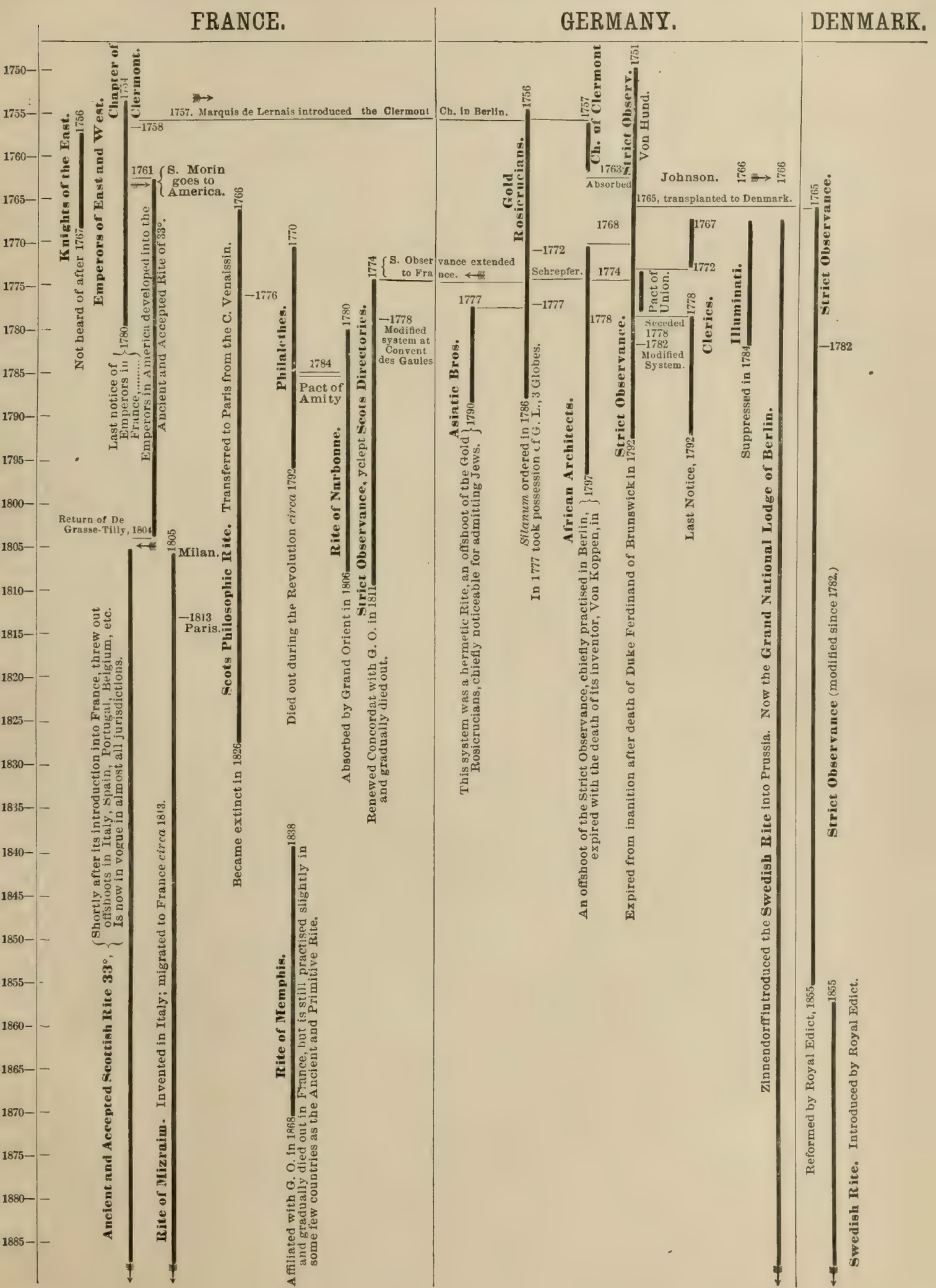
De Grasse-Tilly—son of the celebrated Admiral de Grasse—was a landed proprietor (or planter) in St. Domingo, and had long resided in North America, where he received the high degrees. On the eve of returning to St. Domingo with the intention of propagating these ceremonies in that island, it cast off the French yoke, and his project had to be abandoned. He therefore went to Paris instead, armed with all the authority of the 33°, where he found some other high and mighty Masons from the West who had arrived there before him, and among others Hacquet—appointed a Grand Inspector-General of the 25°, or Princes of the Royal Secret, by a New York Grand Body—*i.e.*, Hacquet still worked the original rite of 25 degrees of the Emperors, which in Charlestown had grown to the 33 degrees of the A. and A.S.R. Hacquet had founded on the Paris Lodge of the "Triple Union and Phœnix," a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret 25°. He supported Tilly, but refused to enter into any union with him, alleging that the two rites were not identical. His scruples were probably overcome in course of time, as this Lodge ultimately became the seat of the Grand Consistory of the 32°—Sovereign Princes of the Royal Secret (the 25th and last degree of the old rite had been pushed up seven places by the insertion of intermediary degrees in the new). By virtue of his inherent authority, and with the aid of the other refugees from the Antilles, De Grasse-Tilly raised a sufficient number

[1] I use the word "system" throughout, to indicate a union under a governing body, of separate Lodges or Chapters, and never, as is too often done, to imply a rite or series of ceremonies. We may have a Grand Lodge system and a Grand Lodge rite, and these two may cover the same ground, as in England; or one system may include several rites, as in the Grand Orient of France; or one rite may pervade many systems, as again in France, where the A. and A.S.R. (Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite) 33° is worked both under the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council.

CHART No. 1.

THE CHIEF "RITES" OF FREEMASONRY.

1740 *circa.* Rise of Scots Degrees, and Gradual Development of numerous Scots Mother Lodges, which either Died out During the French Revolution, or subsequently Amalgamated with the Grand Orient of France.



of Masons to the 33°, and on September 22, 1804, constituted a new Masonic power in France with the pompous title of "Supreme Council for France of Sovereign Grand Inspectors-General of the 33rd and last degree of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite." He chose for his proceedings the premises of the Lodge St. Alexander, Mother-Lodge of the Philosophic Scots Rite; and on October 12, 1804, convoked the Grand officers of *his* Rite, and they resolved themselves into a Grand Consistory. They then determined to form a Grand Scots Lodge on October 22, and to summon thereto all such members of any rite as might be entitled to participate. Now most, if not all, of the Scots systems had Rose Croix Chapters, and even the Grand Orient itself possessed one in the so-called French rite. This was accounted equal to, and must have been virtually identical with, the 18th degree of the A. and A.S.R.—Sovereign Prince Rose Croix—and all Masons elevated to that degree were summoned. Accordingly on October 22, 1804, the meeting was held, and the Grand Scots Lodge duly instituted with full power over the first 18 degrees. A Grand Master was proclaimed in the person of Prince Louis Buonaparte who, by the way, never accepted the office—and 49 Grand Officers were appointed. De Grasse-Tilly was made the representative of the Grand Master.

It is now time to retrace our steps, examine De Grasse-Tilly's warrant of authority, and thereby gain an insight into the genesis of this new rite. We obtain some idea of Tilly's Masonic pedigree from the roll of the Lodge "Seven United Brethren"—June 24, 1803—in Cap-Français of St. Domingo, of which he was an honorary member. He is there described as "Alexandre François August de Grasse, born at Versailles, age 37, an inhabitant, Captain of Horse, late president of all Sublime Lodges, Councils, Chapter of Charlestown in South Carolina, initiated in the Scots Mother-Lodge of the Social Contract, Paris, past Master of the Lodge of Candour No. 12, and Reunion No. 45, Rose Croix, Kadosch, Prince of the Royal Secret, Grand Inspector-General 33°." As an authority for his proceedings Tilly produced the so-called Golden Book. This book was held in great veneration by his disciples, but there is no mystery attached to it, neither is it really golden. It is in fact a small MS. volume bound in dark-brown leather. In 1818 there were already at least 40 copies of it in existence, and every Grand Inspector-General was presumed to possess one, and to enter minutes of all his Masonic acts into it. It contained, first, a copy of Stephen Morin's patent of 1761, which is in French, and the use of the word *Stephen* instead of *Etienne* might at the outset suggest doubts as to its authenticity, as showing it to have been copied or translated from an English original, whereas Morin's patent, if it ever existed, must have been in French. But this scruple is at once overcome by the attestation that follows it in the Golden Book, and which reads:

"I, the undersigned Heyman-Isaac Long, P.M. [Prince Mason, *not* Past Master] Deputy Gr. Inspector-Gen., etc., declare that the above written patent, formerly granted to the very worshipful Br. Stephen Morin by etc., etc., and of which he presented a copy to P. M. Moses Cohen, Dep. Gr. Ins.-Gen. for the island of Jamaica, who himself gave me a copy, is truly translated and extracted from my protocol. In witness whereof I have signed in the presence of the Illustrious Brothers Delahogue, De Grasse, Saint Paul, Croze Magnan, and Robin, as witness their signatures."

The use of the word Stephen is thus accounted for; and although it must be distinctly understood that Morin's original patent has never been produced, I am by no means prepared to deny that it was really granted in 1761. The *existing* patent—or, to use words of greater precision, the *alleged* copy—is of itself a most remarkable document, and al-

though desirous of passing as lightly as possible over all matters only indirectly connected with the Craft, its insertion is absolutely essential to a due comprehension of the subject in hand.

Morin's Patent.

To the glory of the G.A.O.T.U., etc., and by the good will of H.S.H. the very illustrious Brother Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont, Prince of the Blood Royal, Grand Master and Protector of all Lodges.

At the Orient of a most enlightened place where reign Peace, Silence, and Concord, *Anno Lucis* 5761, and according to the common style, 27th August, 1761.

Lux ex tenebris. Unitas, concordia fratrum.

We, the undersigned, Substitutes General of the Royal Art, Grand Wardens and Officers of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge of St. John of Jerusalem, established at the Orient of Paris; and we, Sovereign Grand Masters of the Grand Council of the Lodges of France, under the sacred and mysterious numbers, declare, certify and decree to all the very dear Bros., Knights, and Princes scattered throughout the two hemispheres, that being assembled by order of the Substitute General, President of the Grand Council, a request was communicated to us by the worshipful Bro. Lacorne, Substitute of our very illustrious G.M., Knight and Prince Mason, and was read in due form.

Whereas our dear Bro. Stephen Morin, Grand Perfect Elect (*G. élu parfait*) and Past Sublime Master, Prince Mason, Knight and Sublime Prince of all Orders of the Masonry of Perfection, member of the Royal Lodge of the "Trinity," etc., being about to depart for America, desires to be able to work with regularity for the advantage and aggrandisement of the Royal Art in all its perfection, may it please the Sovereign Grand Council and Grand Lodge to grant him letters of constitution. On the report which has been made to us, and knowing the eminent qualifications of Bro. S. Morin, we have, without hesitation, accorded him this slight gratification in return for the services which he has always rendered this Order, and the continuation of which is guaranteed to us by his zeal.

For this cause and for other good reasons, whilst approving and confirming the very dear Brother Morin in his designs, and wishing to confer on him some mark of our gratitude, we have, by general consent, constituted and invested him, and do by these presents constitute and invest him, and give full and entire power to the said Bro. Stephen Morin, whose signature is in the margin of these presents, to form and establish a Lodge in order to admit to and multiply the Royal Order of Masons in all the perfect and sublime degrees; to take measures that the statutes and regulations of the Grand and Sovereign Lodge, general or special, be kept and observed, and to never admit therein any but true and legitimate brothers of sublime Masonry:

To rule and govern all the members who shall compose his said Lodge, which he may establish in the four quarters of the world wherever he may arrive or shall sojourn, under the title of Lodge of St. John, and surnamed "Perfect Harmony;" we give him power to choose such officers as he may please to aid him in ruling his Lodge, whom we command and enjoin to obey and respect him; do ordain and command all Masters of regular Lodges of whatsoever dignity, scattered over the surface of land and sea, do pray and enjoin them in the name of the Royal Order, and in the presence of our very illustrious G.M., to acknowledge in like manner as we recognise our very dear Bro. Stephen Morin as Worshipful Master of the Lodge of Perfect Harmony, and we depute him in his quality of our Grand Inspector in all parts of the New World *to reform the observance of our laws in general,*

etc., and by these present do constitute our very dear Bro. Stephen Morin our G.M. Inspector, authorising and empowering him to establish perfect and sublime Masonry in all parts of the world, etc., etc.

We pray, consequently, all brothers in general to render to the said Stephen Morin such assistance and succour as may be in their power, requiring them to do the same to all the brothers who shall be members of his Lodge, and whom he has admitted and constituted, shall admit or constitute in future to the sublime degree of perfection which we grant him, with full and entire power to create Inspectors in all places where the sublime degrees shall not already be established, knowing well his great acquirements and capacity.

In witness whereof we have given him these presents, signed by the Substitute-General of the Order, Grand Commander of the Black and White Eagle, Sovereign Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret, and Chief of the Eminent Degree of the Royal Art, and by us Grand Inspectors, Sublime Officers of the Grand Council and of the Grand Lodge established in this capital, and have sealed them with the Grand Seal of our illustrious G.M., His Serene Highness, and with that of our Grand Lodge and Sovereign Grand Council. Given at the G. O. of Paris, in the year of Light 5761, or according to the Vulgar Era., 27th Augt. 1761. (Signed) Chaillon de Jonville, Substitute-General of the Order, W.M. of the first Lodge in France called "St. Thomas," Chief of the Eminent Degrees, Commander and Sublime Prince of the Royal Secret. Bro. the Prince de Rohan, Master of the Grand Lodge "Intelligence," Sovereign Prince of Masonry. Lacorne, Substitute of the Grand Master, W. Dep. M. of Lodge "Trinity," Grand Perfect Elect, Knight and Prince Mason. Savalette de Bucheley, Grand Keeper of the Seals, Grand Elect, Grand Knight and Prince Mason. Taupin, etc., Prince Mason. Brest-de-la-Chaussée, etc., W.M. of the Lodge "Exactitude," Grand Elect Perfect Master, Knight Prince Mason. Count de Choiseul, etc., Prince Mason. Boucher de Lenoncourt, etc., W.M. of the Lodge "Virtue," Prince Mason.

By order of the Grand Lodge. Daubertin, Grand Elect Perfect Master and Knight Prince Mason, W.M. of the Lodge "Saint Alphonse," Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge and of the Sublime Council of Prince Masons in France, etc.

Before proceeding with the contents of the Golden Book, some consideration must be given to this curious Charter. What is the Grand Lodge therein spoken of? We may at once refuse to attach the least importance to the use made of the name of the Count de Clermont, because it has at all times—with very rare exceptions—been usual in France, to claim the National Grand Master as supreme head of all the rival systems, with or without his express consent. Some writers believe the Grand Lodge to have been one peculiar to this system, and ruling over those degrees inferior to the most illustrious but superior to the Craft—say, for instance, the 4th to the 8th degrees—Secret Master, Perfect Master, Intimate Secretary, Master of the Works, and Judge,—all of which occupy themselves with temple allegory, and do not yet come within the purview of the knightly Chapters. But if such be the case, why do we find titles used which refer undoubtedly to the Grand Lodge of the Craft? Yet if the proposition be admitted, it becomes evident that Morin could not have obtained any authority to erect Craft Lodges, and the claims therefore of the Supreme Councils of to-day would be usurped. There is much in the wording of the document, which, isolated, and without the context, might warrant the conclusion that Morin was only empowered to constitute Lodges *of Perfection;* but looked at as a whole,

the Charter evidently intends him to constitute an ordinary Lodge, of which he was to be the W.M.

But it may be maintained that the Emperors claimed the right to warrant Craft Lodges. Of this, however, there is no sign anywhere, and were it so, we could not expect officers of the National Grand Lodge to sanction such proceedings by their name and presence. Puzzled by these opposing considerations, some writers have been driven to conclude that the warrant was granted conjointly by the National Grand Lodge, and the Sovereign Council of the Emperors. But this theory is untenable, because in such a case we might —with far greater probability—expect to meet with *two* distinct warrants. Moreover, the whole document speaks of the two bodies as practically one, and most convincing of all, it is sealed with *the seal*, not the *separate seals* of one G.L. and S.G.C. The two bodies are therefore one, and yet we have the titles of the National Grand Lodge. There is but one possible solution to the problem—that arrived at by Kloss. The Grand Lodge at this time was distracted by dissensions, which have been generally attributed to the sinister conduct of the special deputy of the G.M—the dancing master Lacorne. I hope to show that Thory has maligned Lacorne, and that later writers have merely copied from him; but these quarrels—just before the date of the Charter—resulted in a split in the Grand Lodge, and the formation of two rival bodies. It did not last long, and the parties were reconciled June 24, 1762, Lacorne failing to obtain Grand office, which has given rise to the assertion that he was made the scapegoat. But during this interval it now becomes clear that Lacorne's party made common cause with the Emperors, to which rite they individually belonged, and of course retained any titles they had borne in the undivided Grand Lodge. We may thus reconcile all the expressions of the patent with the known historical facts, and, moreover, *possibly* understand the allusion, "depute him to *reform* the observance of our laws in general."

One more point also calls for a few words. It is quite evident that the last and highest degree at the time of the patent was the 25°—Sovereign Prince Mason—and that no *degree* Inspector-General existed. Morin was an Inspector and a Prince Mason; the Inspectorship was an office created *ad hoc*, not a degree. He was empowered to nominate other Inspectors; but the high functionaries who signed his patent do not call themselves Inspectors. When the rite returned to Europe in 1804, the Prince Masons had been promoted to the 32°; and a 33rd and last degree, consisting of Sovereign Inspectors-General, had been created. The purely administrative office had, in other words, been converted into a degree, and the office holders had usurped authority over the very body which appointed them. Excepting the usurpation of authority, an analogy may be found in the position of an English Past Master.

The second document in the Golden Book summarises the genealogy of De Grasse-Tilly's Inspectorship. Morin conferred it on Br. Franklin of Jamaica, and the latter on Br. Moses Hayes, at that time Gd. Commander at Boston, whilst Hayes in turn conferred it on Br. Spitzer of Charlestown. All these Inspectors met at Philadelphia, gave it to Moses Cohen of Jamaica, and he in his turn passed it on to Isaac Long, who at Charlestown created Delahogue, De Grasse, Croze Magnan, Saint Paul, Robin, Petit, and Maire. Attested by J. Long, D.G.I.G., at Charlestown May 3, 1797, and countersigned by Delahogue, D.G.I., Prince Mason, Sov. Gd. Commander.

The third item is the patent granted to De Grasse-Tilly by the Sov. G. Council of the 33° of Charlestown, dated February 21, 1802, which recites that he had been tested in all

the degrees, and appointed life long Grand Commander of the Supreme Council of the French Antilles. It authorises him to constitute, erect, and inspect Lodges, Chapters, Councils, and Consistories in both hemispheres, and is signed by Dalcho, Bowen, Dieben, Alexander, and Delahogue, who all describe themselves as Kadosch, Prince of the Royal Secret, Sov. G. Inspector, 33°.

No. 4 is the Constitutions of 1762 in thirty-five articles. These are supposed to have been forwarded to Morin subsequently to his departure. In the text they are stated to have been the conjoint production of the Sov. Council of Paris and the Sov. Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at B——. For years B——was supposed to mean Berlin, though later it was declared to signify Bordeaux. Unfortunately for the earlier theory, it is quite certain that the Emperors never existed in Berlin, and it is nearly as capable of proof that there never was a Council of Princes of the Royal Secret at Bordeaux. These constitutions were never heard of in France until De Grasse produced them, neither has the original ever been seen. Their authenticity, therefore, is in the highest degree suspicious.

Following these we have the Grand Constitutions in eighteen articles. According to the legend, the Young Pretender transferred his supreme authority in Masonry to Frederick the Great, who, on his deathbed in 1786, revised the regulations, transformed the 25 degrees into 33, and vested his personal authority in the Supreme Council of the 33°. Previous writers have spared me the pains of proving that all this is pure fiction; that the Pretender was not the head of the Emperors—indeed, not even a Freemason at all—that Frederick never inherited his authority; that the Emperors were unknown in Germany and that the 33 degrees were not heard of in France until De Grasse-Tilly introduced them. The Constitutions of 1786 were undoubtedly fabricated in America, and probably those of 1762. The intercalation of the 8 additional degrees also took place there. Of this there can be no moral doubt, and though the details of these occurrences cannot be given without encroaching upon the space already apportioned to other subjects, fortunately they are not required for the purposes of this sketch.[1]

It must be confessed that the Golden Book was eminently calculated to impose on the Masons of four score years ago, who did not enjoy our present opportunities for intelligent criticism. Nevertheless the A. and A.S.R. 33° can boast of a very respectable antiquity, being descended in direct line from the Emperors of 1758, and possibly from the Chapter of Clermont of 1754. We may also ungrudgingly confess that the compilers of their *Historia Ordinis* have displayed more moderation, and greater respect for the unities, than are generally found in the histories of high degree rites. De Grasse-Tilly's rapid success is thus fully accounted for.

Without entering into many particulars concerning the ritual of this Rite, it may interest some readers to acquire a slight idea of the arrangement. The 33 degrees are divided into seven classes: the first three are pure Freemasonry, and in the others full play is allowed to the fancy, which is permitted to roam backwards and forwards throughout the domain of history without being fettered by chronological sequence. In the 4° the Master represents Solomon; in the 5°, Adonhiram; in the 7°, Titus; in the 8°, Solomon again; in the 15°, Cyrus; in 16° Zerubbabel; in the 20°, Cyrus Artaxerxes; in the 21°, Frederick

[1] Rebold [Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 452-455) gives full details of the transformation and of the persons concerned therein. *Cf.* also Ragon, Orthodoxie Maconnique, p. 181. Rebold and Kloss (p. 418) concur in assigning the year 1801 as that of the creation of the 33° ; Jouast, however (p. 296), carries it back to 1797.

the Great; in the 25°, Moses; in the 28°, Adam; and in the 31°, 32°, and 33°, Frederick once more.[1]

Let us now return to the new Grand Lodge, founded October 22, 1804.[2] The Supreme Council and the Grand Lodge being thus established, the new Rite issued on November 1 a circular addressed to the "Masons of the world," announcing its formation, and offering to dispense its superior light to all regular Masons, etc. The Grand Orient, alarmed for its position, opened communications with the Supreme Council, which resulted in a fusion of the two systems on December 3, 1804. The Scots Grand Lodge had therefore enjoyed an existence of precisely forty-two days. Quarrels, however, arose between the contracting parties which eventuated in a rupture, followed by a tacit understanding on September 6, 1805. By the new arrangement the Grand Orient, whose 7th and highest degree had previously been conferred in a Rose Croix Chapter, retained sole control of the A. and A.S.R. up to and including the 18°—Sovereign Prince Rose Croix—and the further degrees were under the direction of the Supreme Council, with De Grasse-Tilly at its head. There is little doubt that matters would not have been so amicably arranged but for the authority exerted by Cambacères, second Consul—and afterwards Arch-Chancellor—of France, Dep. G.M. of the G.O. The history of all these transactions will, however, be detailed in the next Chapter.

The Supreme Council having thus resumed the direction of affairs, instituted on September 24, 1805, a Grand Consistory of the 32°, in order to confer all degrees from the 19th to the 32nd inclusive. On July 1, 1806, De Grasse-Tilly resigned the office of Sovereign Grand Commander in favor of Cambacères, under whose influence a forced peace was maintained. The former, however, retained his office of Sov. G. Com. *ad vitam* of the Supreme Council for the French Antilles, and—in common with the other refugees—was always cited as a member of that body in the *etâts* of the Supreme Council for France. It was supposed to be dormant, awaiting the moment of return to San Domingo. Meanwhile, the Rite made rapid progress, in spite of Tilly's absence in the wars, and his eventual confinement as an English prisoner of war. The Grand Consistory 32° was abolished September 29, 1810, as it appeared to be growing too powerful for the Supreme Council, and Councils were established in 1805 at Milan for Italy, in 1806 at Naples for the Two Sicilies, and in 1811 at Madrid for Spain. The dormant Council for America resident in Paris began, however, in 1813 to make members, and grant diplomas in France, which led to a quarrel with the Supreme Council for France; and the Council for America, at whose head in Tilly's absence was placed his father-in-law, Delahogue, as Lieut. G. Com., addressed itself in revenge to the Grand Orient demanding recognition and a fusion, proclaiming that the Grand Orient ought to be the sole and only constitutive power in France. The petition was dated October 7, 1813, but the events of 1814 precluded any action being taken upon it.

The Supreme Council for France, with Cambacères as Sov. G. Com., was composed almost exclusively of high dignitaries under the Empire, so that the Restoration found its members dispersed and scattered, and of those still remaining many were also members of the Grand Orient. The Grand Orient took advantage of this favorable state of affairs to attempt an absorption of the Rite. On August 26, 1814, an invitation was issued to the Supreme Council to effect a fusion of the two rites. This was rejected by the Supreme Council on October 21, 1814. But many of its members nevertheless cast in their lot with the G.O., of which they were already officers, and transferred to it all their rights. On

[1] Handbuch, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf. ante*, p. 374; and *post*, p. 419.

November 18, 1814, the G.O. passed a resolution that it therefore resumed the rights conferred upon it by the first fusion of 1804, and from that date has ever since conferred all the degrees of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite 33°. This action naturally abrogated the understanding of 1805, and the A. and A.S.R. immediately reasserted its right to constitute Craft Lodges and other bodies up to the 18°, which had previously been relinquished to the Grand Orient. The Supreme Council for France was, however, too weak to take action, and we hear no more of it till May 4, 1821.

At the beginning of 1815 De Grasse-Tilly returned from England, and found his whole system in confusion, the Supreme Council for France practically lifeless, and that for America trying to awake and occupy the vacant ground. He therefore suddenly remembered that the Grand Constitutions gave him no right to resign his post of Grand Commander in favor of Cambacères, that consequently his action of 1806 must be accounted void, and all the acts of the extinct Supreme Council of no effect. For his partisans this declaration of course annulled the recent fusion of the Supreme Council with the G.O. Before, however, he could arrange matters to his satisfaction he had to leave Paris in 1816, it is said, to avoid being arrested for debt. The efforts of his father-in-law, left in command as Lieut. G. Com. of the Supreme Council for America, were sufficient to arouse the enmity of the G.O., which, on October 17, 1817, inhibited the Lodges, etc., under its jurisdiction from assembling at the "Prado," a restaurant where the Supreme Council met. In the beginning of 1818 De Grasse-Tilly returned to Paris, and on February 23, his Supreme Council began to evince renewed activity. Delahogue resigned on account of his advanced age, and the Count de Fernig was appointed Lieut. G. Com. Vice-Admiral Allemand, and Count, afterwards Duc de Cazes, Minister of Police, were among those raised to higher administrative office. On August 7, 1818, Pyron, former Grand Secretary of the "Holy Empire," *i.e.*, A. and A.S.R., attempted to revive the old dormant Supreme Council for France, but did not live long enough to see his efforts crowned with success, as he died on September 23 following.

De Grasse-Tilly appointed a commission to revise the statutes and arrangements of his Council—with the singular result that the tables were completely turned upon him. A new list of officials was promulgated, which appeared without any G. Commander at all, out in his place three Grand Conservators, one of whom, and the future leader of the movement, was his own former nominee, Admiral Allemand. De Grasse-Tilly immediately issued a counter-circular on the 18th of the same month, rallied his friends around him, and retired to the "Pompei" Tavern. After this, the *two* Supreme Councils for America are best known under the names of their respective houses of call, Prado and Pompei. The Pompei met on September 10, 1818, and De Grasse-Tilly, after defending his actions resigned in favor of the Count de Cazes. The Prado met on September 17, and declared De Grasse-Tilly degraded and deprived of all his Masonic rights; but although a bitter warfare between the rivals ensued and lasted for some years—much to the amusement of the Grand Orient—it would appear that the Pompei Supreme Council waxed daily stronger and the Prado gradually lost ground. After a lingering agony it flickered once more into momentary activity on June 28, 1821, but expired shortly afterwards, most of its members joining the Rite of Misraim. De Grasse-Tilly, after his resignation in 1818, also mysteriously disappears from the scene. Count de Cazes appointed as his lieutenant-general, the Count de Fernig. The Pompei Supreme Council, on October 8, 1818, decreed the erection of the Grand Scots Lodge, "Propagators of Tolerance," which was regularly instituted on

October 24. In 1819 an attempt at fusion was made, by the Grand Orient offering to renew the *modus vivendi* of 1805, but this proposal was rejected. On May 4, 1821, the original Supreme Council of France awoke from its slumber, so that at that period there were no less than *four* Supreme Councils quarrelling for the supremacy of the A. and A.S.R., viz., the Supreme Council of the Grand Orient, the Supreme Councils for America of the Prado and the Pompei, and the revived Supreme Council for France. The Prado S.C. died shortly afterwards; and on May 7, 1821, the Council for France and that of the Pompei amalgamated, thus reducing the rivals to two. At this fusion the Count de Valence was elected Sov. G. Com., and the Count de Ségur Lieut. G. Com. On July 12, 1822, a new *Grande Loge Centrale,* or *Loge de la Commanderie,* was formed, and opened December 28. At the beginning of 1822 the Count de Valence died, and on February 12, 1822, the Count de Ségur was appointed in his stead, with the Duke de Choiseul as Lieut. G. Com. In 1825 Ségur resigned on account of old age, and on December 21 the Duke de Choiseul-Stainville was appointed Sov. G. Com., with Count Muraire as Lieut. G. Com. All this time the G.O. and the Supreme Council had been at daggers drawn, each forbidding its own members to visit the Lodges of its rival; but the Duke de Choiseul inaugurated his reign by preaching tolerance and reciprocity. The G.O., however, did not follow the example till 1862. On November 30, 1826, new efforts at a fusion were opened, but broken off on April 8, 1827; and similar proceedings took place in 1835. In 1838 the Duc de Cazes was appointed Sov. G. Com., and installed June 24; General Guilleminot was made Lieut. G. Com., but dying in 1840, was succeeded by General the Count de Fernig, who died in 1848, and was replaced by Viennet.

Fresh overtures from the G.O. to return to the original understanding were made in 1841, and although these failed, an act of mutual tolerance and amity was promulgated, which was speedily broken by the G.O. In 1846 the Supreme Council published its new statutes, and the Revolution of 1848 for a time seriously affected it, robbing it of some of its highly-placed supporters and of a few Lodges. From this blow it soon recovered. On October 24, 1860, the Duc de Cazes died, and Viennet—Lieut. G. Com.—forthwith, by virtue of the Grand Constitutions, assumed the highest dignity, appointing Guiffrey as his Lieutenant. In consequence of dissensions in the G.O., Napoleon III. in 1862 appointed Marshal Magnan Grand Master, holding him personally responsible for the good behavior of the brethren. Marshal Magnan thought the shortest way to secure peace would be to suppress the Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R., and issued an edict to that effect in his capacity of G.M, to which the Supreme Council simply turned a deaf ear. But the Marshal, through threats of dire consequences, imposed peace and toleration, which have since reigned between the rival but no longer inimical jurisdictions. In 1864 the Supreme Council issued new Statutes, and on July 11, 1868, Viennet died, who was succeeded by Allegri, and shortly afterwards by the renowned statesman Crémieux. The present Sovereign and Lieutenant Grand Commanders are MM. Proal and Emmanuel Arago.

The above is a short sketch of the rise of the A. and A.S.R. 33°, and its development in France. The Rite has obtained a firm footing in almost all other countries, where it either rivals the Grand Authority of the Craft, or is comprised in it. To the extent that may be requisite, its history will be incorporated with that of Freemasonry in those countries, and it will be impossible to avoid giving it considerable space in the next Chapter, which deals with the Masonry of France. In Great Britain and Ireland, the United

States, and all English colonies,[1] it occupies a subordinate place, having ceded its pretensions to overrule the Craft or to establish Lodges. In England and Scotland, Master Masons may become members of the Rite, but it is ignored by the Grand Lodges of these countries, and its marks of distinction are not allowed to be worn in their Lodges. The practice under the Grand Lodge of Ireland has already been referred to. In Germany it has failed to gain an entrance, thanks to the sound common sense of our German brothers; and in Sweden and Denmark it is debarred admission by the laws of either country, Freemasonry in both those kingdoms partaking much of the nature of a State institution. To judge by the success of the "Grand National Lodge" of Berlin, it might perhaps have stood some chance of acceptance in Prussia, but here again state laws interpose and exclude it even from a trial.

The Rite of Misraim.[2]

As regards the institution of this Rite there is some difference of opinion among its historians. The discrepancies, however, extend over a few years only, and there is virtual unanimity in dating its introduction *into France* at about the year 1814. Some attribute it to Bédarride; others maintain he was merely the chief propagator. The exact date of origin being of minor importance, it will be sufficient if we follow the account of Bégue-Clavel, himself a member as early as 1810 of the 89°.

In 1805 a Grand Orient was founded at Milan, and shortly afterwards a Supreme Council, A. and A.S.R. 33°. A certain Lechangeur was admitted to the so-called high degrees, but being refused any share in the control of the highest, in revenge manufactured the Rite of Misraim, a system of 90 degrees, of which he of course became the head. Three brothers Bédarride of Avignon, the home of Hermeticism, were amongst others admitted by him or his substitutes. Michel Bédarride on December 3, 1810, received the 73°, and on June 25, 1811, the 77° Marc Bédarride the 77°on January 3, 1810. Lechangeur would not give them the 90°, but a rival camp had already been formed under a certain Polacq at Venice, who conferred the 90° on Michel September 1, 1812. Lechangeur dying, appointed as his successor Theodore Gerber of Milan, who gave Michel a warrant of propaganda October 12, 1812. Joseph Bédarride now joined his two brothers, and the scene was transferred to Paris in 1813, where several members were enlisted. Here they found rivals in Garcia and Decollet, who had arrived some time previously. The Bédarrides, however, gained the protection of Count Muraire, and conferred the degrees (honorary) on a great many members of the A. and A.S.R. By these means they crushed their rivals. Fernig, one of the chief men of the A. and A.S.R., received the 90° in 1818; Thory, of the Grand Orient, the Supreme Council 33°, and the Scots Philosophic Rite, in 1815; Count de Cazes, Minister of Police, and Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, in 1817. In the list of 1821-1822 we find the Duke of Sussex, G.M. of England, the Duke of Leinster, and the Duke of Athol.

In 1816 the Grand Lodge of the Rainbow was founded in Paris, and as a fresh convert I may mention Ragon, founder of the Parisian Lodge "Trinosophes," a celebrated Masonic

[1] Excepting the Mauritius.

[2] Authorities consulted :—Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Bedarride, Begue-Clavel, Joly, Misraim ; Mackey and Mackenzie, *s.v.* Mizraim ; Woodford, *s.v.* Misraim ; G. Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Frankreich, vol. ii., pp. 32-38, 53-55, 150-154 ; Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 573 *et seq.* ; Thory, Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 327 ; A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient, pp. 369-381 ; F. T. B. Clavel, Histoire Pittoresque de la Francmaçonnerie, 1843, p. 214.

author. Joly and Bégue-Clavel, equally (and more deservedly) celebrated as authors, had been enlisted much earlier. Morrison of Greenfield was also for a time a member. It is unnecessary to follow the history of this Rite in detail. From the very first, all the money went into the pockets of the three brothers, and accounts were never rendered, because they declared that the receipts were not sufficient to pay the interest on the original outlay. At the time of Marc Bédarride's death in 1846 this debt was supposed, according to his statement, to have swollen with compound interest to 131,793 francs; but no deductions had apparently ever been made for fees received. Of course the brothers were continually at strife with their disciples. In 1816 Joly headed a rival Grand Body of the Rite, and vainly tried to induce the Grand Orient to acknowledge and incorporate it. De Grasse-Tilly, however, the head of the A. and A.S.R., and others supported the Bédarrides, who ultimately vanquished Joly's party. Lodges were established in Holland, but suppressed by Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, the G.M. In France, however, they succeeded in establishing quite a number of Lodges. In 1820, 1821, and 1822 the three brothers travelled all over Europe to introduce their Rite—they had meanwhile become bankrupt, and this commerce constituted their whole source of income—and established a dozen and more Lodges in France and Switzerland, besides innumerable Councils. In 1822, for having inadvertently contravened an unimportant police regulation, they were, at the instance of the Grand Orient, refused permission to assemble, and the Rite became dormant throughout France. After the revolution of 1830 the brothers Marc and Michel obtained leave to reopen their Lodges; but although they succeeded in their efforts, there was then little life in the system. The greater part of the prominent Masons—some few of whom have been mentioned—had long previously retired from the Rite; most of them had only had the certificate of the 90° conferred on them without ever assisting at a meeting of the members; and the character of the Bros. Bédarride was by this time tolerably well known. At length Michel, the last surviving brother, feeling his end approaching, appointed Dr. Hayère as his successor on January 24, 1856, and bequeathed to him the claim against the Rite, by this time reduced to 77,000 francs, on condition of his paying his debts. Hayère on March 29, 1856, cancelled the bond in favor of the association, which, on its part, paid off Bédarride's debts, amounting to some 5000 francs. Relieved of this incubus, and under the honorable rule of its new Grand Master, the Rite once more lifted up its head; the quality of its members improved; and although not wielding much influence, is still an independent body in France, and a rival of the Grand Orient and of the Supreme Council 33°. It has also obtained a more or less precarious footing in some other countries.

The Rite of Memphis.[1]

Jacques Etienne Marconis was initiated in the Rite of Misraim at Paris April 21, 1833, being then 27 years of age, and was expelled therefrom June 27, 1833. Removing to

[1] Authorities consulted :—Mackey, *s.v.* Memphis ; Mackenzie, *s.v.* Mizraim ; Woodford, *s.v.* Memphis, [from the pen of Mr John Yarker, who *should* be the best authority. I cannot, however—for the reasons given above—accept his statements with regard to the foundation of the rite in 1814, and the participation therein of G.M. Marconis, *senior*. It seems to me impossible to pass over the testimony of Rebold, who was an actor in some of the occurrences related, and also personally acquainted with Marconis, jun.—even trying in 1852 to obtain the recognition of the rite by the Grand Orient of France. To the objection that Marconis protested against Rebold's version and promised a refutation, I reply, did he ever attempt to keep his promise? and if so, where can the "refutation" be

Lyons, he founded in 1836 a lodge of this same rite—"Benevolence"—under the name of Le Nègre, a nickname which had been conferred on his father on account of his dark complexion. Concealing his identity under this pseudonym, he was advanced to the 66th degree of Misraim; but being ultimately discovered, was once more expelled May 27, 1838. There is, however, no reason (says Rebold) to assume that the cause of these exclusions reflects upon his moral character.

He then applied himself to fabricate the Rite of Memphis, and as that of Misraim counted 90 degrees, he resolved to give *his* 95, which number was afterwards increased to 97, if we include the office of Grand Hierophant, which he appropriated to himself. This title, however, he declared had been held by his father—Gabriel Matheu Marconis (de Nègre)—whom he claimed to have succeeded—one of the items of the legendary history which he constructed at this time to endow the Rite with a slight flavour of antiquity. His first efforts to establish the rite in Belgium were fruitless, but in 1838 he founded a Lodge at Paris—"Disciples of Memphis"—and a Grand Lodge—"Osiris"—in 1839, a Chapter—"Philadelphians"—and a Lodge—"Sages of Heliopolis." In 1839 he published the statutes, and founded two Lodges at Brussels. On the persistent demands of his rivals of Misraim the police closed his Lodges May 17, 1840. In 1848, the political situation being more favourable, he set himself once more to work, and in 1849 founded and revived three Lodges, a Council, and a Chapter, in Paris; but the Belgian Lodges could not be galvanised into life. He removed to London in 1850, and after much trouble succeeded in founding a Lodge in 1851, naming F. J. Berjeau G.M. for Great Britain. In 1851—December 23—the French police once more forced him to close his Lodges. In consequence, the seat of government was transferred to London in 1853, many celebrated French refuges joining the rite for a time; among others M. Louis Blanc. The membership, however, deteriorating in quality, Berjeau dissolved the association, and Marconis thought it prudent to decline responsibility for its past acts. In 1850 and 1854 a Chapter and a Council had been established in New York. In 1852 Marconis induced Rebold to attempt to persuade the French Grand Orient to recognize the Rite; but the negotiations failed. In 1860 Marconis proceeded to New York to supervise matters there, and on July 14 established a Grand Lodge at Troy, in the State of New York, under the style of "Disciples of Memphis." So far Rebold, but according to How—J. F. Marconis, Grand Hierophant, inaugurated the Rite in person, at New York, in 1857, and afterwards, in 1862, chartered it as a Sovereign Sanctuary—by which body a charter was granted on January 3, 1872, for another Sovereign Sanctuary in and for the British Islands, whose officers were duly installed October 8 in the same year. The degrees of the Rite, we learn from the "Kneph," were nominally and temporarily reduced from 95 degrees to 33 ceremonies, by omitting the rest of those conferred only in name. Rebold tells us, that some members of the Lodge, established at London in 1851, formed themselves into an independent Grand Lodge of the Rite—"the Grand Lodge of Philadelphians"—also that the members were refused recognition as Masons by the Grand Lodge of England October 24, 1859. In 1862 Marshal Magnan, G.M. of France, issued a circular to all Masons—dissenters from Grand Orient. Marconis, on the part of one of his dormant Lodges, demanded recogni-

consulted ?] ; Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei, *s.v.* Memphis, Marconis de Nègre, etc. ; Em. Rebold, Histoire des Trois Grandes Loges, Paris, 1864, p. 411 *et seq.*, and p. 592 *et seq.* ; A. G. Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient de France, Rennes and Paris, 1865, p. 464 *et seq.*; J. How, Freemason's Manual, 1881, pp. 359, 360. Sketch of the History of the Antient and Primitive Rite, *passim.*

tion and affiliation; it was granted December 30, 1862, from which date his symbolic Lodges formed part of the Grand Orient, and the whole system was supposed to come under the supervision of that Grand Body. As, however, the G.O. never made any arrangements for granting warrants for Chapters, Councils, etc., of this Rite, it became practically extinct from that day, although some few Lodges professed to adhere to the system till, in 1868, the last two remaining Lodges gave up the pretence and frankly embraced the French rite. The Rite, under the designation of "Ancient and Primitive," is still worked in America, England, Roumania, Italy, and Egypt;[1] but to judge from the "Kneph," the official organ in this country, the various nationalities do not appear to work together very harmoniously. In that publication Mr. John Yarker is described as M. Ill. G. Master-Gen., 33-96°, and I have only to add, that in 1875 the Sovereign Sanctuary, of which he is the head, sanctioned the communication of the degree of Misraim to members of the Rite of Memphis, the former having no separate governing body in this country.

[1] According to an official statement, repeated in every number of the *Kneph*—"France [having] abandoned the Rite, and the Ill. Gd. Hierophant, J. E. Marconis, 33-97°, having died in 1868, Egypt took full possession. The Craft Gd. Lodge, our Antient and Primitive Rite, and the Antient and Accepted Rite, executed a Tripartite Treaty to render mutual aid, and restored the Sov. Gd. Mystic Temple—Imp. Council Gen., 96°, presided over by a Gd. Hierophant, 97°." *Cf. post*, Chap. XXIX., *s.v.* Egypt.

CHAPTER XXV.

FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE.

A NATIVE historian of French Freemasonry would naturally turn first of all to the archives of the Grand Orient of France. These have been utilised to their full extent, but they unfortunately contain little to aid our researches before the commencement of the nineteenth century.

The Grand Librarian thus describes them in an official report:[1]—"The library consists only of some few profane [*i.e.*, non-Masonic] volumes, about forty volumes in German, some English works, and a bundle of pamphlets. The minutes of the Grand Orient from 1789 onwards are in a tolerably satisfactory state. In a portfolio are to be found the minutes of the *Gr. Loge de Conseil* from 1773 to 1778; those from 1788-1800 are very incomplete. There is no collection of its circulars to subordinate Lodges, and it would be impossible to form a complete series of printed calendars. The earliest is that of 1807, and numerous intervals occur in subsequent times." Kloss[2] adds that no complete list of French Lodges is anywhere in existence of a date preceding the end of the last century.

French Freemasonry is supposed to date from about the year 1725, and as no minutes whatever—relating to any earlier period than 1773—are to be found, it is obvious that, failing contemporaneous writings, the history of its first half century must be open to much doubt. The first comprehensive account of the French Craft appeared in 1773 as a five-page article, *s.v. Franche-Maçonnerie*, by De Lalande, in the "Encyclopédie Yverdon." Jos. Jérôme Lefrançais de Lalande, the celebrated astronomer and director of the Paris Observatory, was born July 11, 1732, and died April 4, 1807. He could therefore have been scarcely initiated before 1750 *circa*, so that his account of early French Masonry resolves itself into hearsay. Subsequent writers have been enabled to make use of some few pamphlets, circulars, or exposures, and none had more opportunities in this respect, or availed himself of them to greater advantage, than Kloss. Another historical contribution is that of De-la-Chaussée in his "*Mémoire Justificatif*," a printed defence of his official conduct, which had been impugned by Labady, published in 1772.

The first real historian of French Freemasonry was Thory (1812-15[3]), and his principal successors in chronological order have been Von Nettelbladt (*circa* 1836[4]), Kloss (1852[5]),

[1] Em. Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 173.

[2] G. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 193.

[3] C. A. Thory, Annales Originis Magni Galliarum Orientis, and Acta Latomorum.

[4] Gesch. Freimaurerischer Systeme, *published* 1879. [5] Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich.

Rebold (1864[1]), Jouast (1865[2]), and Daruty (1879[3]). De-la-Chaussée's work is a defence of his own particular conduct, and therefore not always to be trusted implicitly. Thory wrote nearly ninety years after the first beginning of Freemasonry in France. His early facts are therefore taken from Lalande, and in the total absence of any other authority every later historian has been more or less obliged to follow him. It may also be further remarked that Thory was an uncompromising partisan of the high degrees, and can be proved to have distorted historical facts, and misquoted documents to suit his own views. Nettelbladt was as strong a partisan of Zinnendorff's system, and equally guilty of historical perversion. Kloss was most painstaking, though sometimes blinded by his hatred of the "high degrees." Rebold suffered under the same defect, combined with a prejudice against the Grand Orient, of which his party became a rival. Jouast, on the contrary, wrote as the avowed advocate of that body and errs in the opposite direction; whilst Daruty, a member of the rival A. and A.S.R. 33°, with a personal grievance against the G.O., is very one-sided in his views, and not sufficiently critical in his acceptance of alleged facts. Under these circumstances it will be seen that the history of the first fifty years of French Freemasonry cannot be otherwise than a series of possibilities, probabilities,[4] surmises, and traditions; whereas in recording that of the last hundred years we must steer very carefully between contending opinions—with a leaning towards those of Kloss in doubtful matters. I cannot, indeed, adopt Kloss's work as the basis of this Chapter, it being much too detailed for the purpose, and shall therefore select the next best, that of Jouast. To avoid, however, a constant reference to notes, all statements not otherwise vouched or attested must be considered as given on the authority of the latter.[5]

According to De Lalande, or tradition, which in this case amounts to much the same thing, the first Lodge in France was founded in Paris by the Earl of Derwentwater in 1725. It is true that a Lodge at Dunkirk which affiliated with the Grand Orient in 1756, *then* claimed to have been constituted from England in 1721, and that the claim was allowed; but as it certainly never was constituted by the Grand Lodge of England at all, we may safely ascribe its alleged early origin to the ambition of its members. The colleagues of Lord Derwentwater are stated to have been a Chevalier Maskeline, a Squire Héguerty, and others, all partisans of the Stuarts. The Lodge assembled at the restaurant of an Englishman called Hure or Hure, in the Rue des Boucheries. A second Lodge was established in 1726 by an English lapidary, Bro. Goustand.[6] A circular of the G.O.—

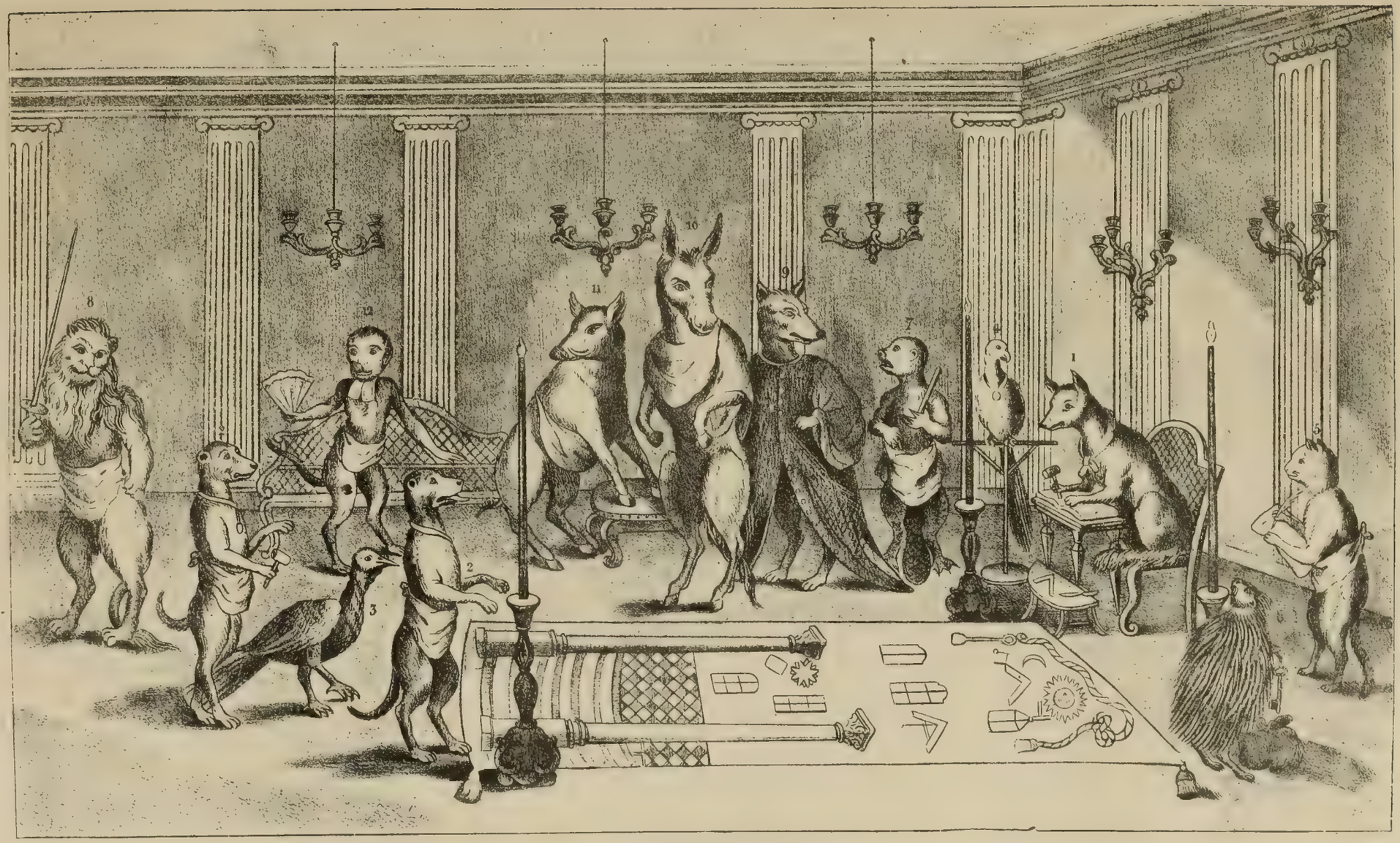
[1] Hist. des trois Grandes Loges. [2] Hist. du Grand Orient de France.

[3] Recherches sur le Rite Ecossais. Many other authors might be named, such as Clavel, Ragon, Besuchet, Heldmann, Findel, Kauffmann-Cherpin, and Lenoir; but their works are less directly dedicated to French Freemasonry, *per se*, and merely treat it *en passant*.—They will, however, be utilised where necessary.

[4] According to Gibbon, "in the science of criticism probabilities destroy possibilities, and are themselves destroyed by proofs." This principle is not to be controverted, but until *proofs* are forthcoming the historians of French Masonry may well shelter themselves under another saying of the famous author of the "Decline and Fall," who has finely observed—"Let it only be remembered, that those, who in desperate cases conjecture with modesty, have a right to be heard with indulgence."

[5] It should not surprise my readers that almost all references are to Kloss's history, and for this reason—Every statement of his predecessors has been carefully used and sifted by that writer, and his successors have been able to add remarkably little.

[6] Neither Hure nor Goustand have the appearance of English names, nor would it be easy to find any English names at all resembling them.



A Burlesque of a Freemason's Lodge in France.

Copied from the original published in Paris, 1757.

1. Grand Master.
2. The Wardens.
3. The Candidate.
4. The Orator.
5. The Secretary.
6. The Treasurer.
7. The Architect.
8. The Tyler.
9. The Lawyer.
10. The Doctor
11. The Financier.
12. The Priest.

September 4, 1788—mentions as existing in 1725-30 five Lodges, *Louis d'Argent*, *Bussy*, *Aumont*, *Parfaite Union*, and *Bernouville*. Lalande ascribes no name to Derwentwater's Lodge, and calls the Louis d'Argent the third Lodge in Paris. Clavel makes the Lodge of 1726, the third in Paris, and says it was called St. Thomas and was identical with the Louis d'Argent. Ragon agrees, but gives the date as 1729. Rebold looks upon these names as those of two distinct Lodges under the dates 1726 and 1729 respectively, and thinks the first one identical with Derwentwater's Lodge. Speaking of the latter Lalande says,[1] "In less than ten years the reputation of this Lodge attracted five to six hundred brethren within the circle of the Craft, and caused other Lodges to be established." If I quoted more authors I should merely cite more divergencies of opinion, all of which shows that nothing can be positively said of these early Lodges for want of contemporary evidence. If we turn to our English engraved lists we find that whatever Lodge (or Lodges) may have existed in Paris in 1725 must have been unchartered, for the first French Lodge on our roll is on the list for 1730-32, No. 90, the King's Head, Paris.[2] King's Head is identical with Louis d'Argent—a silver coin bearing the effigy of King Louis. In 1736-39, No. 90 is shown at the Hotel de Bussy, Rue de Bussy, and the date of constitution as April 3, 1732. We thus see that the first of the five Lodges cited by the G.O. in 1788 were in reality one and the same. In 1740 it became No. 78, and met at the Ville de Tonnèrre, Rue des Boucheries—in 1756 it received the number 49, and was erased in 1768. It would appear probable—more cannot be said—that Derwentwater's Lodge is identical with this Lodge; that it was an informal Lodge, and did not petition for a warrant till 1732. I have already stated my opinion that Lodges were held on the Continent previous to our earliest records in an informal and irregular, perhaps even spasmodic manner,[3] and this appears a case in point. Further proof is afforded by extracts from the daily papers.[4]

St. James' Evening Post, September 7, 1734. "We hear from Paris that a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was lately held there at her Grace the Duchesse of Portsmouth's house, where his Grace the Duke of Richmond, assisted by another English nobleman of distinction there, President Montesquieu, Brigadier Churchill, Ed. Yonge, and Walter Strickland, Esq., admitted several persons of distinction, into that most Ancient and Honourable Society."

St. James' Evening Post, September 20, 1735. "They write from Paris that his Grace the Duke of Richmond and the Rev. Dr. Desaguliers .·. .·. now authorized by the present Grand Master (under his hand and seal and the seal of the Order), having called a Lodge at the Hotel Bussy in the Rue Bussy, [several] noblemen and gentlemen were admitted to the[5] Order." . . . It is noteworthy that this assembly was held in the premises of the only Lodge then warranted in France, but was evidently not a meeting of that Lodge, as it was "called" or convoked by the Duke of Richmond and Dr. Desaguliers. On May 12, 1737—the same journal informs us—on the authority of a private letter from Paris, that "five Lodges are already established." Of these one only is known to have been warranted. The second in France was constituted at Valenciennes as No. 127[6] and still exists, but dropped off our roll (as No. 40) in 1813. The third on August 22, 1735, as No. 133, by the Duke of Richmond and Aubigny, at his castle of Aubigny,[7] and was

[1] Daruty, Recherches, etc., p. 84, note 42. [2] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 50. [3] *Ante*, p. 332.

[4] Reprinted in *Masonic Magazine*, London, vol. iv., 1876, p. 419.

[5] Similar accounts appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*, and will be found in the collection of Dr. Rawlinson. [6] *Cf.* Four Old Lodges, p. 52. [7] *Ibid.*, and Anderson's Constitutions, 1738.

erased in 1768. We also know that at that time the English Lodge at Bordeaux[1] was working, though not yet warranted by the Grand Lodge of England, and it is quite certain that no other French Lodge received an English charter until 1766. It is therefore clear that of these five Paris Lodges four either were self-constituted or derived their authority irregularly from the first, "Au Louis d'Argent" No. 90.

The earliest publication which fixes a date for the introduction of Freemasonry into France is the Sceau Rompu[2] of 1745, twenty-eight years before Lalande. It states, "As regards Freemasonry, its introduction may be placed at 18 years ago [consequently in 1727], but at first it was worked under the deepest secrecy."[3]

Lalande says,[4] "Lord Derwentwater was *looked upon* as Grand Master of the Masons; he afterwards went to England and was beheaded. My Lord Harnouester was elected in 1736 by the four[5] Lodges which then existed in Paris; he is the first regularly elected Grand Master. In 1738 the Duc d'Antin was elected General Grand Master *ad vitam* for France. . . . In 1742 twenty-one Lodges existed in Paris." On the other hand a Frankfort publication[6] of 1738 declares that nothing was heard of the French Craft before 1736;[7] whilst another Frankfort publication of 1744[8] affirms[9] that at the end of 1736 there were six Lodges in France and more than 60 Masons [one-tenth of the number cited by Lalande], who at that date [which is usually assigned to Lord Harnouester] elected the Earl of Derwentwater to succeed James Hector Maclean, who had served some years previously." How is it possible to reconcile all these conflicting statements? My space will not even admit of the attempt.

Putting aside the above solitary reference to an alleged G.M. Maclean anterior to Derwentwater, as a question impossible of solution with our present knowledge, we may well ask how came Derwentwater to be a Mason at all? Charles Radcliffe was the brother of James Radcliffe, third and last Earl of Derwentwater. They were arrested for rebellion in 1715, and James was beheaded. Charles escaped to France and assumed the title—which had been forfeited for high treason—became concerned in the rebellion of 1745, and was beheaded on Tower Hill December 8, 1746,[10] meeting his fate as became a brave gentleman.[11] Having left England before the revival, where was he initiated? Not in Paris apparently, because he opened the first Lodge there. Also, why does the *St. James' Evening Post*, which mentions so many men of lesser note in its Masonic news, never say a word about Charles Radcliffe, who was then at the head of the Craft in France? Moreover, who were the Chevalier Maskeline and Squire Héguerty, his colleagues? I have utterly failed to trace their names in any way—and above all, who was Lord Harnouester, his successor? I am quite prepared to admit an error of orthography in this case; French-

[1] *Ante*, p. 352.

[2] Le Sceau Rompu, ou la loge ouverte aux profanes, par un francmaçon, Cosmopolis, 1745. *Cf.* Kloss, Bibliographie d. F., No. 1858.

[3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 18.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Clavel says six, the *St. James' Evening Post* only mentions five.

[6] Gründliche Nachricht, etc., Frankfort, Andrea, 1738; Kloss, Bibliog., No. 131.

[7] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 25.

[8] Der sich selbst vertheidigende F.M., Frankfort and Leipsic, 1744; Kloss, Bibliog., No. 285.

[9] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 26.

[10] Collins, Peerage of England, 1812, vol. ix., p. 407.

[11] General Advertiser, London, December 9, 1746.

men are not remarkable for accuracy in that respect.[1] By them Charles Radcliffe is invariably styled "Dervent-Waters," and even M. de St. Simon continually calls the eldest son of John Dalrymple, created Viscount Stair by William III., "Mi-lord Flairs"[2] But can the utmost ingenuity convert Harnouester into the similitude of any name known to the English peerage? The only satisfactory hypothesis we can arrive at is, that previously to 1738 there existed in Paris one, and in the Departments two, regularly constituted Lodges, besides several others more or less irregular, and that the fashion had probably been set in the first instance by refugees at the court of the Pretender, and by other English visitors to the capital. Whether these Scottish names were not an after thought, consequent on the rage for Scots Masonry which arose in 1740, or whether they really played an important part in the early days of the Craft in France, we must leave undecided. The doubt can only be suggested, space will not allow me to enlarge upon it; nor if it did, do I think that we could possibly arrive at any definite conclusion.

We first appear to touch really solid ground in 1738, when the Duc d'Antin, a peer of France, said to have been initiated by the Duke of Richmond at Aubigny in 1737, was elected Grand Master *ad vitam* of French Freemasons. That from this moment French Freemasonry as such, distinct from the English Lodges warranted in France, was recognized as existing, may be gathered from Anderson's Constitutions of 1738.[3] "All these foreign Lodges are under the patronage of our Grand Master of England, but the old Lodge at York City, and the Lodges of Scotland, Ireland, France, and Italy affecting independency, are under their own *Grand* Masters; though they have the same Constitutions, Charges, Regulations, etc., for substance, with their brethren of England." This also incidentally tends to prove that up to this date French innovations on the rite of Masonry had not made themselves known.

In 1743 d'Antin died, and on December 11, 1743, sixteen Masters of Paris Lodges elected as his successor Prince Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont. The country Lodges accepted the nomination. Of the chief fact—Clermont's election—there can be no doubt; the other statements we have on the authority of a G. O. publication of 1777. Admitting them, we arrive at the probable number of Lodges in Paris, and at the conclusion that Grand Lodge consisted only of the *Paris Masters*, and that the Provinces were not represented in the governing body. But whilst the Grand Orient in 1777 thus lays claim to only sixteen Lodges, Lalande in 1773 had referred to twenty-one. Perhaps five were not represented?[4] Meanwhile the new Society had awakened the suspicions of the police under Louis XV., who in 1737 ordered his courtiers, under threat of the Bastille, to abstain from joining it. The meetings of English Masons resident in Paris appear to have been tolerated, but the police sought to prevent Frenchmen from joining. We have already seen what Cardinal Fleury's comment was in 1737.[5] The same year Chapelot—an innkeeper—was severely fined for receiving a Lodge on his premises. On December 27, 1738, the

[1] "The editor of the private reprint of Heutzner, on that writer's tradition respecting 'the Kings of Denmark who reigned in England,' buried in the Temple Church, metamorphosed the two Inns of Court, *Gray's Inn* and *Lincoln's Inn*, into the names of the Danish Kings, *Gresin* and *Lyconin*. Erroneous proper names of places occur continually in early writers, particularly French ones. There are some in Froissart that cannot be at all understood. Bassompierre is equally erroneous. *Jorchaux* is intended by him for *York House;* and, more wonderful still, *Inhimthort* proves by the context to be *Kensington!*" (Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, edit. 1859, vol. i., p. 327).

[2] Supplement aux Mémoires de M. le Duc de St. Simon, t. i., p. 208.

[3] P. 196. [4] *Cf.* Chap. XVI., p. 41, note 4. [5] *Ante*, p. 338.

Lieutenant-General of Police, Hérault, dispersed an assembly in the Rue des Deux Ecus,[1] and really did imprison some of the members for a time. His machinations with the opera *danseuse* Carton in the same year, and the consequent issue of the *Relation Apologique*, have already been alluded to.[2] All this did not prevent the Count de Clermont from accepting the Grand Mastership; nor did his acceptance prevent the police interdicting Masonry once more in 1744, and in 1745 descending on the Hotel de Soissons, seizing the Lodge furniture, and fining the proprietor, Leroy, heavily. This seems to have been the last act of the French authorities against Freemasonry.

During the period I have just sketched, it has always been maintained that Ramsay introduced a Rite of five degrees[3] between 1736-38, called the "*Rite de Ramsay*" or "*de Bouillon.*" I trust to have already demonstrated that he did nothing of the sort, but it may be added, that beyond mere assertions, echoes of Thory, there is not the slightest evidence that a *Rite de Ramsay* ever existed. The appellation is a comparatively modern one, not being heard of until Thory invented it. Nevertheless, about 1740, various rites or degrees of Scots Masonry did spring into existence, followed shortly afterwards by Scots Mother-Lodges controlling systems of subordinate Scots Lodges. At first all these had reference to the recovery of the lost word, but before long additions were made. In 1743 the Masons of Lyons[4] invented the Kadosch degree, comprising the vengeance of the Templars, and thus laid the foundation for all the Templar rites. It was at first called Junior Elect; but developed into Elect of 9 or of Perignan, Elect of 15, Illustrious Master, Knight of Aurora, Grand Inquisitor, Grand Elect, Commander of the Temple, etc. 1751 is given as the date of the Lodge St. John of Scotland,[5] subsequently Mother-Lodge of Marseilles and Mother Scots Lodge of France; 1754 as that of the establishment of the Chapter of Clermont; 1754 of Martinez Paschalis's Elect Coëns, etc.[6] These dates may not be altogether accurate, but that they are sufficiently so is probable. Three works[7] of 1742-1745 make no mention of anything beyond the Master's degree,[8] but the *Sceau Rompu* of 1745 alludes to the connection with the Knightly orders, as do Travenol's further editions of his *Catéchisme* in 1747 and 1749. *Le parfait Maçon ou les véritables Secrets des quatre grades d' Aprentis, Compagnons, Maîtres ordinaires et Ecossais, etc.*, of 1744[9] professes to expose a Scots degree, speaks of there being six or seven such, and says that "this variation of Freemasonry *is beginning* to find favor in France;"[10] and the *Franc Maçonne*[11] of 1744 reproaches the majority of the Paris Masters with not knowing that Freemasonry consists of seven degrees.[12] The last statement I have room to quote, in support of this date for the first innovations in the ritual, is an extract from the rules and regulations of the Grand Lodge under the date of December 11, 1743, or the very day of Clermont's election. The first nineteen Articles are mere adaptations of the English Constitutions of 1723 and 1738. Article 20 reads, "As it appears that *lately* some brothers announce themselves as Scots

[1] Thory, Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 38. [2] *Ante*, p. 344.

[3] *E.g.*, Rebold, Hist. des trois G. Loges, p. 601.

[4] Thory, Acta Lat., vol. i., p. 52. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 63. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[7] Le Secret des Francsmaçons, Pérau, Geneva, 1742; L'Ordre de Francsmaçons trahi, Amsterdam, 1745; and Catéchisme des Francsmaçons, Leonard Gabanon, (Travenol, Paris) à Jerusalem, 1744. *Cf.* Kloss, Bibliog., Nos. 1848, 1850, and 1851.

[8] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 46. [9] Kloss, Bibliog., No. 1850.

[10] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 55.

[11] La Franc-Maçonne, etc., par Madame . . . Bruxelles, 1744. Kloss, Bibliog., No. 1857.

[12] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 55.

Masters, claiming prerogatives in private Lodges, and asserting privileges of which no traces are to be found in the archives and usages of the Lodges spread over the globe, the Grand Lodge, in order to cement the unity and harmony which should reign amongst Freemasons, has decreed that these Scots Masters, unless they are Officers of Grand Lodge or of a private Lodge, shall not be more highly considered by the brothers than the other apprentices and fellows, and shall wear no sign of distinction whatever."

It was possibly on account of the intrigues of these so-called Scots Masons that Clermont's Grand Lodge in 1743 took the title of *Grande Loge Anglaise de France.* Thory, for his own purposes, has chosen to consider that the title implied a connection with England, a sort of Provincial Grand Lodge for France. As a member of the "high degrees" he naturally felt disinclined to see in it either a protest against innovation, or a disclaimer of any connection with the Scots Masters; but in order to support his assertions, he has been disingenuous enough to invent an alleged correspondence with England, of which not a trace exists.

Louis de Bourbon, Count de Clermont, was born in 1709, and entered the Church, but in 1733 joined the army—the Pope granting a special dispensation, and allowing him to retain his clerical emoluments—succeeded Marshal Richelieu as commander, but got soundly thrashed by Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick at Crefeld in July, 1757, left the army, retired from court, applied himself to science and works of benevolence, and died June 15, 1771.[1]

Although elected G.M. in 1743, it was not until 1747 that he succeeded in obtaining the royal permission to preside, and even then appears to have taken no great interest in the affairs of the Craft. Under his rule a state of confusion and mismanagement arose. Thory attributes it chiefly to the low character of his deputies, and to the irremovability of the Masters of Lodges; Kloss and Rebold to the factions and strife of the different systems of high degrees; others to the neglect of the rulers; and many of the exposures—to some of which I have already referred—to *all* these causes, combined with the negligence shown in admitting men of worthless character to the privileges of the Society. Almost the only clue we possess in this labyrinth is the already cited "Mémoire Justificatif" of Brest-de-la-Chaussée in his quarrel with Labady. Unfortunately no copy is procurable, and so I must trust to partial extracts, and to the opinions of others.

Taking these allegations in their order, let us first inquire into the personality of the deputies of the Grand Master, and of a later class of officials called Substitutes. Thory, and following him, all French writers, knew of only one deputy, the banker Bauer, appointed in 1745. But Kloss[2] shows clearly enough that two others, La Cour and Le Dran, had previously filled the office, so that it was probably an annual appointment. We also hear of another called Daché. Bauer is charged with having neglected his duties; but if the office was only held for one year, his neglect could not have been of vital importance. In 1761 it would appear that the office no longer existed, having given place to that of "Substitute." Clermont's *Substitut Particulier* was Lacorne, a dancing master. This wretched person has been burthened with the sins of many other people. La Chaussée merely refers to him as having assisted the Duke at some initiations, and speaks of him as an amiable man. Thory,[3] on his own authority, improves upon this. He declares that Lacorne's *amiability* extended so far as to assist Clermont in his amorous intrigues, which procured

[1] Allgemeines Handbuch, *s.v.* Clermont. [2] Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 62.

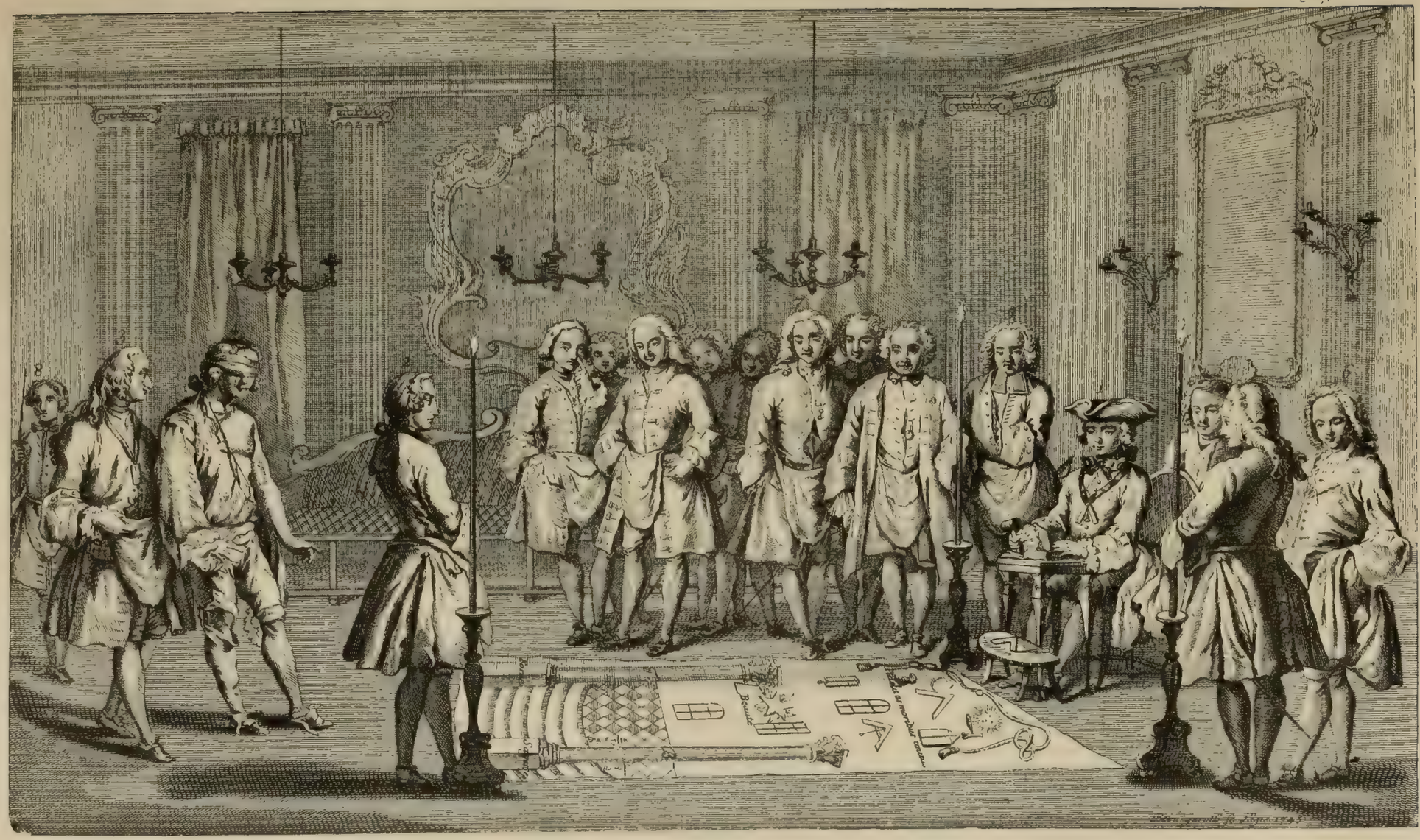
[3] Acta Latomorum, vol. i., p. 78; and Annales Originis, p. 20.

him his post of *Substitut Particulier;* that he surrounded himself with all the lowest characters in Masonry, out of whom he composed the Grand Lodge; that all the better members retired, and set up a rival Grand Lodge in 1761; and that the split was only healed on June 24, 1762, by revoking Lacorne's appointment in favor of Chaillon de Jonville as *Substitut General.* It is quite probable that at this epoch there were two bodies claiming to be *the* Grand Lodge for a few months, but the facts are evidently distorted, as the signatures to Morin's patent in 1761 will sufficiently attest. We there find Lacorne associating intimately with the *élite* of the Craft—the Prince de Rohan, Chaillon de Jonville (W. M. of the Premier Lodge of France), Count Choiseul, etc., and that the assembly of the Emperors is called at Lacorne's request. This does not look as if he were a despicable pander, nor as if his associates were the dregs of Masonry. Brest-de-la-Chaussée, who was a co-signatory of the same document, makes no such charge against him. As to Lacorne's being deposed in favor of Jonville, that very patent records their signatures side by side—each with his well-known title of Substitute General and Substitute-Particular. It is evident, therefore, that one office was not merged in the other, and that they were co-existent. As Lacorne's impeachment rests on Thory alone, and is contradicted by the little evidence which can be collected from other sources, we must in justice decline to entertain it.

Another charge is, that the Lodges were proprietary, presided over by irremovable Masters who had bought their patents, and in order to make a profit out of them, initiated every applicant however unworthy. That this may have happened in some few cases, especially where the Master was an innkeeper, I am not prepared to deny; the taunts of some of the contemporary so-called exposures would almost imply as much; but considering how many high names were enrolled in the Craft at this period, I cannot imagine that the evil was of intolerable extent. Thory maintains that from the very first, patents of constitution were made proprietary, but Lalande assures us that in 1738 the Masters were elected quarterly. Nevertheless, irremovable Masters did exist at the period we are considering, and there is proof of their existence as early as 1742, *i.e.*, before Clermont's time. Lalande again gives us the reason. Grand Lodge was composed of the Paris Masters only, not the Provincial, and to avoid the effect of inexperienced Masters assuming the rule of the Craft, the Paris Masters were made such *ad vitam.* That this agrees with facts, so far as they are known, we may infer from the minutes of the Versailles (a *Provincial*) Lodge which elected its W. M. yearly.[1] In view of the questions arising out of Morin's patent, it is well to note that this Lodge calls the Grand Lodge "The G. L. of St. John at Paris." The statutes of the Grand Lodge of 1755 ordain in Article 29 that the Master shall be elected annually on St. John the Baptist's Day. But although Masters *ad vitam* doubtless existed, and even in considerable numbers, there is no proof that the Lodges were proprietary. nor would such a state of matters have conduced to the prosperity of the Grand Lodge funds. The perpetual Masters, say a few of them who were innkeepers, may have had a bad effect upon the status of the Craft in general, but it is scarcely possible to connect them with the dissensions in Grand Lodge. Kloss has furnished the true reason in the strife of rival high-grade systems, and Rebold, Findel, and Jouast were perfectly justified in accepting his conclusions.

Studying the history of the Grand Lodge chronologically, the facts appear to be as follow. In 1754 the Chapter of Clermont was established, and granted supplementary degrees, being joined chiefly by the *élite* of the Craft. In 1755 Grand Lodge revised its stat-

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim, in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 67.



A French Lodge of Freemasons for the Reception of an Apprentice.

Copied from the very rare original print published in 1745.

1. The Grand Master.
2. The Senior Warden.
3. The Junior Warden.
4. The Candidate.
5. The Orator.
6. The Secretary.
7. The Treasurer
8. The Tyler.

utes and dropped the title of "English" which it had hitherto borne, possibly in deference to the wishes of its members, many of whom belonged to the Clermont Chapter, and all were probably admitted to some of the various Scots degrees. No copy of these statutes is to be found in France, but Kloss was enabled to use a magnificently illuminated edition belonging to a Frankfort Lodge.[1]

They are headed, "*Statuts dressés par la Resp. L. St. Jean de Jerusalem de l'Orient de Paris gouvernée par le très haut et très puissant Seigneur Louis de Bourbon, Comte de Clermont, Prince du Sang, Grand Maître de toutes les Loges regulières de France, pour servir de Règlement à toutes celles du Royaume.*" They consist of 44 articles, and conclude thus—"Given at Paris, in a Lodge specially summoned for the purpose, and regularly held between square and compass, in the presence of 60 brothers, masters, and wardens. In the year of the Great Light 5755, on July 4, and of the vulgar era 1755;" attached is the "mysterious seal of the Scots Lodge," in red wax with gold and sky blue thread; signed, Louis de Bourbon. Articles 1, 2, and 3 contain the Mason's duty to God, his sovereign, and the civil authorities. Article 4 preaches the equality of rich and poor. Articles 5 and 11 describe the moral requisities of a Mason. Article 13 gives the age of a candidate at 25—a Lewis may be made and passed before that age, but not raised. Article 19 provides that the W. M. on the day of St. John Baptist shall fix the dates of the twelve ensuing monthly meetings. Article 21 provides for the relief of applicants of all nations. Article 23, "Only the Master of the Lodge and the *Scots Masters* are permitted to remain covered," etc. Article 29 enacts that the Lodge is to attend mass on St. John's Day, elect its Master, who shall appoint the officers, etc. Article 23 refers to the governing body as *Grande Loge de France,* omitting the word *Anglaise.* It therefore becomes evident that the "Grand," like every private Lodge, possessed a title, and that it was "St. John of Jerusalem,"—an echo possibly of Ramsay's discourse. Article 42 is most important—"The Scots Masters are to superintend the work. They alone can censure faults. They are always at liberty to speak (*prendre la parôle*), to be always armed and covered, and if they fall into error can only be impeached by the Scots Masters." That there must have been a powerful high-grade influence at work in Grand Lodge can no longer be doubted, but it must not therefore be imagined that the Grand Lodge worked the so-called high degrees; this was doubtless done by the same individuals, but in another capacity and in Chapter.

In 1756 the Knights of the East were established, consisting principally of the middle class, in rivalry of the Chapter of Clermont, and the two organizations probably intrigued for the direction of Grand Lodge, the triennial election of Grand Officers forming, of course, the chief ground of battle.

In 1758 arose the Sovereign Council of the Emperors of the East and West. This was probably only a development of the Clermont Chapter, and very likely possessed a preponderating influence in Grand Lodge, as we know that both the Substitute General and the Substitute Particular were members of the Council.

1767.—The Lodge was divided into two camps, each arrogating to itself the authority of Grand Lodge, but Thory goes beyond the truth in his statement, that Lacorne withdrew

[1] Kloss. Gesch, der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 82. Lately published in full with translation in the London *Freemason,* June and July, 1885, by G. W. Speth, from a certified copy of the original mauuscript. *Cf.* also the letters on the subject in previous numbers of the *Freemason,* beginning January 17, 1885, between Mr. Speth and the Rev. A. F. A. Woodford, who combats the views entertained by Mr. Speth, and which I have adopted.

with a rabble and set up a Grand Lodge of his own. In this year, indeed, the faction (or Grand Lodge) headed by Lacorne *and Jonville*, held a joint meeting with the Emperors, which resulted in the grant to Morin of his famous patent.

1762.—Owing to a quarrel, the College de Valois, the governing body of the Knights, was dissolved, and a Sovereign Council of the rite took its place.

The triennial election of Grand Officers took place June 24. A compromise having been effected between the rival camps, each faction insured the election of some of its members. There not being room for all, Lacorne was unprovided for. As to his removal by the Count de Clermont, it rests only on Thory's assertion.[1] The two momentarily separated Grand Lodges now only formed one.

1765.—At the next election, it would appear as if the battle had been fought out to the end, and that the Emperors had secured almost all the offices. This gave rise to violent debates and recriminations, both in Lodge and in print, which ultimately became unendurable. As a consequence the most violent were banished; they appear to have belonged some to one faction, some to another. But the Emperors must always have had a great support in Brest-de-la-Chaussée,[2] the Grand Keeper of the Seals, and Chaillon de Jonville,[3] the Substitute General. Among the exiles may be mentioned Daubertin, the former secretary of the Emperors, and Labady, Chaussée's subsequent enemy.

On August 14, 1766, to put an end (if possible) to all strife, the Grand Lodge issued a circular forbidding its Lodges to have anything to do with any high grades whatsoever. It is probable that this was the result of another battle royal. That the Knights had been thoroughly worsted may be gathered from the fact that on October 2, 1766, Gaillard, the Grand Orator, moved and carried that the decree be repealed, and insisted upon the necessity of incorporation with the Council of the Emperors. The proposal was placed before the private Lodges by circular for their consideration. The Knights retaliated by a circular denouncing all Templar degrees; they themselves not working any of that description.

On February 4, 1767, the Knights made a last effort in Grand Lodge, and this time came to blows. Labady, who had been expelled, afterwards declared before a committee of the Grand Orient, August 13, 1773, that he had been present at this meeting, and had engaged in a personal quarrel. From which it appears probable, as before stated, that the excluded brethren entered Grand Lodge by force, and were expelled by the stronger party.

The report of these occurrences having reached the ear of the King, a decree of State was laid before Grand Lodge on February 21, 1767, ordering it to cease to meet. Freemasonry itself, however, was laid under no ban, but the dissolution of Grand Lodge made the governance of the Craft very difficult, and, of course, prevented the proposed amalgamation with the Emperors. The direction of affairs remained in the hands of Jonville and Chaussée, and it is the latter's conduct during the interval that was afterwards impugned by Labady, who, on his side, formed a Grand Lodge of his own, and entered into correspondence with the provincial Lodges; but Chaussée, who, of course, kept possession of the

[1] As an indication of the probable innocence of Lacorne, it is a curious fact that the only mention of his name in any documentary evidence which has come down to us, occurs in his own signature to Morin's patent. We know nothing whatever of his official career as a Mason, and from that moment he entirely disappears from the scene.

[2] Indications are, however, not wanting that Brest-de-la-Chaussée was at the same time a member of the Knights of the East. He certainly had been so at one time.

[3] This name is variously given as Chaillou, Chaillon, Jonville, Jouville, Joinville.

seals, etc., issued a circular giving the names of the excluded brethren, and so prevented his doing much mischief. In this way the strife was continued, and in spite of the dissolution of Grand Lodge new Lodges were chartered, the warrants being antedated by Chaussée.[1]

On June 15, 1771, the G.M., the Count de Clermont, died. As his death was followed by the establishment of two new and rival Grand bodies, neither of which can exactly claim to be the successor of *his* Grand Lodge, we may consider its history closed at this point. Rebold asserts that from 1743 to 1772 it had constituted over 300 Lodges in all, and has rescued the names and dates of 74, of which he gives a list.[2]

One curious fact remains to be mentioned before we proceed to the establishment of the Grand Orient of France. The following is an extract from the English "Book of Constitutions:"—"January 27, 1768.—The Grand Master informed the brethren that two letters had been received from the Grand Lodge of France expressing a desire of opening a correspondence with the Grand Lodge of England; and the said letters being read, Resolved, that a mutual correspondence be kept up, and that a book of Constitutions, a list of Lodges, and a form of a deputation, bound in an elegant manner, be presented to the Grand Lodge of France."[3] As the original Grand Lodge of France had ceased to legally exist for over a year, it would be interesting to know from which Grand Lodge these letters came, whether from Jonville or from Labady, and above all to whom the answer was directed, and how its arrival was insured. Apparently our rulers knew nothing whatever of French Freemasonry, and took it all as a matter of course; but as I shall presently have occasion to show, *our* Grand Lodge was never kept *au courant* of passing affairs, and in consequence, on more than one occasion, acted most outrageously towards its own most faithful Continental daughters. This official recognition of the Grand Lodge of France did not apparently entail any acknowledgment of its sole sovereignty. In 1767 England had constituted the English Lodge at Bordeaux, according it seniority from 1732, and the Lodge "*Sagesse*" at Hâvre, and in 1767 one at Grenoble. Subsequently to the receipt of the letters it warranted in 1772 the Lodge Candour[4] at Strassburg, and in 1785 the *Parfaite Amitié* at Avignon Languedoc. None of these Lodges were carried forward on the roll of the "United Grand Lodge of England" in 1813; and those at the *Louis d'Argent* and at Aubigny were erased on the same day that the letters from France were received, because they had either "ceased to meet or had neglected to conform to the laws of the Society."

The death of the Count de Clermont was the signal for momentous events. His influence at court had long been *nil;* if therefore he could be replaced by some one of more power, the Grand Lodge might again be allowed to meet. This really took place, and the new Grand Lodge therafter immediately split into two rival Grand Lodges. Up to the present we have had to pick our way to a great extent between conflicting traditions, but in describing approaching events a choice must be made between diametrically opposite views based on documentary evidence, of which a great quantity exists. No point of Masonic history has given rise to greater bitterness and recrimination than the foundation of the

[1] For a more detailed account of this period, *cf.* Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 78-120.

[2] Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, pp. 53-55.

[3] Also referred to in the minutes of the Committee of Charity, Oct. 23, 1767.

[4] In 1774 this Lodge became the seat of government of the Province of Burgundy under the Strict Observance. *Cf. ante*, p. 361.

Grand Orient. It has been variously maintained that it was a base scheme of the brethren exiled in 1765 to revenge themselves on the former Grand Lodge; that it was the work of a rabble of no standing; that it was a deeply laid device of Montmorency; that it was brought about by the high degrees; that it was a usurpation of the provinces; that it was unmasonic and illegal; and that it was a conspiracy of the commissioners of Grand Lodge—together with other accusations equally diverse and imaginary. Exigencies of space prevent my bringing these allegations before the bar of history, or dwelling upon them in any way. They are all the fruits of a marked enmity to the Grand Orient, and the example was set by Thory. That writer, like all the others, can only make a lame attempt to prove his charges by tampering with documentary evidence, or by wholesale suppression and perversion. I shall, therefore, content myself with a bare recital of events in chronological sequence, and for further details must refer my readers to Kloss's "History of French Freemasonry," vol. i., pp. 121-186, and to the pages of Jouast. The strife between De-la-Chaussée and Labady—so frequently alluded to—is interwoven with these proceedings, and contributed, I think, not a little to the ultimate results.

In the first place it will be well to cite the names of the exiled brethren, viz., Perrault,* Pethe,* Pény,* Hardy, Duret, Guillot, Daubertin,* Guillet,* Lacan,* Bigarré, Morin, and Labady.* Of these, Daubertin and Labady were certainly members of the Council of the Emperors, and possibly also some of the others, though this is uncertain, and they all appear to have held the status of simple citizens. The seven whose names are marked with an asterisk were Masters *ad vitam* of Paris Lodges, and Guillot was a Paris Master, but I have been unable to ascertain whether elected or irremovable.

From subsequent statements of De-la-Chaussée and the Duke of Montmorency, we learn that the latter had already been preferred to high office under the Count de Clermont, who had appointed him Substitute, in which capacity he had initiated the Duke of Chartres in his own Lodge. The date of this initiation is nowhere stated.

Tradition has it, that immmediately on the death of Clermont—June 15, 1771—the exiles communicated with Anne Charles Sigismond, Duke of Montmorency-Luxemburg, and through him induced Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Chartres—from 1787 Duke of Orleans, a Prince of the blood Royal, father of Louis Philippe, born April 13, 1747, and guillotined as "Citizen Egalité," November 6, 1793—to declare that if he were elected he would accept the post of Grand Master. In view of the social position of the exiles, we may perhaps inquire with Kloss whether the Duke of Luxemburg did not act on his own initiative, and simply communicate the result through these brethren. But this is a matter of small moment! Let us proceed with facts.

1771.—June 21.—Six days after Clermont's death a meeting was held of the Paris Masters, who then and there resolved to revive the communications of Grand Lodge. As the Grand Lodge consisted of the Paris Masters only, they were doubtless within their rights. At whose suggestion the Lodge was convoked is not clear, but it was summoned, and very properly, according to Masonic usage, presided over by De Puisieux[1] assisted by Léveillé and LeLorrain, the three Senior Masters of Lodges present. As the assembly was proceeding to elect a new Master, the exiles were announced and admitted. They demanded restitution of their rights, throwing the blame of past events on Zambault, Grand Secretary, then deceased. They retired, and the Grand Lodge agreed not to go into the matter too closely, out of respect for Zambault's memory, but hinted that this brother's conduct in other re-

[1] Initiated December 15, 1729. Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, p. 122.

spects tended to justify the charge. The exiles were readmitted, and received with open arms and the *kiss of peace.* One of them, Duret, then announced the glorious news that through their efforts the Dukes of Chartres and Luxemburg had consented to accept the office of G.M. and Substitute-General respectively. In order not to waste time, it was decided not to consult the provinces—*pro hac vice*—and the election was fixed for June 24. A committee was then appointed to verify De-la-Chaussée's acts during the interregnum. These were Martin, Pirlet,[1] Leroy, Daubertin, Bourgeois, Sec.-Gen.; Duret, Le Lorrain, Lescombart, Bruneteau, Guillot, and Labady, four of whom were former exiles. Although the reinstatement of the exiles was accomplished on this day, it was not placed on the minutes before October 17, possibly because this meeting of the Grand Lodge was considered informal.

1771.—June 24.—Grand Lodge. Unanimous election of the two Dukes; appointment of a deputation to the Duc de Chartres to acquaint him thereof, and to pray his acceptance of office. The deputation consisted of Pény, Duret, L'Eveillé, Guillot, Daubertin, and Bruneteau—with the exception of L'Eveillé and Bruneteau—all former exiles. I may here note that the Duc de Chartres showed no great anxiety to take over the duties of his office, and that from 1771 to 1778 the Duke of Luxemburg, who soon assumed the title of General Administrator, was, in all but the name, the real Grand Master.

August 14.—Grand Lodge. Approbation of revised Statutes in 53 and 41 Articles. Legend on seal, "Grande Loge des Maîtres de l'Orient de Paris." "Art. 1. G. Lodge is composed of the Masters of all regularly constituted Lodges." It will be observed that we have here the first step in a very salutary reform. Article 3 gives Wardens a consultative voice in Grand Lodge, but no vote. Article 5 ordains that the twenty-seven Grand Officers be elected from the *Paris* Masters only. These Grand Officers formed the *Loge de Conseil* or Managing Board. Article 8. The *Loge de Conseil* to meet monthly.

October 17.—Circular of Grand Lodge announcing past events, and calling upon the Lodges in the Provinces to appoint deputies to attend the installation of the Grand Master at a date to be subsequently decided. It gives a list of the Grand Officers, of whom I may name as important for our researches, Daubertin, Sec.-Gen.; Guillot, Treasurer; Duret, Warden of the Seals; Labady, Sec. for the Provinces; Bigarré, 2nd Expert; Maurin, Asst. Sec. for the Provinces. So that of twenty-four officials six belonged to the exiled party.

1772.—January 29.—Committee reported on De-la-Chaussée's acts during the interregnum. Labady, among others, signed "of his own free will and accord," and all was pronounced in order, showing a balance of 201 *livres*, 16 *sols*, against De-la-Chaussée, who was granted an Honorary Diploma as Past Grand Warden of the Seals.

April 5.—Chartres signs a document, wherein he says that in view of the resolution passed in Grand Lodge June 24, 1771, and in the Sovereign Council of the Emperors August 26, 1771, he has accepted the offices of Grand Master of all regular Lodges in France, and Sovereign Grand Master of all Councils, Chapters, and Scots Lodges of the Grand Globe of France. This last phrase was the newest title of the organization of the Emperors.

April 18.—Grand Lodge. The Duke of Luxemburg is congratulated on the birth of a son, and proposes that the Lodge *St. Jean de Montmorency-Luxembourg*, in which the Grand Master had received initiation, shall be made members of Grand Lodge. Agreed that they shall all have seats and votes in Grand Lodge, and that three in turn shall sit and vote in the *Loge de Conseil.* These brothers were all members of the nobility, and

[1] *Ante*, p. 350.

thus helped to weaken the majority in Grand Lodge, composed of Parisian perpetual Masters. Labady, as Secretary for the Provinces, then reported on the state of the Lodges, and reviewed the past legislation from 1765. The speech is lost to us, but it contained a malicious impeachment of De-la-Chaussée, and was the immediate cause of the "*Mémoire Justificatif.*" It will be remembered that during the interregnum Chaussée officiated for the Grand Lodge, and that Labady attempted to set up a Grand Lodge of his own. The embittered personal quarrel which ensued is sad to contemplate, but perhaps not unnatural. Labady had on February 29 thoroughly approved De-la-Chaussée's acts, so that his conduct was inconsistent, to say the least of it. The Grand Master's manifesto of April 5 was read to and approved by Grand Lodge.

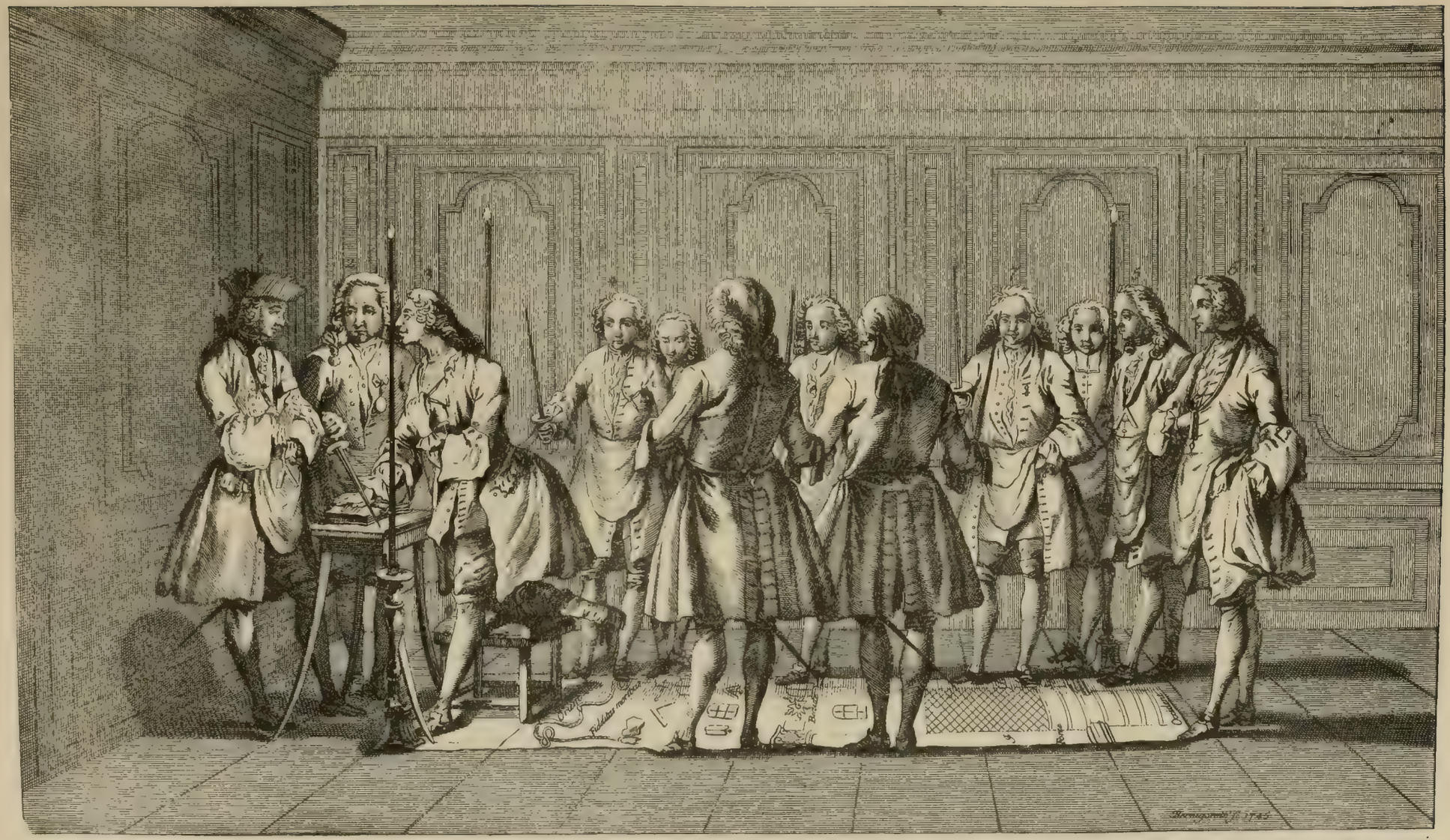
1772.—July.—Circular to all Lodges reporting past events, and preparing their deputies to receive an invitation for the installation in November or December.

July 26.—Meeting of the Emperors of the East and West, "Sublime Scots Lodge," President, the Duke of Luxemburg. The Grand Orator Gaillard, Sec.-Gen. Labady, Baron Toussainct, and De Lalande were appointed a deputation to Grand Lodge to renew proposals of fusion made October 2, 1766.

August 9.—Grand Lodge. President, Puisieux. Appeared the deputation of the Emperors. Gaillard submitted the proposal, Bruneteau, Grand Orator of Grand Lodge, replied. It was "unanimously and irrevocably decided that the Supreme Council of the Emperors of the East and West—Sublime Mother Scots Lodge—shall be, and from this moment is, united to the very respectable G. L., to constitute with it one sole and inseparable body, uniting all Masonic knowledge and legislative power over all the degrees of Masonry under the title of *Sovereign and very respectable Grand Lodge of France.*" The Commissioners of the Emperors had been empowered to request the appointment of Grand Lodge Commissioners, and with them to revise the Statutes, the revision to be approved of at a joint meeting of the two bodies. The Grand Lodge appointed their Grand Secretary, Daubertin—himself an "Emperor" and a signatory of Morin's patent—Bruneteau, Lacan, and Boulainvilliers. These are the eight commissioners who were afterwards accused of treachery to Grand Lodge. It will be observed that Labady, Daubertin, and Lacan were old exiles.

August 29.—Grand Lodge. The commissioners receive extra instructions. I. They are to obtain audience of the Administrator-General, and request him to represent to Grand Lodge the possible inconvenience of his accepting the Presidency of other Councils, Chapters, etc. III. To circulate such representation, when obtained, amongst the Lodges. IV. They are enjoined to occupy themselves at once with the preparation of the necessary reform of the abuses which had crept into the Craft. The other instructions may be omitted. It will be observed that No. IV. gives them very wide powers indeed.

September 4.—Luxemburg declares that although he had accepted the Presidency of the Lodge of the Knights of the East [erected March 7, 1771], Grand Lodge may be assured that he will never acknowledge any foreign body as independent of it, and that in this particular case he will never allow said Lodge any special jurisdiction, etc., etc. From this it would appear that the Knights of the East were then so reduced in number as to consist of no more than one Lodge, and that only lately re-established. He also informed Grand Lodge that the Grand Master had fixed December 8 for his installation, and ordered that all Parisian and Provincial Lodges be informed of the fact; that they be requested to ac-



A French Lodge of Freemasons for the Reception of an Apprentice.

Copied from the very rare original print published in 1745.

1. The Grand Master.
2. The Orator.
3. The Candidate.
4. The Secretary.
5. The Senior Warden.
6. The Junior Warden.
7. The Treasurer.

credit deputies for the festival; that they be further informed Commissioners would then be appointed to examine the proposed new statutes.

1772. September 12.—A circular to the above effect was sent to all the Lodges.

September 17.—Circular signed by seven of the eight Commissioners, Lalande failing to sign. After describing the disorders produced by so many independent Chapters all claiming a supremacy over Grand Lodge, it continues, "The G. L. is occupied with the means of meeting this evil. . . . Since it resumed work its first care has been devoted to this subject, . . . and it has united with the Sov. Council of the Emperors, etc., to form one sole body, etc., etc; . . . further, it intends to examine *all* grades, to bring them back to their original form, and to indicate their rank. We have been specially instructed to make the necessary preparations. . . . We flatter ourselves you will help us by forwarding your views upon the *administration in general*, etc."

October 9.—Grand Lodge. Labady *v.* De-la-Chaussèe. Resolved by 30 to 15 as follows:—I. All titles conferred by Chaussée during the interregnum, excepting that of W. M., are declared *nul.* II. Chaussée is within fourteen days to deliver to Grand Lodge all documents in his possession. III. He is to refund to the Treasurer, according to his own proposal, 336 *livres.* V. He is to pay the Tyler 6 livres for unintentionally accusing Boucher de Lenoncourt of having been excluded from Grand Lodge. VI. Chaussée is acquitted of all other faults imputed to him in Labady's essay. De-la-Chaussée was apparently not satisfied, for on March 9 following appeared his "*Mémoire Justificatif.*"

November 16.—Circular postponing the installation. Several deputies returned to the Provinces, the greater number, however, remaining in Paris to participate in the work of the Commissioners.

December 10.—Last meeting of the revived Grand Lodge. None were subsequently called under the pretence of "Superior orders." As a matter of fact the decree against the meeting of Grand Lodge had never been revoked.

1773.—March 5.—Meeting at the Hôtel de Chaulnes, the residence of the Duke of Luxemburg, between the eight Commissioners and the deputies of Provincial Lodges. Jouast gives the list of these deputies; including the Duke of Luxemburg and the Grand Officers they number ninety-six, and for the most part were men of high position or attainments. Nor were they all Provincial. Either as Grand Officers or Provincial Deputies, the Paris Masters were represented by Bodson, Bruneteau, Daubertin, Baron Clauzels, Gaillard, Gouillard, Guillot, Labady—alone the proxy of twenty-seven Lodges in the Provinces—Lacan, Lafin, De Lalande, the Abbé Boulainvilliers, and others. But it will of course be seen that the Parisians were in a minority for the first time in French Freemasonry. Nothing was decided at this meeting, but the first two chapters of the new Constitutions were read.

March 8.—Meeting of the Provincials only. The election of June 24, 1771, by the Paris Masters was confirmed amid acclamation. Count Buzençois de Luxemburg, Bacon de la Chevalerie, and Richard de Bégnicourt were elected to form with three Paris Masters (Baron Toussainct, De Lalande, and Bruneteau), a deputation to inform the Dukes of the confirmation. Resolved to join the deliberations of the Paris brethren respecting the welfare of the Order.

March 9.—Meeting of Commissioners and Provincial Deputies. President, Luxemburg. "The sole and unique tribunal of the Order was proclaimed with the title of 'National Grand Lodge of France,' exercising in the greatest amplitude the supreme power of the

Order." The first two chapters of the new Constitutions were accepted, subject to definition. A committee of definition was appointed, consisting of Buzençois, B. de la Chevalerie, Chev. Champeau, R. de Bégnicourt, De Bauclas, Morin, Toussainct, De Lalande, and Bruneteau, the four latter being Paris Masters. Chaussée's *Mémoire*, which had recently appeared, was brought to the notice of the meeting. A judicial committee was appointed to take it into consideration, revise the decision of October 9, 1772, and adjudicate in the matter, their judgment to be without appeal, and to be made known to all the Lodges, and Chaussée to refrain from further publishing his *Mémoire*. Hence the scarcity of that valuable document. The committee consisted in great part of the same members as the committee of definition; only to avoid any chance of partiality, the Paris Masters were replaced by Provincials. President, De Bauclas; members, Count Buzençois, Bégnicourt, Abbé Roziers, Guillotin, Furcy, Varenne de Béost, Mariette de Castaing. They received their written authority the next day, and Pyron was added to the number as Secretary, and Carbonnel as a member of the former committee, but in either case without a vote.

1773.—March 19.—Labady demanded permission to print his defence, and offered to accept a coadjutor in his office of Secretary for the Provinces. The first request was denied, and he was relieved of his appointment during inquiries. Bégnicourt, Castaing, and Buzençois being on the point of leaving Paris, were replaced by Lamarque l'Americain of St. Domingo, Lucadou, and the Abbé Jossot. This commission sat seventeen times.

The last meeting of the Commissioners and Provincial Deputies had taken place on March 9. It was probably felt that the former could scarcely be considered to represent Grand Lodge in arriving at a decision, as their duty was merely to prepare a scheme; but that the Provincial Lodges being represented by deputies, the Paris Masters should follow suit. Whether that was the reason or not, a long interval occurred, and during the delay twenty Paris Masters met and chose three deputies, viz., De Méry d'Arcy, Leroy, and Mangeau; a second division—or as it was termed, column—of fifteen Masters, chose two deputies, Régnard and Gouillard, Senior; a third column, of twelve Masters, chose four deputies, Richard, Joubert de la Bourdinière, Count de Jagny, and Herault; and a fourth column, of fourteen Paris Masters, elected two deputies, Packault and Théaulon. As they took care not to elect members already on the board, they thus strengthened their own side considerably.

April 7.—Meeting of Provincial and Paris Deputies, Commissioners, and Grand Officers. Toussainct appointed Secretary to the Board of Revision—this name is not historic, and I merely use it for convenience.

April 13.—A fifth column, of twenty Masters, elected three deputies, Gerbier,[1] Martin, and Caseuil, Jun.

April 14.—Board of Revision. Junction of last-named deputies.

April 17.—Board of Revision. The first chapter of the new Statutes as amended by the new Commissioners adopted with enthusiasm.

April 22.—Board of Revision. The second chapter read amidst *partial* applause. In recognition of his services Luxemburg was permitted to nominate—*pro hac vice*—all the officers of Grand Lodge.

[1] We shall presently see that Gerbier joined the Grand Orient, and became a man of very great note as the possessor of capitular Charters, dating from 1721! *Cf. post*, p. 415.

773. May 24.—Board of Revision. Savalette de Langes, in the name of Chaillon de Jonville, acknowledged the two Dukes as regularly elected, and resigned his appointment. Jonville now disappears from the scene as mysteriously as Lacorne had previously done. First chapter of the Statutes confirmed with acclamation.

May 28.—Board of Revision. Count Buzençois de Luxemburg and fifteen honorary Grand Officers elected, installed, and acclaimed. Revision proceeded with.

June 2.—Board of Revision. Confirmation by the Administrator General of all officers elected. The second chapter of the Statutes also confirmed. Three members of the Committee of Definition being absent, were replaced by the Marquis de Tonnerre, Varenne de Béost, and Leroy, the latter being a Paris Master.

June 7.—Board of Revision. Final confirmation of the first two chapters.

June 14.—Board of Revision. First signs of dissatisfaction on the part of the Paris Masters. They began to perceive that a most salutary reform—the abolition of perpetual Masters—affected their vested interests. The Statutes, strange to say, presented at the first meeting of the Board on March 5 recognized as Masters only such as should have received the 15 degrees and *the last three, i.e.*, 18 in all. It must not be forgotten that the Grand Lodge was at that time practically identical with the Emperors, so that we are left somewhat in the dark as to whether the Emperors really worked 25 degrees. If they did not, then there can remain no doubt that the Grand Constitutions of B—— in 1762, which particularise 25 degrees, were really manufactured—like the last 8 degrees themselves—in America. The new Committee of 9—March 9—had, however, defined as follows:—"Article 4. The Grand Orient acknowledges in future only such Masters as shall have been freely elected to this office by the Lodge." "Article 5. The Masonic body of France shall in future be represented in the G. Orient by all actual Worshipful Masters or by the Lodge deputies." The term *Grand Orient* had first been used in a circular of June 5, 1772, by the unreformed Grand Lodge. It will be perceived that these two articles not only struck a blow at the perpetuity of a Paris Master's tenure of office, but also changed entirely the nature of Grand Lodge, which had previously consisted of these monopolists only. However, concessions were made to their protests. Article 4 was maintained, but it was agreed that each Master *ad vitam* should resign "name and seniority to his Lodge," and receive in recompense the title of Founder and Past Master; all charges incurred by him for purchase of warrant, jewels, and furniture, etc., to be refunded by the members. He might be re-elected, but could not be forced to accept an inferior office; took precedence immediately after the W. M.; and was a member of Grand Lodge. To enjoy these prerogatives, however, those who held a personal warrant, but no Lodge, were required to affiliate with one forthwith. This justifies the conclusion that every one of the Paris Masters of the 5 columns—81 in number—could not have actually presided over a Lodge, a rather curious state of things. This was, of course, the opportunity for Labady, who had been, pending process, relieved of his office on March 19.

June 17.—Paris Masters' Grand Lodge. A general assembly of the old Grand Lodge was called. Present 42 of the 81 Paris Masters; in all, 48 Parisians, including Labady, Toussainct (Sec. of the Board of Revision), De Lalande, Bruneteau, Lacan, and Boulainvilliers. Gaillard and Daubertin did not appear. The powers granted to the 8 Commissioners of August 9, 1772, were withdrawn; the 15 deputies declared divested of their charge; and a protest sketched out by a committee of 18. Lalande and Toussainct withdrew before the minutes were signed; Bruneteau, Gaillard, and Daubertin subsequently

joined the new Grand Orient; of the eight Commissioners, three only—Labady, Lacan, and Boulainvilliers—went back to the old Paris Masters' Lodge.

1773. June 18 and 20.—Meetings of this committee and preparation of the protest.

June 21.—Board of Revision. Labady presents himself as the emissary of the Old Grand Lodge, and hands in the protest, which after many "*whereas's*," declares that every act of the board is illegal, null, and of no value, and calls upon the Lodges to rally to their old Grand Lodge, and to help him in persuading the Duke of Luxemburg to put himself once more at their head. He then declared the so-called National Grand Lodge non-existent, and desired to withdraw from several brethren the title of deputy (of various Lodges) with which he had formerly entrusted them. The meeting declared this to be impracticable, and Labady retired. New honorary Grand Officers were appointed, the third chapter of the Statutes agreed to, and it was ordered that the first three chapters should be printed.

June 24.—Grand fête given to the new Grand body by the Duke of Luxemburg; present 81 *convives*.

June 26.—Last meeting of the Board of Revision. The fourth chapter of the Statutes approved of and ordered to be printed, and a circular detailing the whole course of events drawn up and confirmed. The assembly then separated, and from this day we may date the final completion of the *National* Grand Lodge of France, which, however, soon changed its name to Grand Orient. Among the 45 officials of the new Grand Lodge are 19 Paris Masters, who therefore resigned their privileges.[1]

July 23.—The old Lodge—which I shall in future call the Grand Lodge—met again, and on July 29 held a festival *in the name* of the Duke of Luxemburg, whom it continued to look upon as its head.

I think it will now be admitted that the taunts and gibes of Thory and his congeners are misplaced, and that all things were done in perfect order and with due legality. The Paris Masters, that is, the old Grand Lodge, concurred in all the proceedings until their vested rights were threatened. That the Grand Lodge was justified in abrogating these rights in the general interest must be freely conceded. "In all countries [and communities] the legislative power must, to a general intent, be absolute."[2] Compensation was offered, which is not always the case—witness the emancipation of the slaves in the United States.[3]

[1] Kloss and Jouast—who are in substantial accord—are my authorities for the foregoing. These writers rely on the following publications. The numbers within parenthesis refer to the Bibliographie der Freimaurerei by Dr. Kloss. Statuts et Reglements de la Grande Loge de France, arrêté par deliberation du 14 Aout 1771 (203 and 4122); Grand Elu, etc., Paris, 1781 (1916); La très R.G.L. de France a toutes les loges regulières, June 24, 1771 (4121); Procès-Verbal de la scéance, etc., du 18 Juin, 1772 (4123); La très R.G.L. de France a toutes les loges regulières, May 18, 1772 (4124); Extrait des régistres de la Souv. G.L. de France, September 12, 1772 (4126); Mémoire Justificatif, 1772 (4128); La Grande Loge Nat. de France a toutes, etc., 1773 (4129); Statuts du Grand Orient de France, etc., 1773 (4130); Extrait des Registres, etc. (4131); La très R.G.L. de France à toutes, etc., 1773 (4132); Au Grand Orient de France, etc. (4341).

[2] *Per* Lord Hardwick, C., in the debate on the Bill for abolishing Scottish heritable offices and jurisdictions, the retention of which had been guaranteed by the articles of Union (Campbell, Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. v., p. 113).

[3] "Ancient as well as modern history is full of instances illustrating the absurdity of irremovable laws. Every one knows that the North American States made a compact when they formed the Union not to interfere with the institution of slavery in the slave States. But nevertheless slavery was abolished by a proclamation of President Lincoln" (Mr Jacob Norton in the *Freemasons' Chronicle*, Jan. 11, 1879).

Neither, indeed, could the Masters raise any valid objection to their privileges having been cut down by a mixed body of metropolitan and provincial deputies, because on August 14, 1771, they had themselves enacted Article I. of the first new Statutes. They might certainly have contended that the compensation offered was inadequate, and have said, "If *you* prefer a new Grand Lodge, well and good, *we* are satisfied with the old one, and will revive it by virtue of our inherent authority." This is what they practically did, but when they proceeded to stigmatise the new body as illegal, they went altogether beyond their province. Both parties, therefore, were strictly "within their rights," and to cast imputations upon one or the other is manifestly unjust. Nor can either of them be denominated a rabble—certainly not the brilliant assembly of the new Lodge, and with equal certainty not the older body, because, in spite of the possibly worthless character of Labady[1] himself, it comprised within its ranks many honourable men, and some who were highly distinguished both by their social position and intellectual attainments. A very peculiar fact is, that the Council of the Emperors was quite overlooked in the new Statutes, so much so that they soon showed themselves again as an independent body.

1773.—August 13.—Sitting of the Judicial Commission. De-la-Chaussée *v.* Labady. Seventeenth meeting. Report. 1. The commission refers the validity of constitutions delivered during the recess to the Grand Orient. 2. De-la-Chaussée to make a stipulated declaration before the next assembly. 3. The money alleged to be owing is remitted for want of proof. 5. The fine of 6 *livres* formally imposed is unjustified. 6. General acquittal. The declaration stipulated for, and which he eventually most handsomely made, was to the effect that he was sorry he had published his *Mémoire*, or that it should be considered that he intended to injure any person, which was far from being his intention. Labady is convicted of having maliciously renewed on April 18, 1772, unfounded charges, of which he had himself acquitted De-la-Chaussée on January 29 previously, and of having failed to clear himself of Chaussée's countercharges. He is therefore suspended for nine months, and other charges made against him by private Lodges are left to the judgment of the Grand Orient.

September 1.—National Grand Lodge. Chaussée reinstated and made a Grand Officer.

September 10.—The Grand Lodge issued a circular stamped with the old seal, and calculated in many ways to lead to confusion, especially as it made use of Montmorency's name, and was signed by Duret and Labady, names familiar in another capacity to the Provinces. Montmorency forgot himself in his anger, and obtained a *lettre de cachet* under which Labady and Duret were imprisoned, in order to force them to deliver up the documents, seals, and archives of the old Lodge. They were shortly released, but without the desired effect being produced. The Emperors made common cause with the Grand Lodge at first, but after 1775 *circa* were once more quite independent, although we do not hear much more of them. Labady became their Secretary-General, and in 1780 they erected a bust to this Masonic martyr, bearing the punning lines, "Whilst abhorring vice, fly the *pit of perdition*" (*La Chaussée de perdition*). A librarian by profession, he appears to have made an income by selling cheap rituals, those of the Emperors included.

The Composition of the new body as finally settled by the last board meeting of June 26, 1773, was a distinct advance on any previous Grand Lodge in France. The entire brother-

[1] According to a circular of the Duke of Luxemburg—March 18, 1775—he was once more excluded by his own Grand Lodge about the end of 1774, after which we only hear of him in connection with the Emperors.

hood, or confederacy, which took the title of Grand Orient, and met for the festivals, was composed of all the Worshipful Masters or their deputies. Out of these members, 77 were chosen to form the *Grande Loge Nationale*, viz., the Grand Master, Grand Administrator, and Grand Conservator, 15 *officiers d'honneur* of the Grand Orient, at their head being the representative of the G.M.; 45 officers (*en exercice*)—composing the subsidiary boards—7 Lodge Masters of Paris, and 7 of the Provinces. The *Grande Loge Nationale* thus constituted, met quarterly. The subsidiary boards were—1. The *Loge de Conseil* or Chamber of Appeal. 2. The *Chambre d'Administration* or Board of General Purposes. 3. The *Chambre de Paris* or Metropolitan Board; and 4. The *Chambre des Provinces* for the Lodges outside Paris. The three superior officers were elected *ad vitam*, and the honorary officers for the whole duration of the Grand Master's tenure; the working Officers, *i.e.*, the other 45, went out by thirds each twelve-month, but were eligible for re-election by the Grand Orient. On December 27, 1773, the *Grand Loge Nationale* was dissolved as such, and its members from thenceforth constituted the *Loge de Conseil*, meeting monthly. In its place the whole of the Grand Orient was to meet quarterly, so that at last we see every Lodge represented by its Master or Deputy in the governing body. From that date, therefore, the *Grand Loge Nationale á l'Orient de Paris* became the *Grand Orient de France.*

Up to October 14 the Grand Master had refused to receive the deputations from Grand Lodge. On that day he received them, and appointed the date of his installation. It was to take place after his return from a visit to Fontainebleau.

1773.—October 22.—Installation of the Duc de Chartres.

December 27.—*Grand Orient* constituted as above. A commission consisting of Bacon de la Chevalerie, Count Stroganoff, and Baron Toussainct[1] was appointed to revise and examine all the high degrees, and all Lodges were directed to work meanwhile in the three symbolic degrees only.

December 27.—The Grand Lodge—professing to work under the auspices of the Duc de Chartres—appointed its officers in his name, inveighed against the Grand Orient as illegal, and forbade its members to visit Lodges of the rival body. It assumed as its full title "*Très respectable Grand Loge, seul et unique Grand Orient de France.*"

1774.—March 7.—Grand Orient. Proposal to establish thirty-two Provincial Grand Lodges in order to lighten the labors of Grand Orient. Subsequently carried on October 20, but the resolution produced little effect, as there were never more than four or five established. In 1806 they were declared unnecessary, and in 1810 were entirely done away with.[2]

June 24.—Resolution not to admit artisans until they shall have attained the Mastership in their trade. Domestic servants were declared ineligible, except as serving brothers. In the course of this year, members of the theatrical profession were precluded from receiving the privileges of the Craft, on the ground of their being too dependent on the favor of the public. An exception was made, however, in the case of musicians.

Deputies to Grand Orient were only allowed to represent in future five Lodges each, and Grand Orient formally approved of Lodges of Adoption in which ladies were admitted to ceremonies somewhat resembling Freemasonry. These Lodges soon became most

[1] They became members of the Strict Observance, which may possibly account for their never executing their commission.

[2] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 198; *post*, pp. 422, 423.



1773.—October 27.—Installation of the Rue de Glacière.

December 27.—*Grand Orient* constituted as above. A commission consisting of Baron de la Chevalerie, Count Alexandre, and Baron Tassaint[1] was appointed to revise and examine all the high degrees, and all Lodges were directed to work meanwhile in the three symbolic degrees only.

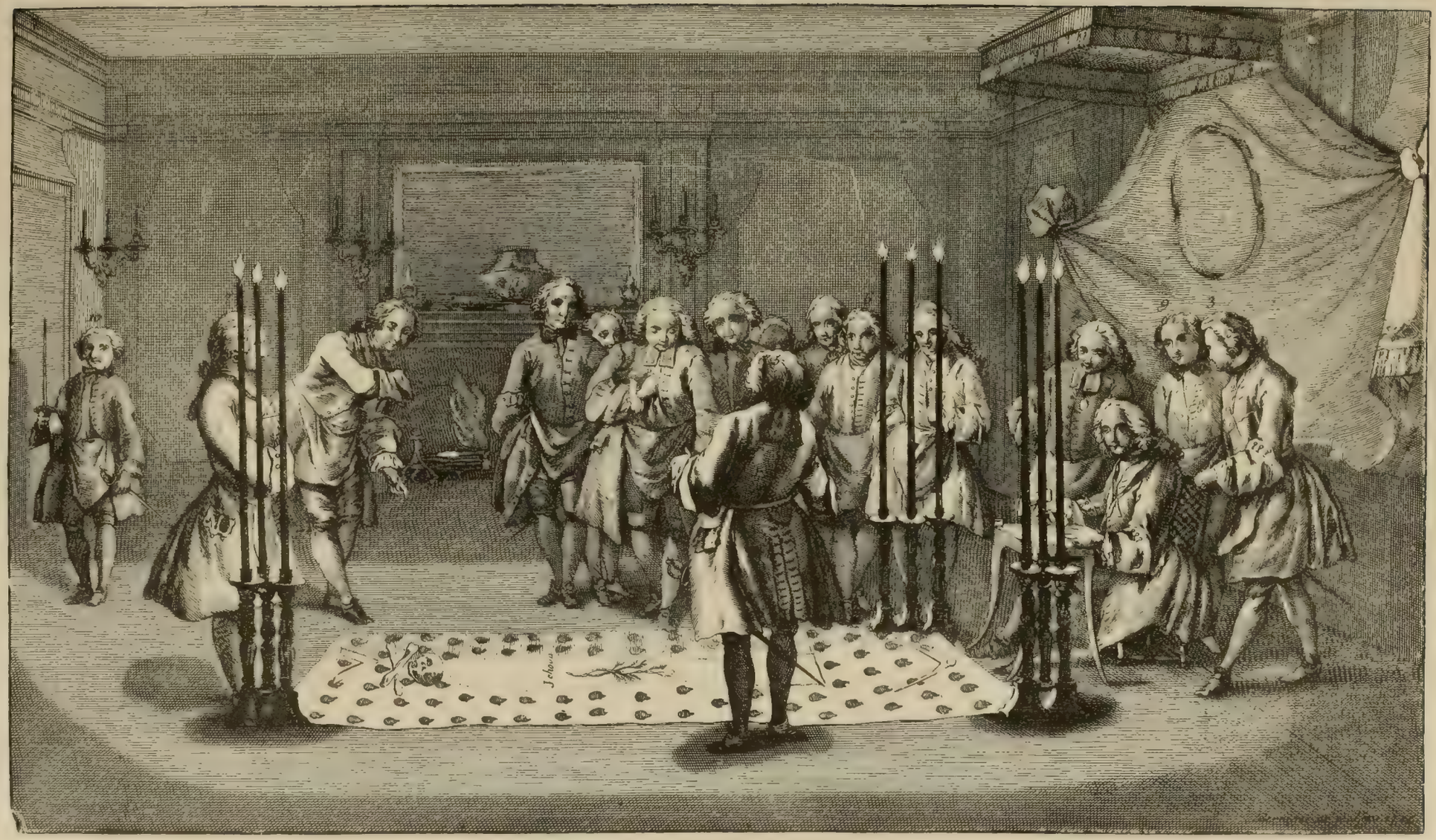
December 27.—The Grand Lodge [illegible] to work under the auspices of the Rite [illegible] appointed its officers in the same manner [illegible] Grand Orient as [illegible] and [illegible] Lodges of the city [illegible] It assumed at the [illegible] [illegible] Lodge, and [illegible] three degrees of [illegible].

1774.—March 4.—Grand Orient. Proposal to establish [illegible] Provincial Grand Lodges in order to lighten the labors of Grand Orient. Subsequently settled at [illegible] 20, but the resolution produced little effect, as there were never more than four or five established. In 1776 they were declared unnecessary, and in 1810 were entirely done away with.

June 24.—Resolution not to admit artisans until they shall have attained the Master's [illegible] in their lodge. Honorary members declared [illegible] to serve as officers. In the course of this year, numbers of the Universal published were prevented from passing the [illegible] of the Lodge, on the ground of their being not dependent on the favor of the public. An exception was made [illegible] in the case of musicians.

Deputies to Grand Orient were only allowed to represent in future five Lodges each, and could [illegible] formally approved of Lodges of Adoption, of which ladies were admitted to membership, [illegible] Freemasonry. These Lodges soon became more [illegible]

[1] [illegible] *post*, vol. III, 448.



A French Lodge of Freemasons for the Reception of a Master.

Copied from the very rare original print published in 1745

1. The Grand Master
2. The Orator.
3. The Secretary.
4, 5 & 6. Brothers with rolls of paper.
7. The Senior Warden
8. The Junior Warden.
9. The Treasurer.
10. The Tyler.

brilliant assemblies, that is, having regard to the persons who took part in them, especially under the Empire, but inasmuch as they are scarcely of Masonic interest I shall not further allude to them.

1774.—August 12.—The Grand Orient having completed its new premises in the *Rue* Pot-de-Fer, took possession of them. The grand address on this occasion was delivered by De Lalande.

September 9.—A new Lodge, *St. Jean de Chartres*, was constituted at Mousseaux near Paris, for H.S.H. the Duc de Chartres, in which he occupied the Master's chair.

December 27.—On the proposal of Luxemburg the Honorary Grand Officers were in future to hold their offices subject to re-election every three years, and their appointment was left in the hands of the Grand Orient.

In this year—1774—three Templar Directories were formed at Lyons, Bordeaux, and Strassburg.[1] The Grand Orient is stated to have been at the head of 144 Lodges, of which 64 had been constituted or rectified during the year,[2] and the Grand Lodge had constituted 3 new ones.[3]

1775.—February 3.—The Inquisition dispersed the *Mère Loge du Comtat Venaissin*,[4] and during the year the old Grand Lodge warranted eight Lodges.[5]

1776.—March 24.—The Grand Orient replaced the former committee to inquire into the high grades, by Guillotin, Savalette de Langes, Morin, De la Chaussée, and De Lalande.

May 31.—From the beginning of 1775 a commission had been engaged in formulating a compact between the Scots Directories of the IInd., IIIrd. and Vth. Provinces and the Grand Orient. Several of the Commissioners representing the Grand Orient were already members of the Strict Observance system, so that we need not be surprised that the treaty concluded on this date was more advantageous to the Directories than to the Grand Orient. The Templar Lodges were to use their own ritual and obey their own superiors, but had to be chartered by the Grand Orient, and pay fees to that body, returning also a list of their members. Mutual visiting was to be permitted, and although a French Mason was not allowed to belong to two French Lodges at one and the same time, he might under this concordat belong to one Lodge under each of the two contracting systems.[6] Many French Lodges protested, and for two especial reasons. By the treaty French Masons were rendered subject to "Unknown" (and presumably *foreign*) "Superiors," which Superiors were themselves no party to the contract. It is probable that the success of the Scots Philosophic Rite,[7] a Scots system purely French, may be ascribed to the feeling of patriotism thus awakened?

The circular of June 24, 1776, announcing the conclusion of the treaty, was not issued till later, and contains an appendix of August 19, with a list of 205 Lodges—Paris, 34; Provincial, 148; Regimental, 23. Some, however, are described as dormant.[8] In the same year the Lodge "*Neuf Sœurs*" (Nine Muses) was founded by De Lalande. It comprised much of the literary, artistic, and scientific talent of Paris. Among the members were Benjamin Franklin, Vernet, Greuze, Lacépède, Helvetius, and *Paul Jones?*

[1] *Ante*, p. 361 (Strict Observance). [2] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol. i., p. 204.

[3] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 35.

[4] *Ante*, p. 372. [5] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 35.

[6] The 12 articles of compact are given in full by Kloss, Geschichte der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 210-212.

[7] *Ante*, p. 371. [8] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol., i., p. 227.

On April 7, 1778, a few weeks before his death, Voltaire, whose pungent pen had previously satirised Masonry, was initiated in this Lodge.

1776.—December 9.—The Grand Orient refused to recognize the *Contrat Social* as a Mother-Lodge, and ordered it to either withdraw its pretensions or submit to erasure. This recent head of the new Scots Philosophic Rite replied by electing a Grand Master, and constituting a Lodge at Rome (December 31), also by a circular discountenancing Templar degrees (February 20, 1777). On May 18, 1778, the Lodge was erased, to which it replied by a circular—July 5, 1778—which procured it the adhesion of many Lodges.[1]

1777.—July 3.—Grand Orient. The Duc de Chartres attended for the first time since his installation, and it is the only occasion on which he is mentioned as being present.

October 3.—Circular of the Grand Orient[2] chiefly respecting the high degrees. It adverts to the committee as being still at work on the subject, and counsels the Lodges to await the end of its labors, and meanwhile to confine themselves to three degrees. We may almost assume that the document owes its origin to the increasing influence of the Scots Philosophic Rite, and of another recent invention, the Sublime Elects of Truth, whose field lay chiefly in Rennes and the north of France. It was, however, powerless to prevent the rise in 1778 of yet another Rite, the Academy of True Masons, at Montpellier, with alchemical tendencies.[3]

Of the Grand Lodge all we know is that on January 19, 1777, it installed three representatives of the Grand Master—still assumed to be the Duc de Chartres; and that according to Thory it constituted five Lodges.

November 21.—The Grand Orient forbade its Lodges to assemble in taverns.

To insure the exclusion of irregular Masons, the *mot de Semestre*[4] was introduced in this year, the knowledge of which was necessary to obtain admission to a strange Lodge. It was changed half-yearly, and communicated through the Masters of Lodges.

1778.—January 18.—The Grand Lodge published a circular, to which was attached a list of its Lodges. It enumerates 200 Paris Masters of Lodges, besides 27 absent and 247 in the provinces. Now as the Masters of the five Paris columns in 1773 were only 81 in number, and Thory, the great partisan of this Grand Lodge, has only claimed that in the interval it had constituted 16 Lodges, if we admit that these were all Paris Lodges, and also that the list of 81 was not a complete list of all the Paris Masters, we shall still have great difficulty in converting the number from 81 to 200! We also know for a fact that many of the 81 Masters joined the G.O. Therefore we are driven to the conclusion that the number of Masters by no means corresponded with that of the Lodges, in fact that the great majority of these Masters had no Lodges to preside over. As regards the provinces, Jouast asserts, after due comparison, that many of these Lodges were also on the list of the Grand Orient, and suggests that the Grand Lodge simply continued to carry forward all such as had not actually announced their affiliation with the former.

February 26.—The Grand Orient published a list,[5] in all 258 Lodges, of which there were in Paris 34 and 7 dormant, in regiments 30 and 1 dormant. In this list a Lodge in the Irish Regiment "Walsh," quartered at Bapaume, claims as its date of constitution March 25, 1688! It is scarcely necessary to refute this assumption. Of foreign Lodges

[1] Kloss, Geschichte der Freimaureri in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 230, 231.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

[4] *Cf. post*, p. 422.

[5] Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

we find 4 at St. Domingo, 5 at Guadaloupe, and 1 at Martinique. Of Strict Observance Lodges there are 6, besides 3 Directories.

1778.—November 25 to December 27.—The *Convent des Gaules*—under the Strict Observance—was held at Lyons.[1]

For the next few years nothing very remarkable is to be recorded of the rival Grand bodies, but the systems opposed to either or both of them began to multiply exceedingly and to wax strong. In 1768 the Martinistes, confined hitherto to Bordeaux, Lyons, and Marseilles, made a settlement in Paris; in 1770 the *Illuminés* of Avignon came to the front; and in 1780 the Emperors had apparently recovered momentarily some strength and consistency.

1779.—October 8.—On this date Cagliostro founded his Egyptian Rite in a Strassburg Lodge, and this androgynous and immoral system had arrived at such favor in 1784 that the Duke of Luxemburg actually accepted the dignity of a Grand Master Protector.[2] In the same year the Lodge *Constance* at Arras erected the *Chapitre Primordial de Rose Croix.* Its patent is alleged to have been granted by the Pretender, Charles Edward, April 18, 1745.[3] According to Thory's version it commences, "We, Charles Edward Stuart, King of England;"[4] whilst Jouast[5] gives it as "*prétendant roi d'Angleterre!*" It will be sufficient to point out that Charles Edward did not call himself "King" during his father's lifetime, or *pretender* at any time. The use of the latter term indeed he very naturally left to others. Moreover, no historian has yet shown that he ever was in Arras, where, according to this legend, he remained for a period of *six months*—whilst we have it on his own authority that he never was a Freemason at all.[6]

1780.—In this year the Chapter at Arras founded another in the capital under the title of *Chapitre d'Arras, de la Vallée de Paris,* with constituent rights, which it exercised to a large extent, and finally went over—with its progeny—to the Grand Orient in 1801. The original Chapter at Arras remained, however, independent.[7] In 1779 Count Schmettau, who had some thirty years previously carried the Scots degrees to Berlin, imported the Zinnendorff Rite into Paris, and established a Lodge there;[8] and in the following year—1780—the Lodge *Amis Réunis* (Philalethes) began to make progress with its system, and was immediately followed by the Philadelphes of Narbonne.[9]

1781.—March 6.—The Scots Directory of the Strict Observance for Septimania at Montpellier became a party to the pact already subsisting between the Grand Orient and the other Directories.

July 11.—Grand Lodge issued a circular and a list of Lodges. Of the Masters of 1772, 17 were still in existence; 4 Lodges date from 1774, 7 from 1775, 8 from 1776, 5 from 1777, 9 from 1778, 18 from 1779, 7 from 1780, and 3 from 1781; there were also 28 provincial Lodges: in all, 136.[10]

November 5.—Compact between the Grand Orient and the Scots Philosophic Rite.[11]

1782.—January 18.—The Grand Orient erected a Chamber of Grades to continue and conclude the work of the committee previously appointed. With such a number of rivals all conferring high degrees it became urgent to take some step or other.

[1] *Ante*, p. 361. [2] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 257, 280.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 257. [4] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 184. [5] Jouast, Histoire du Grand Orient, p. 84.
[6] *Ante*, pp. 332, 364. [7] Thory, Annales Originis, p. 184.
[8] *Pace*, A circular of the Philalethes (March, 1780) quoted by Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 264.
[9] *Ante*, p. 374. [10] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 272. [11] *Ante*, p. 371.

December 27.—Grand Orient. A question arose as to the eligibility of a blind candidate. Given in his favor by 24 votes to 19. The minutes were not confirmed on January 21, 1783, and on April 4 ensuing a contrary decision was arrived at. In 1803, however, after the Egyptian campaign, owing to the prevalence of ophthalmia among the officers, blindness ceased to be a bar to admission.[1]

1783.—May 16.—Circular of the Grand Orient calling upon its Lodges to send copies of all high-grade rituals in their possession to the Chamber of Grades, as a help to its labors.

We now approach a very remarkable series of events, which ultimately relieved the Chamber of Grades of its commission, by placing in its hands four extra degrees all ready made—culminating in that of the Rose Croix. Kloss produces cogent reasons for looking upon the whole transaction as a pre-arranged drama calculated to supply the Grand Orient with what a brand-new rite would have lacked, *i.e.*, a respectable antiquity. It is, however, very evident that the *Rite Français*, as we shall presently see, was invented neither by the commission nor the Chamber of Grades, but simply accepted by the latter. Here I must express regret that space will only admit of my giving the most material facts, and compels me to withhold a full narrative of the many curious incidents connected with this movement.[2]

Among the Paris Lodges dependent upon the Grand Orient at the beginning of 1784 there were 9, each of which possessed a Rose Croix Chapter. As I have been unable to discover by what body these Chapters were warranted—they had nothing to do with the Chapter of Arras—it is probable that they were self-constituted. Roëttiers de Montaleau, the most conspicuous Mason of post-revolutionary days, was a member of one of these fraternities.

1784.—January 18.—Montaleau brought forward in his Chapter a most comprehensive plan, which was to redound to the benefit of the Rose Croix grade, and a committee was appointed to secure the co-operation of other Chapters under the Grand Orient.

February 2.—Present 80 Knights Rose Croix, representing seven Chapters; Montaleau, Grand Orator, proposed that the seven Chapters should unite and form a *Grand Chapitre Général de France*, to gradually attract and absorb all other Sovereign Chapters, and form the sole constitutive capitular body in France. A pact of union in 8 articles was then and there drawn up and agreed to. Three only of these need to be further adverted to. Article 6. Affiliation will only be conceded to Chapters grafted on Lodges under the Grand Orient. Article 8. Grand Chapter resolves to at once prepare a simplified revision of all existing high degrees. This, we see, was practically undertaking the work confided to the Chamber of Grades. Article 7 ordered statutes to be drawn up.

March 19.—Grand Chapter General. New statutes approved and confirmed.

It will be perceived that the Chapter was less dilatory than the Chamber of Grades; also that the assertions of Thory and his followers that this body was the result of a fusion between the Emperors and the Knights is unfounded.

October.—Grand Orient. Waltersdorff complained of these proceedings in G.O., which, as he was one of those who met in Grand Chapter General, looks like a piece of pre-arranged bye-play.

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich. vol. i., p. 277.

[2] To give some idea of the compression requisite, in order to bring so many divisions of the subject within the limits of a *general* history, it will suffice to mention that Kloss, who rarely uses a superfluous word, fills a *thousand* pages in his history of the French Craft alone! See, however, *ante*, Chap. XVI., p. 89, lines 32 *et seq.*

1784.—November 20.—The Grand Chapter General seized the opportunity procured by Waltersdorff's speech to declare that it was only "acting for the greater honour of G.O., and in order to lay its acquired light at the feet of G.O. so soon as that body should decide to use its undoubted right of conferring high degrees." After this the G.O. and Grand Chapter enter into *pourparlers*, and Act. I is closed. But if the fusion had then taken place the Grand Orient would only have possessed a usurped authority with no flavor of antiquity, so the curtain rises on Act II.

Dr. Humbert Gerbier de Werschamp now appears upon the scene claiming to be the sovereign authority in Rose Croix matters. He produced three documents in support of his claim. 1. In Latin, given at the Orient of the World and Sanctuary of Edinburgh, January 21, 1721, constituting a Grand Chapter, Rose Croix, at Paris, for France, in favor of the Duc d'Antin. This voucher was very unskilfully manufactured, for, not to mention the alleged Edinburgh authority, it must be remembered that there was no Freemasonry in France before 1725, at the earliest. Also that the Duc d'Antin was not made Grand Master until 1738—in fact in 1721 he was only fourteen years of age, and then *Duc d'Epernon*, his grandfather the *Duc d'Antin* being still alive.[1] But it was necessary before all things to produce an earlier authority than that of the Chapter of Arras (1745). 2. A certificate from the Lodge of Perfect Union at Paris, signed Antin, under the date June 23, 1721 (!) in favor of Brother Quadt as a Chevalier Rose Croix. This was to prove that Antin's Chapter had really been at work. 3. A certificate, dated February 6, 1760, signed by De Tellins—who is not otherwise known—Substitute-General of the Count de Clermont, from the Grand Chapter of France, appointing Gerbier *Très Sage ad vitam* of the said Chapter. These documents are worthless, really beneath contempt. One is known to have been manufactured in a *Café*, and the wine stains are plainly perceptible; but they answered the required purpose, and are preserved in the archives of the Grand Orient, constituting, in effect, the foundation of its claim to control the high degrees. Owing to these parchments, no Frenchman, in the midst of all the ensuing party strife, ever questioned the right of the Grand Orient to confer the 18° or Rose Croix grade. But the old Paris Masters were not to be outdone; they immediately concocted another fabulous genealogy, proving the existence of a Chapter connected with *their* Lodge, dating from still earlier times, *viz.*, 1686! and managed to bring over the Arras Chapters in Paris to their side.

As regards this last date it was apparently thought necessary to produce an earlier authority than the *alleged* Charter of the Walsh regiment of 1688,[2] so as to make the Chapter referred to the first of its kind in France. Space, however, forbids my pursuing these curious speculations at any greater length.

1785.—March 24.—Treaty of fusion in thirteen articles between the *Chapitre Général de France* and Gerbier's *Grand Chapitre de France*. Gerbier deposited his papers in the archives, ceded his rights, received the title of Past G.M.; and Roëttiers de Montaleau was appointed G.M. of the Rose Croix.—Close of Act II.

We now come to an interlude *not* arranged by the Grand Orient.

December 13.—A self-constituted Chapter at Rouen asked for affiliation, which was refused, but reconstitution was offered. With this the Lodge was not satisfied, and applied to the Royal Order of Heredom of Kilwinning at Edinburgh for a patent.

[1] Daruty, Recherches sur le Rite Ecossais, p. 94.

[2] *Ante*, p. 412.

1786.—February 17.—Opening of Act. III. The Grand Orient resolved to amalgamate with the Grand Chapter, and commissioners were appointed.

May 1.—The Royal Order of Scotland grants to Jean Mathéus of Rouen a patent as Provincial Grand Master of all France. His installation followed on August 26, and Louis Clavel was named Deputy Grand Master. Thus arose a fresh rival system to that of the Grand Orient. In 1811 this system comprised twenty-six Lodges and Chapters.[1]

1787.—July 13.—The Grand Orient approves of a Treaty of Fusion in twenty-four articles between the Grand Orient and the Grand Chapter. The Grand Chapter follows suit on August 4, and a circular of September 20 conveys the information to the Lodges. Article 6 provides that the Chapter shall in future be called *Chapitre Metropolitain*, receiving a patent from Grand Orient, recognizing its activity from March 21, 1721. Article 11, the present Orders, *i.e.*, collections of grades, in number 4—worked by the Chapter, are to be continued till otherwise decreed. The ritual was never altered in any great degree, so that we have here the four extra degrees of the French Grand Orient, denominated the Modern or French Rite. The first order comprised all the Kadosch or degrees of Vengeance, renamed Secret Elect; the second, the Scots degrees, called the Order of the Scottish Knights; the third, the Crusading degrees, under the style of Knights of the East and West; and the fourth, the Christian or Rose Croix degrees, under the appellation Knights of the Eagle and Pelican. Article 15 provides for new Statutes.

1788.—August 13.—Installation of the Metropolitan Chapter. End of Act III.

November 21.—Epilogue. Rearrangement of the Grand Orient into the three following Boards:—Of Administration, of Symbolic Freemasonry, and of High Degrees.

December 5.—New Statutes approved and communicated by circular of January 19, 1789, also a list showing forty-five Chapters at work. And thus the curtain falls on this very pretty little comedy.[2]

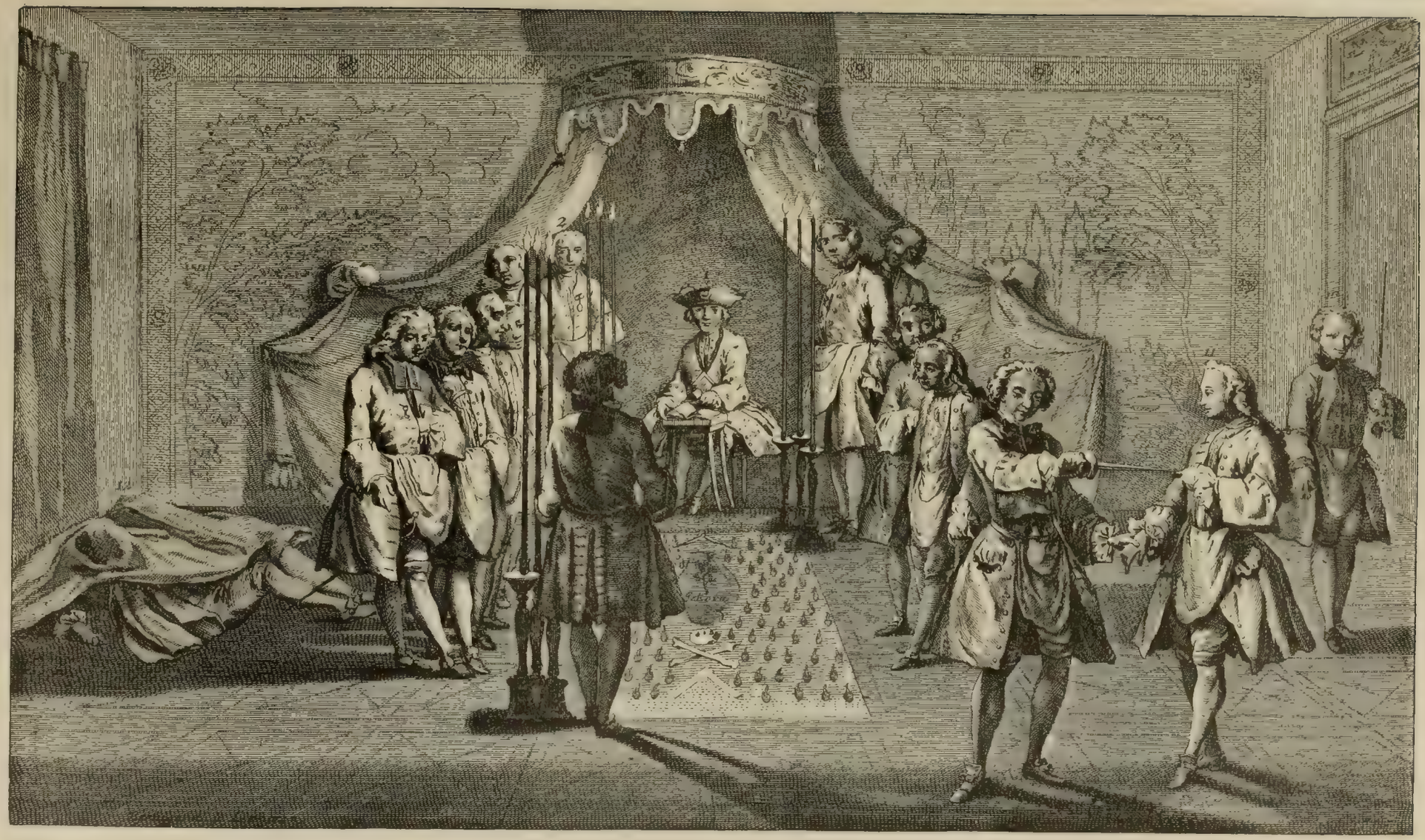
Nothing of very great importance remains to be recorded anterior to the French Revolution. Both systems (G.O. and G.L.) apparently continued to prosper until 1788 or 1789, at which time they arrived at their greatest prosperity. Then came the political troubles, and one by one the Lodges closed. The *Etât* of the Grand Orient, November 16, 1787, enumerates 636 Lodges, of which 30 were dormant. Of these, 35 were in the colonies, 71 in various regiments, 17 in foreign countries, and 67 in Paris.[3] The Grand Lodge *Etât* of 1788[4] shows 88 Paris, and 43 Provincial and Colonial Lodges, the latter being mostly warranted during the years 1780-87. Under the *two* governing (or Grand) bodies, there were therefore 767 Lodges (more or less), and if we add to these the Lodges of the Scots Philosophic Rite (37) of the Philalethes, the Illuminés, the Royal Order of Scotland, the various Scots Mother-Lodge systems, and the English Lodge (No. 204) at Bordeaux, the number might easily reach 900 or more. The first to close its doors was the Philosophic Rite—July 31, 1791; on the 16th it had sent a circular to its Lodges, advising them to cease from working, if required to do so by the magistrates, and not to forget their duty towards their sovereign, Louis XVI. It is therefore not at all surprising to find that many of its members fell victims to the guillotine.

[1] Thory gives a list of these; two were Colonial, two Italian, and one was at Brussels (Annales Originis, p. 173).

[2] For further details see Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol i., pp. 280-330.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 321.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 318.



A French Lodge of Freemasons for the Reception of a Master.

Copied from the very rare original print published in 1745.

1. The Grand Master.
2. The Orator.
3 The Secretary.
4, 5 & 6. Brothers with rolls of paper
7. The Senior Warden.
8. The Junior Warden.
9 The Treasurer.
10. The Tyler.
11. The Candidate entering the Lodge.
12. Candidates who have not yet received the accolade.

1791.—In this year the Grand Lodge ceased to meet, and on October 13 the French branch of Royal Order of Scotland. The Grand Orient constituted two Lodges, and in 1792 three more. On February 24, 1793, it issued a circular, stating that it had taken precautions to preserve the archives, and on the same date the Grand Master, the Duke of Orleans, published the following abject manifesto in the *Journal de Paris.*[1]

From Citizen *Egalité* to Citizen Milscent.

" . . . Notwithstanding my quality of Grand Master, I am unable to give you any information concerning these matters to me unknown. . . . However this may be, the following is my Masonic history:— At a time when truly no one foresaw our Revolution, I joined Freemasonry, which presents a sort of picture of equality, just as I entered parliament, which presented also a sort of picture of freedom. Meanwhile I have exchanged the shadow for the substance. Last December the Secretary of the G. Orient applied to the person who in my household filled the post of Secretary of the G.M., in order to hand me a question relating to the affairs of this Society. I replied to him under date of January 5, as follows:—'As I know nothing of the composition of Grand Lodge, and moreover do not believe that there should exist any mystery nor any secret assembly in a republic, more especially at the commencement of its rule, I desire in no way to be mixed up with the Grand Orient, nor with the assemblies of Freemasons.' . . . L. P. J. Egalité."

On August 8, 1793, the Grand Orient published a circular announcing that on May 13 the office of Grand Master had been declared vacant. In the usual stamps impressed on this document the *fleurs-de-lys* had been effaced.

1794.—In this year—it may be remarked—Freemasonry in France had practically ceased to exist.

Three Lodges only in Paris had the courage to continue working throughout the reign of terror. The W.M. of one of these, the *Amis Réunis*, was Roëttiers de Montaleau, whose acquaintance we have already made. Born at Paris in 1748, he was made in the celebrated Scots Mother-Lodge of Marseilles in 1772, and joined the Grand Orient in 1780; in 1785 became G.M. of Grand Chapter; in 1788, President of the Chamber of Paris, and in 1793, of the Chamber of Administration, his predecessor having been removed by the guillotine. He was subsequently imprisoned, but July 28, 1794, which restored so many wretched *detenus* to their liberty, broke his bonds also. Thory attributes to him the preservation of the G.O. archives. In 1795 he ventured to summon the remnant of the Grand Orient together with other Masons not previously eligble; and to resume work. If we consider that the members of Grand Orient had in great part consisted of personages attached in one way or another to the court of Louis XVI., we shall not be surprised to find that even on June 24, 1797, the number which assembled was only forty. Montaleau was offered the post of G.M., which he modestly declined, but accepted, however, the title of Most Worshipful (*Grand Vénerable*), and in that capacity presided over Grand Lodge. The first new constitution was issued to a Geneva Lodge June 17, 1796; and the report of June 24 only includes eighteen Lodges, of which three met at Paris.

1796.—October 17.—Grand Lodge also reassembled for the first time since 1792. This governing body found itself in an even worse plight than its chief rival. In the Grand Orient certain members were dispersed, others killed, and the same may be said of each

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, pp. 325-328.

private Lodge, but these at least retained the power of revival as soon as a few members once more met together. But with the Grand Lodge, if a Paris Master was killed or had fled, his Lodge, being proprietary, became extinct, and it is asserted that, at the period we are considering, very few of the perpetual Masters remained alive.

Montaleau saw his opportunity arrive, and at once seized it. He made personal overtures to the Grand Lodge, which lasted for more than a year, but were ultimately crowned with success. On May 3, 1799, he was able to inform the G.O. that the Grand Lodge was ready to accede to a fusion. A committee was appointed, and on May 20 Grand Lodge also named its commissioners. On May 21 a contract in nine articles was drawn up, and agreed to by the G.O. on May 23, and by the Grand Lodge on June 9. Article 1 abolished Perpetual Masters. Article 2 prolonged their tenure of office for nine years, and provided for certain honourable compensations. Article 3 withdrew the appointment of officers from the W.M., and conferred it on the Lodge. The others need not be especially alluded to.

1799.—June 22.—Formal junction of the two Grand bodies. June 28, grand festival. There were present 4 Past Grand Officers, the first on the list being Lalande. Among the 28 officials of the Grand Orient there were 5, and among the 15 W.M.'s, 9, of the old Grand Lodge.[1]

The following figures will show the rate at which the Craft recovered itself in these early years. On December 27, 1800, we know of 74 Lodges which had resumed work, and of these, 23 were in Paris. In 1802 there were 114 Lodges, of which 27 were in Paris, also 37 Chapters,[2] seem to have been in existence at that time.

1801.—June 24.—The Scots Philosophic Rite recommenced work under the lead of the Lodge *St. Jean d'Ecosse*, the "Social Contract" having almost taken its last sleep during the Revolution.

The Grand Lodge having united with the G.O., it was only natural that its former Chapter and all the dependent Chapters of Arras should follow suit. It will be sufficient to state that this final step was completed on December 24, 1801.

But although the Grand Orient had thus made an ally of its former most powerful rival, many others still remained in the field. The Philalethes had died out during the Revolution, and the Scots Directories of the Strict Observance were still dormant; but the Provincial Chapter of Arras, the Scots Mother-Lodge of Marseilles, the Scots Philosophic Rite, and the Royal Order of Scotland, besides various other smaller Rites unnecessary to name, were warranting Lodges and Chapters in every direction. Even many of its own Lodges, not content with a single comprehensive Scots grade—the *Rite Français*—had opened Lodges and Chapters to work one or more of the Scots degrees, whose number was infinite, and the latter found a leader in Abraham, the publisher of a Masonic paper called the *Mirror*.[3] Members of these Scots Lodges—grafted on the Grand Orient Lodges —assumed airs of superiority, and at last, in 1801, appeared at the Lodge *Réunion des Etrangers*

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 358. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] A curious circumstance in all these quarrels is, that we invariably find one and the same member highly placed in two or more rites that were fighting to the death. To give a solitary example: Thory was the life and soul of the Scots Philosophic Rite, yet from 1804 to 1813 he was also Treasurer of the Grand Chapter of the Grand Orient, and a member of it still in 1814. In 1808 he was Tersata or G.M. of the Royal Order of Scotland in Paris, and until 1821 he was the Secretary of the Holy Empire in the Supreme Council of the A.A.S.R. 33°.

at Paris in clothing unrecognized by the G.O. The result was an official indictment of their proceedings on November 17, and again on March 25, 1802. This was met by a circular from Abraham in June, 1802, calling upon the Scots Masons to rally round the standard. A meeting of the Scots Masons was accordingly held on August 5, and elicited another circular from the G.O. on November 12, 1802; the ultimate result being a very embittered feeling on both sides.[1]

1803.—August 5.—The Grand Orient resolved to reappoint *Grand Officiers Honoraires.*[2] This was an institution dating from Luxemburg's time, by which all officers of the Grand Orient were duplicated, one set for active service, the other for show on state occasions, the latter class being of course composed of very highly placed court personages. On this occasion the leading idea was, that by appointing generals and other military officers, and state officials, the active support of the First Consul would be acquired. Among the Honorary Officers and members actually elected on September 30 then ensuing, may be mentioned Murat, the Governor of Paris; Lacépède, the Director of the *Jardin des Plantes;* De Lalande, Director of the Observatory; Generals Beurnonville and Macdonald, and Marshal Kellermann. Meanwhile French Freemasonry followed the French arms, and increased so remarkably that on March 23, 1804, upwards of 300 Lodges were in existence, and a corresponding number of Rose Croix Chapters.[3] But although outwardly prosperous, the spirit of Masonry had to a great extent departed, to make way for a fulsome adulation of Napoleon, far exceeding the bounds of loyalty so properly set up in all countries by the Craft. Lodges were convoked for no other purpose than to celebrate the victories of the French idol of the day. Even the orators ceased to confine themselves to Masonic themes, in order to vaunt the majesty and power of the French army—and of its hero. This excess of patriotism naturally led to very awkward results in 1814; and a continuance of the practice was followed by very similar consequences at every subsequent change of Government. Yet although this feature of Continental Freemasonry need not be further dwelt upon, it must not, however, be forgotten that our French brethren might have adduced very weighty reasons for the habit into which they had fallen. The Craft there has never existed by virtue of the freedom of the subject—to assemble when and where he likes, provided he transgresses not the law. It has never rested on any such solid basis, but simply on the sufferance of the civil authorities, and at this very moment—*i.e.*, even under the third Republic—a mere police decree might compel every Lodge in France to close its doors. Ought we therefore, in fairness, to wonder very greatly that the French Masons have always been time-servers, or that they should have abased themselves at successive periods, "with a boundless docility," at the shrine of authority?

In 1804 Hacquet appeared on the scene with his revived Rite of Perfection 25°, and De Grasse-Tilly with the A. and A.S.R. 33°. Around the latter rallied all the disaffected Scots Masons, and the Scots Philosophic Rite granted them the use of its temple. From January 11 to September, 1804, Tilly lavished his 32 and 33 degrees right and left, and erected his Supreme Council 33°; and on October 22, 1804, the *Grande Loge Générale Ecossaise* was constituted, all the various Scots rites assisting and becoming constituent parts of that Grand Lodge. Even the *Rite Philosophique* for a time effaced itself, in spite of Thory's assertions, for on September 6, 1805, it was distinctly agreed[4] "from this day the Lodge St. Jean d'Ecosse *resumes* its title and attributes of a Mother-Lodge."

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., pp. 373-400.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 399.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 408.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 470.

This to a certain extent was an advantage to the Grand Orient, as it reduced its innumerable rivals to one body, with whom it might be possible to treat. The new Grand Lodge had, without his previous consent, proclaimed Prince Louis Buonaparte as its head. The Grand Orient replied on November 7, 1804,[1] by resolving to petition the Princes Joseph and Louis Buonaparte and Marshal Murat to accept its highest offices. But here, as we know by repeated statements of Cambacères at a later period, the Emperor himself stepped in, and directed his brother Joseph to accept the office of Grand Master, and the Arch-Chancellor, Prince Cambacères, that of Deputy G.M., holding the latter directly responsible for the good conduct of the Craft and for its internal peace. In fact, as events proved, the astute Emperor was apprehensive lest by altogether suppressing the Craft he might encounter the attendant ill-will of such a numerous body, and therefore resolved to make it subservient to his interests, and keep it under the powerful control of his most trusted Minister. From that time every one who wished to please the Emperor became a Freemason, and the highest officials were soon made members and officers of the Grand Orient. That Cambacères thoroughly understood his mission, and with a firm hand kept peace among the rival factions, will shortly become clear. No sooner was the Grand Scots Lodge established, than Roëttiers de Montaleau took measures to avert the blow, and caused negotiations to be opened for a union. Marshal Massena represented the Grand Orient, and Marshal Kellermann the Scots Masons, and when matters were somewhat in trim they were joined by Montaleau and Pyron. But here again we are startled to find, as was always the case, that all four of the Commissioners were officers of the Grand Orient. Pyron, however, who was a thorough-going partisan of the Supreme Council, eventually libelled the members of the G.O. most infamously, and was suspended for several years. Matters were so hurried that the pact of union was signed before the necessary alterations in the Constitutions of the Grand Orient were settled, and this gave rise to the subsequent quarrels.

At midnight on December 3, 1804, in the palace of Kellermann, the treaty was concluded and signed in duplicate; but Pyron was incomprehensibly allowed to retain both copies. The instrument contained the following passage:—"The G.O. therefore declares that it incorporates *with itself* the brethren of every rite." When Pyron at a later period—March 1, 1805—was forced to deliver up these writings, we may imagine the consternation of the G.O. at reading the following substituted passage:—"The G.O. therefore declares that it incorporates *itself with* the brethren of every rite." This slight distinction represents the different views of the contracting parties. The Scots Masons desired to rule Grand Lodge by force of their high degrees, whilst the Grand Lodge intended to rule all degrees through those members of its body who possessed them. On one hand the 33° was to be supreme; on the other hand it was to be accountable, like every other body, to the Grand Orient in its collective capacity.

1804.—December 5.—Grand Orient. The treaty was approved, and at midnight the Scots Masons, De Grasse-Tilly at their head, were admitted. De Grasse-Tilly and Montaleau each received the oath of fealty to the Grand Orient from the other, one as representative of the G.M. in the Supreme Council, the other as representative of the G.M. in the Grand Orient. Kellermann and Massena were deputed to wait upon his Majesty, and to request him to permit his brothers to preside over the Order.

December 19.—Circular of G.O. announcing the union, and informing its Lodges that

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. i., p. 423.

in future it would grant warrants of constitution for each and every rite. In order to carry this plan out, it was decided to form a *Grand Chapitre Genéral* to confer all degrees above the 18° or Rose Croix, which was the limit of jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Chapter. It was therefore necessary to confer the 33° on various members of the Grand Orient, which was accordingly done on the 29th of the same month.[1]

1805.—January 2.—Inauguration of the *Grand Chapitre Général* and election of Grand Officers. Joseph Buonaparte and his brother Louis were proposed as Grand and Deputy Grand Masters.[2] The former was not at that time a Mason, nor did he ever attend a Lodge meeting, although he signed all official documents as G. M., and even certificates of initiation. Rebold[3] asserts that he was made by Cambacères, Kellermann, and Murat on April 15, 1805, at the Tuilleries, and that a circular issued two days later announced the fact to the Lodges. It may be so, but Rebold does not quote his authority, and the circular has escaped the notice of all other writers, even of Thory, who, writing only eleven years afterwards, ought to have been well aware of the fact, if such it were. The exact date of Joseph's accession is somewhat doubtful, for although Jouast says he was appointed by the Emperor—October 11, 1805—Cambacères, on April 27 previously, in promising to attend the meetings of the Grand Orient as often as possible, already speaks of Joseph as the Grand Master. Prince Louis seems never to have been really elected; in fact in 1805 he left for Holland.

July 21.—Circular of the Grand Orient announcing the formation of a Directory of Rites. This Board was to rule all the allied rites, and all such as might in future be aggregated. The members were to be chosen by the body of the Grand Orient, but although necessarily possessing the highest degrees of the various rites, were to be in no way privileged in the Grand Orient or to assert any supremacy over the other members. The new Board, or Grand Committee, of course, destroyed all hopes which the members of the Supreme Council had conceived of ruling the Craft autocratically by virtue of their 33rd degree.

September 6.—Protest of Scots Masons in the palace of Kellermann, and on September 16 the pact of union was declared broken. But here the power of Cambacères made itself felt, and the Supreme Council instead of at once warranting Lodges, Chapters, Consistories, and other bodies, prudently resigned itself to raising individual Masons to its highest grades; and as the Grand Orient already worked a Rose Croix grade equal to the 18° A. and A.S.R., it merely *advanced* its members on application. So that for years subsequently the Supreme Council of the 33°, instead of being a governing and constitutive body, was nothing more than a private Lodge of the 33°. The Grand Orient, on the other side, although counting among its most faithful members more than one Grand Inspector General, was quite content to let matters remain on this footing. The arrangement has sometimes been called a compact or treaty. It was nothing of the kind; there is no proof that it was even a *verbal* understanding. The fact is, the Supreme Council was simply restrained by Cambacères from aggressive measures, and the G.O. was only to glad to see the threatening danger thus averted. There existed, doubtless, a sort of implied but unexpressed understanding to let matters rest on both sides, but no mutual agreement of any sort, nor did the G.O. ever admit that the compact of union was vitiated. Most of the allied Scots rites recovered their liberty at the same time; Hacquet's Rite of Perfection (Heredom 25°) remained, however, true to the Concordat, and worked under the shield

[1] Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, p. 102. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 98. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

of the Grand Orient, but gradually became extinct. Hacquet himself, although at the head of his own rite, filled nevertheless important offices in the A. and A.S.R. 33°; and De Grasse-Tilly, on the other hand, for many years subsequently appears on the list of officers of the Grand Orient. With the exception of one Consistory of the 32°, which it dissolved in 1810, it was not till 1811 that the Supreme Council began to erect Tribunals, Councils, etc., but not Lodges or Chapters.

1805.—October 21.—Joseph Buonaparte was proclaimed G.M. in the Grand Orient, on December 13, Prince Cambacères was installed as first *Grand-Maître-Adjoint.*

December 27.—The Grand Orient celebrated the solstitial fête of the Order, and at the same time, the victories of the French armies. At this meeting, "el mot de *semestre,*" which had not been given for many years, was again communicated.[1]

1806.—July 1.—Cambacères was elected Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme and Council 33°, and installed as such August 13.

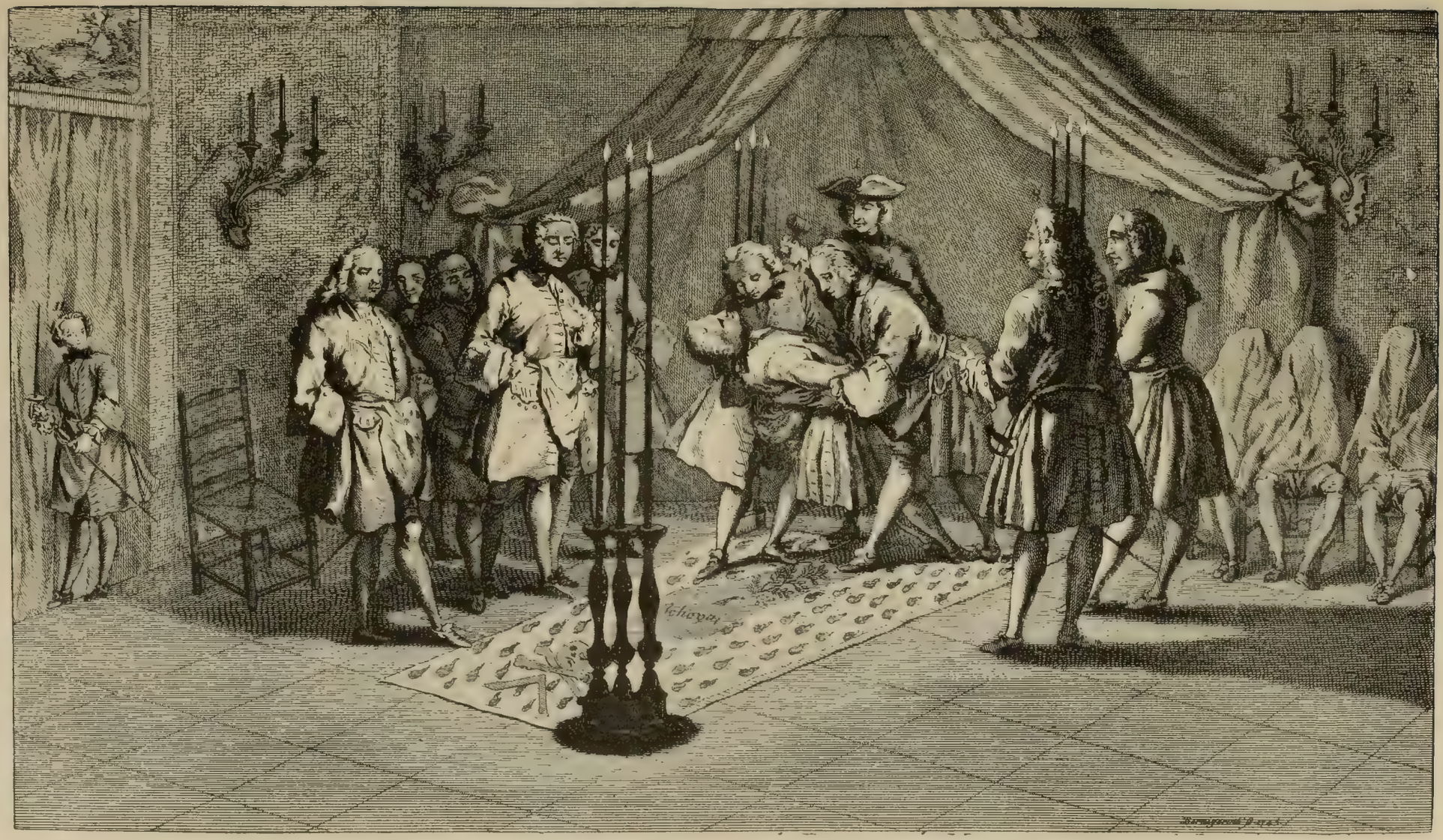
Shortly afterwards—October 25—he was also elected Honorary Grand Master (*Tersata*) of the Royal Order of Scotland in Paris.

November 17.—The Grand Orient published its new Statutes,[2] chiefly remarkable for suppressing any further erection of Provincial Grand Lodges. It feared they might become powerful rivals. Grand Orient was to be composed of a deputy from each Chapter and Lodge, such deputy to be a resident Parisian. A deputy might represent as many as five Lodges. There were also 169 Grand Officers—viz., 7 Grand Dignitaries, 63 honorary, and 99 working officers, the last named being chosen from the deputies. These officers formed six Boards (*Ateliers;*) I. *Grande-Loge d'Administration;* II. *Grande-Loge Symbolique;* III. *Grande-Chapitre;* IV. *Grande-Loge de Conseil et d'Appel;* V. *Grande-Loge des Grandes-Experts;* and VI. *Grand-Directoire des Rites.* A certain number of deputies also served on these Boards, with the exception of No. VI., which was composed exclusively of Grand Officers. The whole scheme was of a most centralizing character, and it will be perceived that Provincial Lodges were forced to entrust their affairs to Paris deputies.

The "*Ordre du Temple*" (New Templars) was instituted *circa* 1805, and grafted on "Le Chevaliers de la Croix," a *Lodge*—formed October 14—from which its members were subsequently recruited. The pretensions of this Society—which claimed a lineal descent from the Knights Templars, and did not even profess to be a *Masonic* body—are elsewhere referred to (Chap. XI., §vi.). It ultimately developed religious views of a somewhat peculiar nature, but of its remaining history, it will be sufficient to add, that it lay dormant during the restoration, revived about 1830, and apparently died of inanition about 1845. In 1807[3] a Portuguese called Nuñez grafted on another Paris Lodge the Order of Christ, also a Templar Rite with a Templar degree beyond the 33° of the A. and A.S.R. It erected a few subordinate Chapters at Perpignan, Limoges, Toulouse, etc., but soon died out. A proposed new *Ordre de la Misericorde*[4] in 1807 never acquired any substance. An Order of *St. Sépulchre* also arose, and according to Begue-Clavel, died out with its commander, Vice-Admiral Count Allemand, in 1819.[5] The latter was an important personage in the strife between the rival Supreme Councils.[6] It will be seen that the era of new Rites had not yet closed.

1807.—January 29.—The *Rit Primitif de Narbonne* joined the Grand Orient, and deputed three representatives to the *Grand Directoire des Rites.*[7]

[1] Acta Lat., *sub anno.* [2] Kloss, Gesch. der F. in Frank., vol. i., pp. 491, 494 *et seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 508-517.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*, [6] *Ante*, p. 131. [7] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, p. 498.



A French Lodge of Freemasons for the Reception of a Master.

Copied from the very rare original print published in 1745

1. The Grand Master.
2. The Senior Warden.
3. The Junior Warden.
4. The Candidate being placed on the death cloth.
5, 6 & 7. Candidates who have not yet received the accolade.
8. The Orator.
9. The Secretary.
10. The Treasurer.
11. The Tyler.

1807—March 26.—Cambacères was installed Supreme Chief of the French Rite in the Metropolitan Chapter, and on March 30 *Grand Maître d'Honneur* of the *Rite Philosophique.*

April 4.—Death of De Lalande. January 30, 1808, of Roëttiers de Montaleau.

1808.—January 23.—Cambacères installed G.M. of the Order of Christ. February 8.—Montaleau's son—Alex. H. N. Roëttiers de Montaleau—appointed to succeed him as representative of the Grand Master, chiefly as a compliment to his father's memory. He was installed on the 12th.

March 8.—Cambacères was installed G.M. of the *Rit Primitif de Narbonne,* and in June, of the Vth. Province at Strassburg. In March and May, 1809, the second and third Provinces at Lyons and Montpellier followed suit. In the same year he was elected Protector of the high alchemical grades of Avignon. Being thus at the head of all the Rites of any importance, we can understand how the peace was kept.

1809—August 11.—The Grand Orient allowed its Lodges and Chapters to cumulate several rites, *i.e.*, to work as many as they pleased under as many different warrants, all of which were to be obtained from the *Directoire des Rites.*

1810.—December 29.—The existing Provincial Grand Lodges (three in number) were dissolved.[1]

1811.—January 19.—The A. and A.S.R 33° resolved to commence instituting subordinate bodies beyond the 18° The fact is, they found that such were being erected without their warrant by private individuals, and their hand was thus forced.

June 24—Renewal of the former Concordat with the Scots Directories. August 9—A circular of G.O. was issued severely censuring certain foreign jurisdictions, and a few French Lodges for refusing to initiate Jews.

1813.—October 27.—The Supreme Council for America recognized the sole authority of the Grand Orient, and sought amalagamation.[2] Political events prevented further action.

Of this period little remains to be recorded. From 1796 to 1813 the G.O. practically acquired sole and supreme authority in Masonic matters, other rites being merely subsidiary or supplementary but not antagonistic. Its Lodges increased remarkably in France itself and also beyond the borders, for every fresh conquest meant an increase of French Masonic jurisdiction. In 1813, however, owing to the members being in such great numbers with the army, very many Lodges became dormant. On the restoration in May, 1814, of Louis XVIII. almost all the Imperialists who were officials of the G.O. became conspicuous by their absence. The Craft immediately became effusively Royal, and the number of its Lodges dropped suddenly, owing to the reacquired independence of so many European States. During the "Hundred Days" the Craft was once more violently Imperial, and after Waterloo it professed to breathe freely at last, owing to the removal of the Napoleonic incubus. On July 1, 1814,[3] several Lodges united to celebrate the return of Louis XVIII., and their labors were concluded by a unanimous vote and oath to "protect the Lilies, and die in defense of the Bourbons." The Grand Orient made speed to declare the Grand Mastership vacant, and—May 11—voted 1000 francs for the restoration of the Statute of Henry IV., whilst on June 24 its orators expatiated on the joy which Masonry felt in *at length* seeing its legitimate king surrounded by his august family.

According to Rebold's list the progress of the G.O. was as follows:—1803, 60 new

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 119.

[2] *Ante,* p. 384.

[3] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 123.

Chapters and Lodges; 1804, 49; 1805, 67; 1806, 47; 1807, 56; 1808, 47; 1809, 44; 1810, 36; 1811, 27; 1812, 27; 1813, 18; 1814, 7—but these figures do not include the *dormant* Lodges which resumed work. The last list under the Empire, published in 1814, gives 764 active Lodges and 290 Chapters in France; in the infantry, 63 Lodges and 24 Chapters; in the cavalry, 7 Lodges and 2 Chapters; in the auxiliary forces, 4 Lodges; in the colonies, 16 Lodges and 7 Chapters; abroad, 31 Lodges and 14 Chapters—in all, 886 Lodges and 337 Chapters. When we remember that after the revolution the report of the G.O. on June 24, 1796, could only enumerate 18 Lodges, it must be confessed that the Craft had advanced by "leaps and bounds." The above list of 1814 also mentions 6 dormant Lodges as about to reopen, and that there were applications for 35 new Lodges and 24 new Chapters, bringing the total number up to 1288! the result of eighteen years' activity.

At this period the G.O. of France was in communication with the Grand Lodges of Baden in Swabia, of the kingdoms of Italy and Naples, of Poland and Lithuania, of the Three Globes at Berlin, of the Duchy of Warsaw, of Vienna, and of the kingdom of Westphalia.[1] The Grand Lodges at Frankfort, Hanover, the Hague, etc., were ignored by French Masons as having no right to exist in territory occupied by France.

One further allusion, which is of historical interest, will be made to Dr Guillotin, an officer of the Grand Orient, who died March 26, 1814. There is the authority of the Grand Orator on June 24 of that year, for the statement that his last days were embittered by the thought that his name had been so prominently connected with the excesses of the Revolution; the dreaded instrument which bore his name having been suggested by him out of pure pity for the former sufferings of condemned criminals.[2] This oration consequently refutes the so-often alleged fable that Dr. Guillotin's head was one of the first to fall under his own invention.

On the whole, the restoration had a disastrous effect on French Freemasonry. Apart from the number of foreign Lodges which naturally reverted to their own native jurisdiction, a great number of French Lodges had so identified themselves with Napoleon, and were so largely composed of his adherents, that nothing remained for them but to close their doors, at least for a time. In addition to this, the police and clergy under the restored family were by no means favorable to the Craft, and prevented its progress. The king himself firmly refused to allow a prince of his family to be placed at its head, and no Grand Master was consequently elected, but in his place three deputies of the non-existent G.M. or Grand Conservators, and one representative of the G.M., viz., Montaleau. General—afterwards Marshal—Beurnonville offered the king to become surety for the good behavior of the Craft, if allowed to assume the command, to which His Majesty agreed, so that the General, as first D.G.M. or first Grand Conservator, took the place previously occupied by Cambacères. The precarious state of toleration in which the Craft managed to drag on its existence is reflected in its own conduct. The individual initiative of the Lodges was everywhere hemmed in and fenced around; representations of the police, even if unfounded, were immediately followed by erasure of the supposed peccant Lodges; Masonic publications were on several occasions forbidden by the Grand Orient, which did its best to suppress them entirely; and in sympathy with the government, the increasing centralising tendency of its authority was day by day more pronounced. The influence of political events is shown by the fact that immediately after the "Hundred Days" more than 450 Lodges became dormant.[3]

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der F. in Frank., vol. i., p. 582.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 3.

[3] Rebold, Hist. des 3 G. Loges, p. 145.

1814.—July 1.—The Grand Orient declared the Grand Mastership (Joseph's) vacant, and sent a deputation to Cambacères to require and accept his resignation.

July 29.—The Grand Orient received a report of the fruitless efforts of its committee to induce the king to grant them a Royal Grand Master; elected and proclaimed in his stead three Grand Conservators, Marshal Macdonald, General Beurnonville, and Timbrunne, Count de Valence. Montaleau was elected special representative of these three officers, and among the other officers of later interest, may be mentioned the following members of the A. and A.S.R. 33°:—Lacépède, Kellermann, Rampon, Muraire, Perignon, Lefèvre, Massena, Clément de Ris, Beurnonville, Montaleau, Valence, De Ségur, Challan, and Tour d'Auvergne. Beurnonville declared that he would extend his protection to the Grand Orient alone, as in his eyes it was the legal Masonic authority.[1]

August 19.—The Grand Orient, at a meeting of one of its Boards, the *Grande Loge de Conseil*, resolved to exercise the control to which it laid claim over all rites of Freemasonry,[2] and on August 26 informed the Supreme Council of its intention, announcing that it had appointed a committee to treat with them.

As the events which followed this step, are even at the present day the source of mutual recriminations between the members of the two leading systems of French Freemasonry, I shall follow the course already pursued in describing the formation of the Grand Orient, and relate the facts in chronological order, and with considerable minuteness of detail, allowing my readers to arrive at their own conclusions. A few introductory words, however, are necessary, in order that the position of the parties may be clearly understood. The Grand Orient, although shorn of some of its higher dignitaries, had not been severely crippled by the change of government. The Supreme Council, on the other hand, which largely consisted of military officers attached to the late Emperor, had fallen into a state of paralysis, and was quite dormant. This is admitted on all sides. The last list of the Supreme Council enumerates the following members:—Cambacères, Valence, Pyron, Thory, Hacquet, Challan, Kellermann, Lacépède, d'Anduze, Rénier, Massena, De Ris, Beurnonville, Muraire, Aigrefeuille, d'Aunay, Rapp, Chasset, Ségur, Rampon, Langiers-Villars, Pény, Rouyer, Montaleau, Joly; honorary members, De Grasse-Tilly, Trogoff, Baillache, Tour d'Auvergne, d'Harmensen, and De Villière. Of these thirty-one brethren, the twelve whose names are in each case distinguished by an asterisk, are known to have been Officers of the Grand Orient. Moreover, Hacqeut and some of the others were members of the same body; and all were of course, under the circumstances which had hitherto obtained, members of Lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Orient, because the A. and A.S.R. 33°. had not so far warranted any bodies *under* the 18°.

September 8.—Joly reported the announcement of August 26 to the Supreme Council, which on September 23 appointed a committee of inquiry, consisting of Beurnonville, Muraire, and Aigrefeuille, the two former being officials of the Grand Orient.[3]

October 28.[4]—The Supreme Council handed in an answer declining a fusion, signed Valence, Pyron, Thory, Hacquet, Challan, De Ris, Beurnonville, Pérignon, Muraire, Aigrefeuaille, d'Aunay, Lefèvre, Ségur, Langiers-Villars, Pény, Rouyer, Joly, and Desfourneaux. This list is remarkable, and affords evidence of the continual play of cross purposes in French Freemasonry. Desfourneaux was not a real member at all of the

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. ii., pp. 4, 11. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 5. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 6,

[4] Jouast here differs from Kloss, and gives the date as October 21.

Supreme Council for France, but of the S.C. for America, dormant until better times; the nine names marked* were Officers of the Grand Orient, and the General Beurnonville, its Senior Grand Conservator—who had declared he would acknowledge no authority but that of the Grand Orient itself. But still more remarkable is the fact, that a committee previously appointed by the G.O. on August 22, to prepare a report on the subject, did unanimously—November 12—approve of a fusion, or, in the language of the Scots Masons, a usurpation—and that of the nine members of this committee, two were Joly and Hacquet, who signed the answers of October 28, as above.

1814.—November 18.—The Grand Orient considered the report, and resolved to resume its inherent authority over all rites, to dissolve the Directory of Rites as no longer necessary, etc. Among the signatures we find Joly's; the others, with the exception of Montaleau's, are not given in any work at my command. The results of this resolution on the organization of the Grand Orient may now be taken out of their chronological sequence. That body separated the legislative from the administrative functions of the 33°, and it constituted on one hand a *Chambre du Suprême Conseil des Rites* (another name for the old *Grand Chapitre*) to warrant and administer ALL bodies beyond the 3°, and on the other a *Grand Consistoire des Rites* divided into two sections. Section 1, the Grand Council of Prince Masons, to initiate into the 32° or the equivalent degree in the other rites, and to delegate the right to other Consistories in France. Section 2 to be the sole authority conferring the 33°. The Grand Consistory was erected September 12, and inaugurated November 22, 1815. It will be observed that the autocratic powers of a few 33° members were thus suppressed, and that they became only an integral part in one combined whole—the Grand Orient.

November 25.—The Supreme Council issued a circular protest against the action of the G.O. on the preceding 18th. This was only signed by Muraire, Aigrefeuille, d'Aunay, and Pyron.[1] So that apparently all the others had joined the party of the Grand Orient.

December 3.—De Grasse-Tilly returned, revived the Supreme Council for America, and attempted to assume the place left vacant by the moribund Supreme Council for France.

December 28.—Installation of a modified list of Grand Officers. Among these we find the following former members of the Supreme Council for France:—Beurnonville, Valence, Lacépède, Kellermann, Rampon, Muraire, Masséna, Challan, Tour d'Auvergne, De Ris, Hacquet, Montaleau, Perignon, and possibly others, as Kloss does not give the complete list.[2] As it includes Muraire, it would appear as if the protesting remnant of the S.C. had been reduced to three. Of course those who were not in Paris at the moment, owing to political reasons, cannot be reckoned with. Certain it is, that the great majority had at this time rallied to the Grand Orient, although some afterwards went back to their previous allegiance. But of what effect can a majority be, in a society where one single 33° man who may hold out, is allowed to make others, and with them reconstruct the whole edifice? In this respect all systems of Scots Masonry resemble some of the lower forms of life. You *may*, it is true, destroy the whole organism, but should you overlook a single speck no bigger than a pin's head, in course of time this atom will grow, and swell, and sprout, and re-establish the species in all its pristine vigour!

1815.—March 15.—Napoleon lands at Cannes—when *Hey Presto!* the Grand Orient reinstates Prince Joseph and Cambacères, and becomes intensely imperialist. On June 18

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. ii., p. 8. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

the Emperor was overthrown at Waterloo, and the order, "As you were," was passed along the line. A transformation scene, or a grand *bouleversement* in the harlequinade at Drury Lane, are the comparisons which occur most readily to the mind![1]

1815.—August 18.—The Supreme Council for France issues a fresh circular protest, which has affixed to it the signatures of Aigrefeuille, Thory, Hacquet, Muraire, d'Aunay, De Tinan, and Pyron. Here we meet with the last sign of this body for some years, with the exception of Joly's resignation on November 10 following, when he joined the Grand Orient. That Hacquet should have signed is incomprehensible, seeing that he presided over the Grand Consistory of Rites, or, in other words, was the head of the Scots branch of the Grand Orient. Muraire and Lacépède, it may be incidentally observed, had, however, at that time deserted the G.O.

December 27.—This meeting of the Grand Orient is of interest, because it afforded Admiral Sir Sidney Smith an opportunity of presenting several printed projects for freeing the white slaves in Algiers.

1815 is also remarkable as being the year in which the Rite of Misraim began to arouse attention. Joly, to whom allusion has frequently been made, was a member at the time, and so of course was Thory, who joined everything! Joly and other members of the Grand Orient united in a petition to that body, that the new rite might be placed under the ægis of the Grand Consistory of Rites, which, however, was rejected on January 14, 1817.[2]

1817.—August 8.—The Grand Orient passed a resolution—embodied in a circular, September 18, 1817—declaring all *soi-disant* Masonic bodies not warranted by itself, to be irregular and clandestine, and forbidding its Lodges to recognise any such associations as Masonic, or to exchange visits with their member.[3] This attitude was persisted in by the G.O. until 1841. The A. and A.S.R. 33°, on the other hand, always professed tolerance, and acknowledged as legitimate all Masons, under whatever jurisdiction. As a stroke of policy coming from the weaker side, this action was eminently well conceived, and met with the success which has invariably attended every such proceeding, from historic times down to our own. It would nevertheless be difficult for an English Mason to dispute the strict legality of the proceedings of the Grand Orient; nor, from the point of view of that body, would it be altogether easy to call in question their expediency; but even as in England at the time of *our* rival Grand Lodges, so in France, the prohibition of mutual recognition was constantly broken by the subordinate Lodges of the G.O., which more than once entailed erasure. At all great meetings, it may be observed, of the Supreme Council, members of the Grand Orient were present in large numbers, and were invariably well received.

October 7.—The Grand Orient prohibited its Lodges from assembling at the "Prado" because the Supreme Council for America and a Misraim Lodge met there. It was not until September 12, 1821, that the proprietor of the Prado purged himself of his offences, and the G.O. reinaugurated the premises, besprinkling them with water to exorcise the unclean spirits of the past;[4] a proceeding which brought down upon its head the Homeric laughter of its rivals, and indeed of all Paris.

[1] Even Jouast, the great partisan of the Grand Orient, is constrained to admit the accuracy of this sorrowful picture; it does not rest on the inventions of an enemy.

[2] Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, p. 126. Kloss, however, gives the date as *February* 14. [3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. ii., p. 37. [4] *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 40, 126.

1817.—November 7.—A letter was read from Marshal Beurnonville enjoining the Grand Orient to follow the example of the Government, and to look upon all Lodges not dependent upon itself as secret societies prohibited by the law.[1]

December 27.—The G.O. declared the Rite of Misraim to be illegal, and erased a Lodge for taking its part. It also called upon its own members to leave the Rite within 33 days, an order which they one and all obeyed.

1818.—February 23.—The Supreme Council for America having completed its organization, met for the first time.[2] The list of Grand Officers comprises names which subsequently became of importance, but none were connected with its past proceedings except those of De Grasse-Tilly and Desfourneaux, the latter of whom so incomprehensibly signed the document of October 28, 1814, which professedly emanated from the dormant Supreme Council for France, of which he was not even a member.

March 24.—Constitution of the Rainbow Lodge as the Mother-Lodge of Misraim.

April 8.—The Supreme Council marked its new departure by warranting two Craft Lodges.[3] This is the date of its first attack upon *the* Craft in the sense *we* understand that expression.

August 7.—Pyron in a circular, attempted to revive the Old Supreme Council for France, but unsuccessfully. He died on September 28 following.[4]

August 18.—De Grasse-Tilly, having been deposed by the Supreme Council which he had constituted anew, issued a manifesto and retired with his adherents to the "Pompei."[5]

October 15.—The Grand Consistory of Rites, established September 15, 1815, issued its Statutes.[6]

November 9.—The Supreme Grand Scots Lodge, at the Pompei (De Grasse-Tilly's), completed its Statutes, which, however, were not published until July 9, 1819.[7]

1819.—April 24.—This date marks the commencement of one of many efforts on the part of the Grand Orient to conciliate the A. and A.S.R. 33°. The negotations were conducted with the Supreme Council at the Pompei, the one in the Prado being moribund, and the ancient Supreme Council for France, or rather what remained of it, not having yet awoke from its slumber. On the day in question, the highest officials of the Supreme Council met at a ball in a Paris Lodge—Commanders of Mount Tabor—two influential members of the Grand Orient, de Mangourit and Boulle. As a consequence of advances made by the latter, commissioners were appointed, and on May 2, Rio and Baccarat on the one side, and de Mangourit and Boulle on the other, held a conference. Boulle's proposal was as follows:—"A friendly fusion, the Count de Cazes to be third Dep. G.M., Baron Fernig to be Lieut. G. Commander, the other members of Sup. Council to receive posts or become honorary members, all members of the 33° to be recognized, and all former inimical manifestoes to be annulled."[8] This liberal offer surprised the other side, who had only come prepared with a proposal that the independence of the Supreme Council should be acknowledged, and harmony—though not fusion—established between the rival bodies. According to Kloss, on May 7 additional commissioners were appointed by both parties; whilst if we follow Jouast this occurred two days previously. The names, however, of the Supreme Council representatives given by these two authorities do not agree. Conferences were held on June 16, from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M., and again on June 21, and the Grand Orient appears to have been so confident of a happy result as to prepare for the festival of reunion.

[1] Kloss gives the date as *December* 7, 1817. [2] Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 57. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 58.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 59. [5] *Ante*, p. 384. [6] Kloss, *op. cit.*, p. 90. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 87. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 100.



A French Lodge of Freemasons for the Reception of a Master.

Copied from the very rare original print published in 1745.

1. The Grand Master.
2. The Senior Warden.
3. The Junior Warden.
4. The Candidate on the death cloth.
5, 6 & 7. Candidates who have not yet received the accolade.

But the negotiations were wrecked on the usual rock. The G.O. insisted that the united body ought not only to be supreme but singly-governed; but the S.C. refused to part with its fancied prerogative of ruling the inferior (!) degrees. The Supreme Council wished to absorb and rule the Grand Orient, whilst the latter wished to place the other side in the same position as its own branch of the A. and A.S.R. 33° The independence within itself of a small body of men—an *imperium in imperio*—naturally enough could not be tolerated, and the other side would accept nothing less. The Count—afterwards Duc—de Cazes appears to have been unfeignedly sorry at the rupture of these negotiations; and Lacépède demitted from the Supreme Council in order to accept the Post of Grand Administrator General in the Grand Orient. The circular of G.O. of July 31, 1819, gives a complete history of all these transactions, and conclusively proves that the G.O. never relinquished the rights acquired by the Concordat of 1804, but merely held them in suspense until 1815, at which date the great majority of the old Supreme Council had joined it in erecting the Grand Consistory of Rites.

1820.—June 20.—The Grand Orient renewed its decree forbidding Masonic assemblies in public-houses, but excepted four by name.[1]

1821.—March 9.—Vassal opened the discussion on the projected new Statutes. These were not presented in a complete form to the Grand Orient until 1826, although the Committee of Revision had been appointed in 1817.

April 23.—Death of Peter Riel, Marquis de Beurnonville, Marshal and Peer of France, Senior Grand Conservator of the Grand Orient; born May 10, 1752. Valence, one of his co-Deputy Grand Masters, had deserted to the Supreme Council. Lacépède took the position vacated by the decease of Beurnonville, and was himself replaced in 1823 by Count Rampon. The Marquis de Lauriston succeeded Valence in 1822.

May 4.—What remained of the original Supreme Council for France met, after a repose of six years, and on the 7th amalgamated with the Pompei Council for America, and the united body became the Supreme Council for France and the French possessions.[2] The articles of union were signed by Valence, Muraire, Ségur, and Pény. The Prado Council attempted to organize a festival as a counter-demonstration on June 28 and July 31, and then incontinently expired. Hacquet demitted, and threw in his lot finally with the Grand Orient, Lacépède becoming Grand Directory of Ceremonies in his place. It was discovered that of the ancient (or original) Supreme Council eight members were dead, three in continuous absence, and four others resigned. In the list of the new Supreme Council we find the following names of members of the old—Counts de Valence,* Ségur,* and Muraire,* Baron de Pény, Thory, Challan,* Counts Lacépède,* De Grasse-Tilly, Rampon,* De Ris,* and Langier-Villars, the seven marked with an asterisk having all at different times sanctioned, by their participation therein, the former action of the Grand Orient in assuming the control of this Rite. It is most singular that De Ris and Rampon for many subsequent years held high office in the Grand Orient. Through this constant shuffling of names, and transfer of allegiance, the study of French Freemasonry is beset with almost insuperable difficulties.

June 24.—Lacépède—notwithstanding the occurrences of May 7—presided in the Grand Orient at the proceedings in memory of Beurnonville.[3] He afterwards resigned his membership, retaining only that of the Supreme Council.

[1] Kloss, Gesch. der F. in Frank., vol. ii., p. 126.

[2] *Ante*, p. 384.

[3] Rebold, Hist. des trois G. Loges, p. 133.

1821.—August 6.—Erection by the Supreme Council of the "Very Illustrious Lodge of the Supreme Council," to admit members to the 30°-33°. The Lodge *de le Grande Commanderie* had been constituted on June 24 preceding, to admit to the 29° inclusive.

December 21.—The Grand Orient denounced the Rite of Misraim to the civil authorities,[1] and on September 7, 1822, the latter took advantage of a slight infraction of the police rules to suppress the meetings of the Rite, which became dormant.[2]

1823.—November 20.—The Royal Order of Scotland (*Hérédom*) united with the Grand Orient,[3] and on November 25 the Grand Orient met to mourn the death of Louis XVIII.[4]

1824.—The accession of Charles X. does not seem to have been very beneficial to the Craft. In this year many Lodges in the provinces were forcibly closed by the police.

1826.—June 26.—The new Constitutions, commenced in 1817, were completed and laid before the Grand Orient; they consisted of 898 articles. The Grand Orient—in its entirety—was to consist of a Grand Master [not appointed at this time], three Deputy Grand Masters [Marshals Macdonald and Lauriston and Count Rampon], Grand and Past Grand Officers, and Masters and Deputies from the Lodges. The Boards, or Grand Committees (*Chambres*), were to be five in number. 1. Correspondence and Finance, or *La Chambre d'Administration.* 2. *La Chambre Symbolique.* 3. *La Chambre des Hauts Grades,* or *Suprême-Conseil des Rites.* These three Boards were called "*Chambres Administratives.*" 4. Counsel and Appeal—a composite body—consisting of nine officers of each of the three first Boards, and some others. The members were required to possess the highest grades of the Rites practised. Besides hearing appeals, this Board settled the agenda paper for the Grand Orient. 5. *La Comité Central et d'Elections,* formed by the union of the three first, or Administrative Boards. Its functions were to nominate to all the different offices. Besides these, there was a Grand College of Rites, formed of all members of the Grand Orient holding the 31°–33°, and directed by 36 officers of that body, its duty being to grant the 31°–33°, or the corresponding ones of the other Rites, and to warrant Consistories of the 32°.

These constitutions—containing more than 400 regulations for private Lodges—were declared subject to revision every five years.

November 30.—We now meet with another series of efforts to accomplish a fusion between the two rival Rites. On this date Benou wrote anonymously to the Duc de Choiseul, Grand Commander of the Supreme Council, urging a union. Choiseul answered anonymously on December 5, expression a willingness to treat on the basis of the Concordat of 1804. On the 6th these letters were laid before the *Chambre des Rites,* which appointed commissioners, and prepared a room for the committee. Benou informed Choiseul of the foregoing on the 7th. On the 10th the Supreme Council for France appointed commissioners. The first meeting took place December 22, and the Deputies from the G.O. handed in their proposal—complete fusion: Choiseul to be made a Deputy Grand Master; Muraire, President of the *College des Rites;* 15 members of the S.C., chosen by Choiseul, to be made Grand Officers; 5 others to enter the *College des Rites,* 5 the *Chambre Symbolique,* and 5 the *Chambre d'Administration;* all Choiseul's Lodges to be acknowledged, etc. It will be seen that, as on every other occasion, the Grand Orient was the first to make overtures, and proffered most generous terms. But the same cause was ever destined to

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 133.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol. ii., p. 162.
[4] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 136.

nullify the most well-meant efforts. Besuchet[1] relates an anecdote of these meetings. General Pully, in order to explain the views of his colleagues, betook himself to professional terms, and remarked, "We wish to enter in amongst you with shouldered arms as a batallion square (*bataillon carré*)." "Yes," was the reply, "and it only needs that you should place your fieldpieces at the four corners, and we shall doubtless conclude a famous treaty of peace!"

After this declaration of first principles, it will occasion no surprise that in spite of frequent meetings and interminable colloquies, the Supreme Council announced—April 8—that further negotiation was useless, whereupon the committee dissolved. On April 13, 1827, the Grand Orient received the report of its commissioners, and the proceedings closed.

1830.—The documentary evidence preserved presents very little of importance, till we come to the three revolutionary days of July 28-30, which deposed the elder branch of the Bourbons, and placed Louis Philippe on the throne. The Lodge of the Trinosophes at Paris fêted the event on August 6, and a deputation of the Supreme Council attended, Muraire at its head. Bouilly and Merilhon of the Grand Orient took the opportunity of improving the occasion by desiring that the auspicious political events should be followed by a fusion of the two Rites. Muraire replied, and concluded by expressing a wish to exchange the kiss of peace with Bouilly. Then followed a truly French scene. Desétangs seized each orator by the hand, led them into the middle of the Lodge, and, amidst the acclamation of the assembly, they threw themselves into each other's arms. A speech in honor of Lafayette, the hero of the hour, followed. On October 10 the Supreme Council gave a *fête* in honor of Lafayette, at which he was present, and the official chairs of the Lodge were partly vacated in favor of officers of the Grand Orient, who attended in a body. A similar festival in compliment to Lafayette was given by the Grand Orient, at which the Supreme Council assisted. But these reunions were only of passing importance; the rivalry was very soon resumed.

This would seem a fitting point to review the progress of both systems since we last compared them.[2] In 1827 they stood thus:[3]—Grand Orient, Paris, 67 Lodges, 37 Chapters, 6 Councils 30°, and 1 of the 32°; in the Provinces, 203 Lodges, 78 Chapters, 8 Councils 30°, 1 Tribunal 31°, and 5 Councils of the 32°; in the Colonies, abroad and in regiments, 20 Lodges, 18 Chapters, 3 Councils 30°, and 2 Councils 32°: in all, 450 bodies, besides 156 dormant. At the same date the Supreme Council had only warranted 27 bodies. In 1831 the Grand Orient stood thus:—268 Lodges, 130 Chapters, and 27 Councils in France; and abroad 54: in all, 479 bodies. Of these, 114 met in Paris, and 97 were still dormant.[4] At the same date the Supreme Council ruled over 10 Lodges and 8 Chapters in Paris; in the Provinces, 10 Lodges, 4 Chapters, and 1 Council; and abroad 1 Lodge: in all, 34.[5] The net results as regards these, the only two remaining constituent bodies in France, is thus:—513 Lodges, all told; which compares unfavorably with the 1288 of 1814. According to Rebold's lists, the annual progress of the Grand Orient was (Lodges *and* Chapters) in 1814, 7; 1815, 1; 1816, 6, 1817, 8; 1818, 17; 1819, 23; 1820, 9; 1821, 14; 1822, 10 (35 at least closed during the preceding two years); 1823, 5; 1824, 12; 1825, 15; 1826, 12 (though the grand total was no higher than in 1820); 1827, 6; 1828, 6; 1829, 17; 1830, 9 (more than 60, however, ceased work during this year).

[1] Besuchet was the Secretary to this committee of fusion.
[2] *Ante*, pp. 423, 424.
[3] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frankreich, vol. ii., p. 226.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 377.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

The first efforts of the Grand Orient, on the accession of Louis Philippe, were directed to procuring his assent to the nomination of the Duke of Orleans as Grand Master. Failing in his, the office was still considered vacant, and held, as it were, in commission by the three Grand Conservators or Deputy Grand Masters, as they were variously styled. These were the Marquis de Lauriston (1822), Count Rampon (1823), and Count Alexander de Laborde (1825); Roëttiers de Montaleau, June (1808), being still the representative of the Grand Master.

According to the Statute requiring a revision of the constitutions every five years, this duty was entrusted to a committee, October 27, 1831. A report was furnished to the G.O. —March 24, 1832—and remitted to the Boards. Here it underwent revision from June 12, 1832, to June 11, 1833, and returned to the committee, who apparently went to sleep over it for the next six years.

1833.—August 21.—The Grand Orient was obliged to caution its Lodges against intermeddling with politics. During the whole of this reign, 1830-1848, the Lodges showed a tendency to political discussions, which often began innocently enough with politico-economic questions and humanitarian projects, but were not kept within due bounds. Many Lodges were in consequence from time to time suspended, some at the instance of the police, and on these occasions the Grand Orient was so anxious to make submission, that it occasionally refrained from any inquiry into the alleged offences. The first to suffer was the "Indivisible Trinity" of Paris, September 11.

1834.—A police law of April 10, placed the Lodges still more under the arbitrary control of the police; so much so, that the Grand Orient thought of asking the special protection of government, but Bouilly induced the members to reject this dangerous project. The result was, however, that the Grand Orient became more pusillanimous than ever, and even sought to suppress all Masonic publications. In this it could not succeed, but it could and did exclude their authors, and the next to suffer was Peigné (1835) the editor of the *Revue Maçonique*. This course of action was by no means new to the Grand Orient, but earlier examples could not have been mentioned without excluding matters of more importance.

The anathema pronounced by the Grand Orient on the Supreme Council was a constant source of remonstrance from its own Lodges. In 1835 fresh efforts at a fusion were made, but the proposals on either side were a counterpart of those of 1826, and therefore failed.[1]

1836.—The Grand Orient received continual complaints as to the tardy progress made with the revision of the Statutes. At one tumultuous meeting the President closed the Lodge, but the members would not disperse. Besuchet harangued the assembly, and proposed to withdraw from the tyranny of the Grand Orient by forming a new body with the title Central and National Grand Lodge. As a consequence, on October 14 and 28, the orator and his Lodge were alike suspended. Six other Lodges then ranged themselves on the side of the Schismatics; and on January 14, 1837, at the recommendation of Laborde, not only were these also suspended, but the names of their members were even handed in to the civil authorities. In 1836, Bouilly succeeded Montaleau as Representative of the G.M.

1837.—The Committee of Revision complained of the difficulties under which they labored, and on October 27 their meetings were in consequence declared to be private, and visitors were pronounced incapable of taking part in their discussions.

1838.—Rise of the Rite of Memphis.[2]

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 161.

[2] *Ante*, p. 388.

1839.—A general amnesty was granted to all previous Masonic offenders on January 4. The new Statutes were at length produced—March 15—and approved and published on June 24. There were few alterations of importance. Honorary officers were discontinued; and all articles making it impossible for members of the two masonic jurisdictions to intervisit were withdrawn. As a check to the admission of members already verging on pauperism, a minimum initiation fee was fixed for each separate degree. Visitors to the Grand Orient were deprived of the right of addressing the Lodge—which, in spite of the absence of voting power, had in 1829 and 1836 led to scandalous tumults. The "historical" introduction to these Statutes (or Constitutions), affords a melancholy proof to the lamentable Masonic ignorance of those by whom they were compiled.

November 13.—The "*Loge l'Anglaise*, No. 204, Bordeaux," petitioned the Grand Orient to put an end to its enmity with the Supreme Council.[1] In 1840 several other Lodges joined in the plea for toleration, and a circular of the G.O.—October 19, 1840—which sought to awaken slumbering animosities, was severely criticised on all sides. The Supreme Council seized the opportunity—December 15—of once more proclaiming that it opened its arms to all Masons, either as members or visitors; and in spite of the intolerance of the Grand Orient it forbade its own Lodges from entering upon reprisals of any sort.[2]

1841.—A last effort at a fusion was made by the Grand Orient, and in order to ensure success it was agreed that the negotiations should be conducted by the five highest dignitaries on either side. These, severally headed by Bouilly and the Duc de Cazes, met for the first time on March 28, 1841.[3] The Supreme Council proposed a return to the tacit understanding of 1805[4] that the G.O. should place all degrees above the 18° under the authority of the Supreme Council. Each body to remain independent, but under the same Grand Master, and two Deputy Grand Masters, one for each Rite; with the joint title "The Grand Orient of France and the Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R. united." The G.O. could not accept those terms, but it made every possible concession. Nothing, however, would satisfy the Supreme Council but absolute supremacy and the conservation of their hierarchical system. Later—June 29—it declared that no fusion could ever be possible between two bodies so fundamentally different in organization. In the same year—November 6—the Grand Orient at length gave way to the wishes of its Lodges, and decreed "That Lodges under its jurisdiction might interchange visits with those under the Supreme Council." From that time all quarrels have been buried, and the two Grand bodies have worked side by side in peace, although the Grand Orient has never ceased to confer the 33 degrees of the A. and A.S.R., or the Supreme Council to warrant Lodges of the Craft.

1842.—February 11.—Baron Las Cases was named Deputy Grand Master *vice* De Laborde, and installed on the 19;[5] and—September 3—Bertrand was installed as Representative of the Grand Master in the place of Bouilly deceased.

1843.—Ragon, the author of *Cours Philosophique et Interprétatif des Initiation Anciennes et Modernes*, was censured—September 29—for publishing the second part of that work, and—October 20—Begue-Clavel was expelled for publishing his *Histoire Pittoresque*. On November 8, however, the latter penalty was commuted to a formal censure.[6]

[1] Rebold, Histoire des trois Grandes Loges, p. 155; *cf. ante*, p. 352. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 156.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 161. [4] *Ante*, p. 384. [5] Rebold, Hist. des trois G. Loges, p. 174. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

1844.—September 6.—The Lodge of the "Trinosophes" at Paris affiliated a brother Noël de Quersoniers, *aged* 115 ! (?)[1]

1845.—In this year there began a series of congresses to discuss questions of general and Masonic interest, such as pauperism, schools, and cognate subjects, some of which approached perilously near to the *malum prohibitum*, viz., current politics. The Revolution of 1848 was already in the air. The first congress was held—July 30—at La Rochelle; and August 31, the Lodges at Strassburg inaugurated one at Steinbach in honor of Erwin, the architect of the cathedral,[2] at which many German Lodges were represented. Six Lodges met at Rochefort June 7, 1846; others assembled at Strassburg, August 18; at Saintes, June 5-7, 1847; and at Toulouse, June 22. A further one was projected at Bordeaux for 1848, but the Grand Orient stepped in on January 17, 1848, and forbade these congresses altogether.

1846.—February 27.—The Grand Orient held a Lodge of mourning for its deceased members—1843-45—amongst whom was Joseph Napoleon, last Grand Master of France.[3]

April 3.—Reports and complaints that the Prussian Lodges refused to receive as visitors Frenchmen who were Jews, were taken into consideration. The G.O. expressed its indignation, and instructed its representatives at the Berlin Grand Lodges, to endeavour to procure an alteration in the statutes of those bodies, but at the same time strictly enjoined French Lodges to refrain from reprisals. A more pronounced action on the part of England may have possibly assisted in bringing one at least of those bigoted Grand Lodges more into harmony with the spirit of the age.[4]

June 1.—The Supreme Council issued its first code of Regulations.[5]

1847.—April 2.—Bertrand was elected Deputy Grand Master, and was succeeded in the office of Representative—June 24—by Désanlis.[6] On December 17 the commission entrusted with the revision of the Statutes made its report to the Grand Orient.

1848.—March 4.—The Grand Orient met after the overthrow of the Monarchy, and the formation of a Provincial Government, and resolved to send a deputation to the latter expressing sympathy with the Revolution, and joy at finding that its own maxim of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity had become the watchwords of the nation. Thus, again, we see it unable to refrain from political action—and worship, more or less sincere, of the rising sun. These sentiments were expressed to the Lodges in a circular of the 13th. The deputation presented itself on the 6th, and was received by Crémieux and Garnier-Pages, members of the government, both wearing Masonic regalia. The addresses on either side may be passed over with the bare comment that, though confining themselves to the letter of the truth respecting the *rôle* of the Craft, they violated its spirit by implication. But political events also tinged the preparations for passing the new Constitutions just announced as complete. A resolution was agreed to—March 20—ordering a new election of deputies in all Lodges to assist at the framing of the new ordinances, and a circular of the 25th calls upon *all* Lodges, *without regard to rites and jurisdictions*, to send deputies to form in the Grand Orient a most truly National Masonic assembly for all France. A further circular of April 7 was still more explicit. It invited *all* Lodges and Masons in France to come and aid in establishing a Masonic unity of government. Here we plainly recognize the

[1] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 186.
[2] *Cf.* Chap. VI., pp. 267, 318.
[3] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 196.
[4] *Ante*, p. 272.
[5] Kloss, Gesch. der Freim. in Frank., vol. ii., p. 385.
[6] Rebold, Hist. des trois Grandes Loges, p. 200.



A French Lodge of Freemasons for the Reception of a Master.

Copied from the very rare original print published in 1745.

1. The Grand Master.
2. The Senior Warden.
3. The Junior Warden.
4. The Candidate.
5. The Orator.
6. The Treasurer.
7 The Secretary.

cloven hoof, the idea evidently being to utilize the awakened democratic spirit of the nation, to the detriment of the aristocratically governed Supreme Council.

At the close of this epoch it will be convenient to review the progress of the Grand Orient from 1830. According to Rebold's list, the following Lodges, Chapters, etc., were constituted by the G.O.: in 1831, 4 [it had lost over 90 bodies of all sorts in the year, and the number of its *Lodges* was reduced to 228]; 1832, 14; 1833, 4; 1834, 8 [but some 15 had become dormant]; 1835, 6; 1836, 10; 1837, 3; 1838, 4, [but so many Lodges had become dormant that there remained only 216 active ones]; 1839, 11; 1840, 3; 1841, 6; 1842, 6; 1843, 4; 1844, 8; 1845, 7 [the number of active *Lodges* had risen to 280]; 1846, 9; 1847, 9 [but as upwards of 30 had closed, the number of Craft Lodges only reached 255]. The same year the number of bodies of all sorts under the Supreme Council amounted to 71.

A further incentive to the unusually liberal action of the Grand Orient, may be found in a movement then recently initiated, and of which, as it was of short duration, an account will be here given before proceeding with the history of that body. Curiously enough, this democratic attempt arose in the bosom of the oligarchical A. and A.S.R. 33°; or rather the fact is not really curious, because the worst tyranny usually gives birth to the most republican sentiments. A detailed account of this movement, which deserved a better fate than befell it, is concisely given by Rebold in his History of the Three Grand Lodges.[1]

It would appear that in the course of 1847, a few earnest Masons discussed the possibility of erecting a really representative Grand Lodge, on the model of the Grand Lodge of England, confining itself to the simple ceremonies of the Craft. The first step was taken by the Lodge "*Patronage des Orphélins*" of the A. and A.S.R. under its W.M. Juge, Jun., and a manifesto was issued—March 5, 1848—in conformity with certain resolutions duly passed August 10, 1847. After inveighing against the monstrosities in the direction of affairs under both Rites, it declared that the time had arrived for the Lodges, which are the basis of the Craft, to *govern themselves for themselves*, and to assert their absolute right to form their own by-laws, subject to the confirmation of the Grand Lodge. It proposed that each Lodge should send three representatives to form a National Grand Lodge (no deputy to represent two Lodges), to choose their own Grand Officers, to work only three degrees, and to suppress all others; that in private Lodges each member should be at liberty to address the chair—a right hitherto confined to the orators and high degree Masons—the liberty of the Masonic press to be established, the Grand Lodge to have no right to control the election of deputies, etc. These clauses indicate, very plainly, the grievances of the Craft. It concludes—"No more Rites of 7, 33, or of 90 degrees, each anathematising and fighting with the others; but one simple Rite, founded on good sense, comprising in itself all useful instruction, and which shall at length annihilate the nonsense, the revolting absurdities, and the perpetual strife which these brilliant fantasies have introduced amongst us." Six other Lodges of the A. and A.S.R. soon joined this party, and were naturally enough erased. A committee was appointed, which—March 10—waited on the authorities at the Hotel de Ville, to obtain police permission for their future action, and to congratulate the Provisional Government. Lamartine's reply was as poetical as might have been expected, but space forbids its insertion. The next step was to placard Paris with an invitation to all Masons to meet in General Assembly on April 17. The circular was forwarded to all the Lodges, and signed by Barbier, Vanderheyen, Jorry, Du Planty,

[1] Pp. 545-572

Juge, Minoret, Lefrançois, Desriviéres, and Dutilleul. Juge, however, almost immediately afterwards withdrew; he had conceived the fanciful idea of causing the new Grand Lodge to be inaugurated by the Grand Lodge Union of Frankfort, with himself as Grand Master. On April 17 the assembly met and resolved to call a larger one, requesting each Lodge in France to send 3 deputies. At this second assembly 400 Masons appeared, by whom, unanimously, the original self-elected Committee was directed to prepare a code of ordinances. Full meetings of the new Grand Lodge were held on November 29, December 14 and 17; each article was discussed, and the code adopted on the last-named date. A report and manifesto, dated February 25, 1849, and signed, among others, by Rebold, was then forwarded, together with the new Constitutions, to every lodge in France. On April 29, the committee summoned a meeting of Grand Lodge for May 19 following, announcing that no insignia beyond that of the three degrees would be permitted. At this meeting seven Grand Officers were elected, viz., the Marquis du Planty, M.D., and Mayor of St. Ouen—Master of the Grand Lodge; Barbier, Avocate Général—S.W.; General Jorry—Jun. W.; Rebold—Grand Expert; Humbert—Sec. General, etc. During the whole of that year the Grand Lodge occupied itself with settling its rituals, organization, etc., but does not appear to have attempted to seduce the Lodges under other governing bodies from their allegiance; and in answer to all inquiries, refrained from persuasion, contenting itself with forwarding its manifesto and Constitutions. It is more than probable that more energetic proceedings would have resulted in the ruin of the G.O. and the S.C., but they were not taken.

In 1850 the Supreme Council and the Grand Orient both applied to the authorities to suppress the new body; whilst fear on the one hand, caution on the other, and the apparent wish to reform itself evinced by the Grand Orient, combined to diminish the number of Lodges which adhere to the National Grand Lodge. At this time they were only 8. Towards the end of the year, several Lodges in France—for one cause or another—were closed by the police, and the enemies of the National Grand Lodge were astute enough to throw the blame on their young rival. The result was, an edict of the Prefect of Police, dated December 6, 1850, dissolving the Lodge. The Grand Lodge resolved to obey the authorities, and issued a circular to that effect to all its members on January 10, 1851. On January 14 it held its final meeting. Its 5 Lodges, and more than 600 visitors, met on the occasion, when amid a mournful silence the president delivered his valedictory address, and closed the Lodge. Had it not been for Rebold himself, matters might have turned out differently. On December 14, 1848, some members of the Provisional Government of the Republic, who also belonged to the Grand Lodge, came to a meeting of the latter, prepared to counsel its members to petition the government to dissolve both the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council, and to hint that the request would meet with a ready compliance. Rebold, however, who was taken into their confidence, evinced a strong repugnance to make use of the Civil arm, and so worked upon the members in question, that the communication was never made. Herein he showed much Masonic feeling, but little worldly wisdom—but to return to the Grand Orient.

1848.—June 9.—The deputies summoned by the G.O. assembled, and were addressed by the president Bertrand, J. Dep. G.M. One sentence of his allocution will describe the purpose of the meeting. "To revise the whole Masonic Code and to establish the institution on new bases, in consonance with the present state of feeling." The Master dissolved the old Grand Orient by laying his insignia on the table before him, and was unanimously elected

president of the new constituent assembly. The powers of the deputies were examined, five officers elected to administer the Craft *ad interim*, etc., etc. From then to August 10, 1849, 26 meetings were held, and on the latter date the new Constitutions were confirmed by the Grand Orient, thus newly erected. In spite of the liberal promises of the circulars of 1848, the organization was scarcely more democratic than previously, but one fact deserves mention; for the first time in French Freemasonry this code unequivocally declares (Art. 1), that the *basis* of Freemasonry is a belief in a God and the immortality of the soul.

1850.—December 13.—Appointment of Berville as Senior Deputy Grand Master, and of Desanlis as president of Grand Orient and Representative of the Grand Master. They were installed on the 27th following.

1851.—June 12.—The following words sum up the report made to Grand Orient on this date: "Confusion in the archives, confusion in the property, confusion in the finances, this is what our researches have disclosed, this is what we are forced to report to you." On December 10, following, in view of political disturbances which were then anticipated, the Grand Orient ordered all Masonic meetings to cease. In the same month Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic for ten years, and—January 1, 1852—the Grand Orient withdrew its prohibition.[1]

The existence of Freemasonry appearing very precarious, Prince Lucien Murat was asked whether he would accept the Grand Mastership, and having obtained the permission of his cousin signified his assent. Whereupon, he was unanimously elected—January 9, 1852, received the 33° on the 27th—and was installed February 26. On the same date Bugnot was invested as President of the Grand Orient, *vice* Desanlis, who had resigned that office July 11, 1851.

The first act of the new Grand Master was to adopt measures for the erection of a Masonic Hall in the Rue Cadet. He succeeded, thanks to a large loan (125,000 francs) from his son, but the expenses were for years a heavy burden on the resources of the Craft. A house was purchased, and sufficiently altered, in part, to be opened formally on June 30 of the same year.

1853.—March 11.—Desanlis was installed as second Deputy Grand Master, and on April 12 three members were nominated for the Presidency of the G.O., from whom the G.M. selected Jania, who was installed on the 29th. It was on this occasion that Murat gave the first indication of the despotic manner in which he intended to rule. On the occasion in question, the G. Sec., Hubert, had voted against the candidate most acceptable to the Prince—which, although a salaried officer, he was quite entitled to do—but he was immediately relieved of his duties by the Grand Master, in spite of the fact that during his short tenure of office he had contrived to increase the correspondence tenfold, to restore order in the *bureau*, and to convert the financial deficit of the Grand Lodge into a balance on the other side.

1854.—December 15.—The Grand Master convoked a "Constituent Convent" for October 15 to "take measures for Masonic unity, and to assure to the directing power the means of action which are indispensable," etc. On the 16th the Convent met and verified the mandates of the deputies, and the following day the questions to be discussed were

[1] From this date, Jouast and Kloss being no longer available, the subsequent facts are given on the authority of Rebold (a contemporary), and will be found, under the dates cited, in his "Histoire des trois Grandes Loges," *tit.* Histoire du Grand Orient.

submitted, the first being the modifications of the Constitutions. The G.M. allowed it to become known, through Desanlis, that the Government had resolved not to permit in future a deliberative and legislative assembly. It required that all power should be in the hands of the Grand Master, who would be assisted by a council—that this was the only way to offer the Government a valid guarantee, etc. The Commission of Revision was chosen from those members most likely to be amenable to such thinly veiled hints—and proceeded to work. On October 26 it brought up its report, which was so badly received, and gave rise to such tumult, that the sitting was prematurely closed. As the whole spirit of the new ordinances may be gathered from one single article, I here reproduce it side by side with the corresponding paragraph of 1849.

1849.	1854.
Art. 32. The Grand Orient, the legislator and regulator of the Order, is possessed of all its power. It exercises directly the legislative power, delegates the executive to the G.M., assisted by a council, and confides the administrative to Boards (*Chambres*) formed of its own members.	Art. 31.—The G.M. is the Supreme Chief of the Order, its representative near foreign Masonic jurisdictions, and its official organ with the Government; he is the executive, administrative, and directing power.

In fact Murat had determined to rule the Grand Orient and the Craft after the manner of a general in the field, who directs everything, although he may, and for his own convenience occasionally does, ask the advice of his staff—the members of which, however, would hold their offices by a very frail tenure were they in the habit of often disagreeing with their chief. In spite of protests and struggles, the Convent was obliged to ratify these Constitutions on October 28. Next day the members of the Council were appointed, and on the 30th the G.M. by a decree appointed Desanlis and Heuillant Deputy Grand Masters. The most noticeable name on the Council is that of Rexès, of whom we shall soon hear more than enough. In order to convey some faint impression of the pitiable state of subserviency into which the Craft was reduced during this period of its history, a few of Murat's many arbitrary acts will now be cited.

On May 13, 1856, a member of the Grand Orient demanded that certain decrees of the G.M. should be submitted to the assembly. He was informed that such decrees could not be discussed, and continuing to urge the point, was ordered to resume his seat. Blanche, a member of the G.M.'s council, on one occasion indignantly exclaimed, "But what are we then?" "Nothing without me," said Murat, "and I—I am everything, even without you." Blanche resigned his seat. In 1861, Murat suspended, in one month, more than 40 Presidents and Deputies of Lodges for opposing the arbitrary government of the Grand Orient. Previously—April 16, 1858—he had distributed, of his own will, the 40 Paris Lodges amongst the 13 chapters of the city, and on November 30, of the same year, he decreed that no Masonic writings should be published, except by the printers to the Grand Orient. A Lyons Lodge was suspended—March 31, 1859—for having "permitted itself to discuss a decree of the G.M.," and a similar fate befell a Paris Lodge on May 9, ensuing. In 1858, the G.M. warned the assembly general "to deliberate only on such subjects as are placed before it by his council, and on no account to wander, *accidentally* or otherwise, from the *ordre du jour.*" These are only a few incidents taken at haphazard, and yet, something, after all, may be urged in Murat's favor. He was the first French Grand Master

who ever interested himself in the slightest degree in the affairs of the Craft. His intentions were doubtless good—according to his lights—his speeches often had a true Masonic ring, but he was apparently much misled by worthless and ambitious members of his council, and wholly unable to appreciate the beauties of self-government, or to divest himself of the effects of his barrack training. In *his* eyes the Craft was a regiment and himself the colonel, and there—so far as he was concerned—was an end of the matter. Discussion meant mutiny, and was therefore to be kept under with a firm hand.

1855.—February 26.—The G.M. invited all the world to a Masonic congress at Paris, to be held June 1. Desanlis resigned the position of Dep. G.M., March 30, and on June 4 was made an Hon. Grand Officer, and Razy appointed Dep. G.M. *ad interim.*

June 7.—The Grand Masonic Congress assembled under the presidency of Heuillant, Dep. G.M., and was officially opened on the 8th by Murat in person. The Grand Orient was represented by 22 members and officers. Five foreign Grand Bodies had accepted the invitation, but did not put in an appearance, viz., the Grand Lodges of Switzerland, Hamburg, Louisiana, Saxony, and the Supreme Council of Luxemburg. Three—the Grand Lodges of Hayti, New York, and Sweden—had appointed deputies, but they were unable to arrive in time. Four Grand Lodges and 1 Provincial Grand Lodge were really represented, viz., Columbia, Ireland, Virginia, Holland, and the Provincial Grand Lodge of Munster. Inasmuch as there are some 90 Grand Lodges in the world, besides any number of Provincial Grand Lodges, the outlook was not encouraging. Only 5 proposals were agreed to; these were of the most unimportant description, and not one of them has been carried into effect.

1857.—June 6.—By a decree of Murat, Doumet was appointed Dep. G.M., *vice* Desanlis resigned; and Razy, who had acted *ad interim*, was made an Hon. Grand Officer. A decree of September 30 placed Rexès at the head of the correspondence of the Grand Orient, and entrusted him with other important charges. In fact, the Dep. G.M. became such an unimportant personage, that Heuillant resigned. From that time the Grand Orient was practically under a triumvirate—Murat, Doumet, and Rexès. This paved the way for a very disgraceful transaction. On June 2, 1860, Murat accepted the resignation of Rexès, but asked him to continue his duties *ad interim.* On the 11th Rexès presided over the Grand Master's council, and delivered a message to the effect that the finances of the G.O. being now capable of supporting the charges upon them, the G.M. was unwilling to ask any longer for the services of such an important officer as Rexès' successor would be, without offering an equivalent. The council was therefore requested to name the sum it could set apart for the purpose, and on the 18th offered a maximum of 9000 francs per annum. As a matter of fact, the finances of the Grand Orient showed a large and increasing annual deficit, but the council was chiefly composed of brethren, who are best described as the creatures of the Grand Master. Moreover, as Rexès' successor could only be appointed from among themselves, each member felt that he had at least a chance of being appointed to an office worth some £350 a year. Their consternation, however, may be imagined, when a decree appeared—June 21—stating that on and after July 1 the office formerly occupied by Rexès would be endowed with a salary of 9000 francs,—which was followed by another of July 17, appointing Rexès himself to this office, and instructing him to assume thenceforth the title of Representative of the G.M.

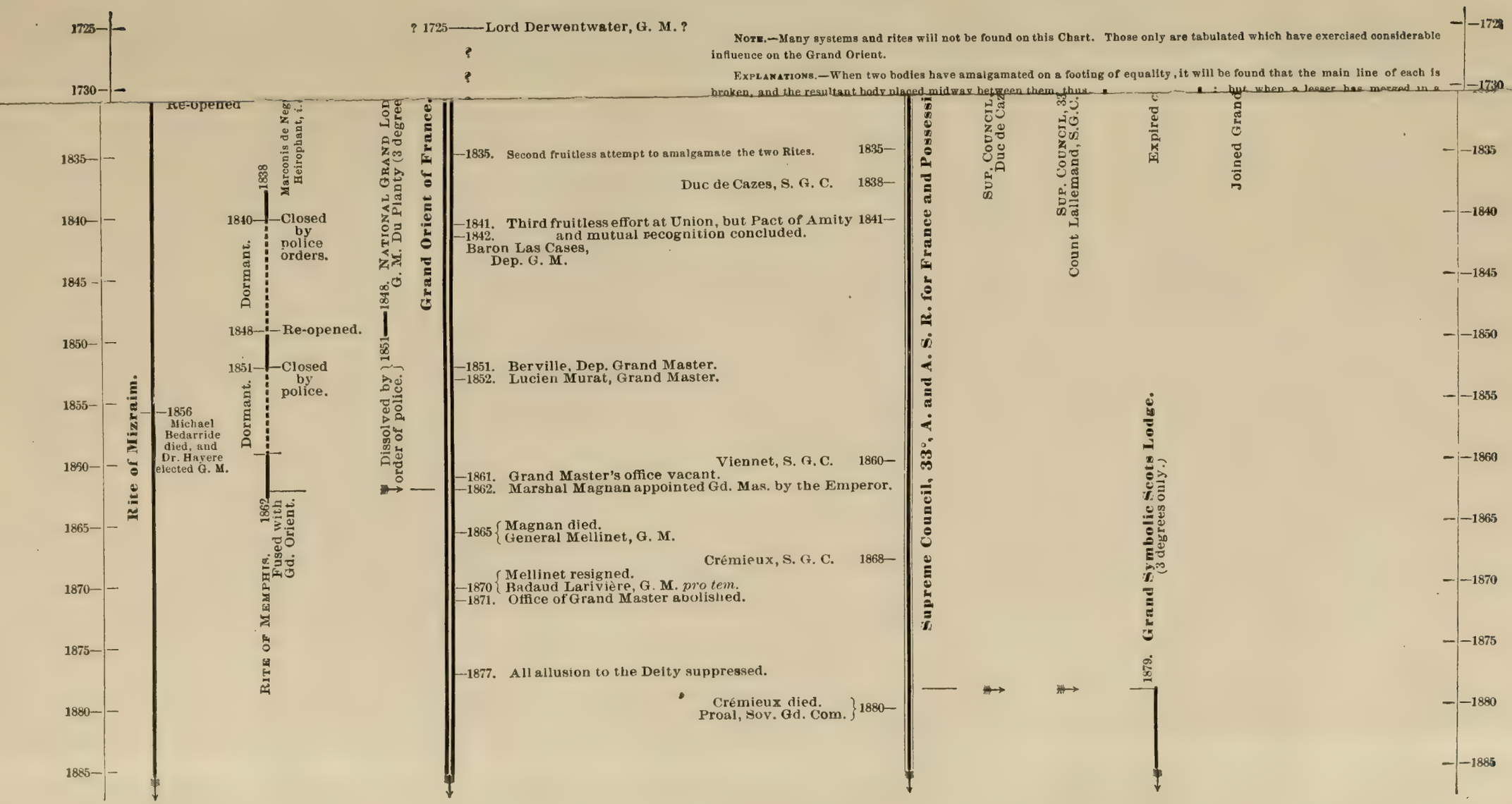
We now approach the most scandalous series of scenes in French Freemasonry, scenes only to be equalled by similar ones in the Legislative Chambers of the same nation, of

which we sometimes read a description in the daily papers. It will be readily understood, that most thinking Masons had long since become thoroughly disgusted and disheartened; in fact, very many Lodges in France had for years preferred to declare themselves dormant rather than shamefully live on. Only one hope remained, the Grand Master was not appointed *ad vitam*, and the next election was no longer far distant. Murat had been appointed on June 9, 1852; Art 30 of the Statutes provided for a renewal of election every seven years, but as the election was confirmed by the Constitutive Convent—October 28, 1854—his appointment was regarded as bearing that date. The new election ought therefore to have taken place October 28, 1861, but Murat, in convoking the General Assembly falling due May 20, 1861, had warned the Grand Orient to take that opportunity of renewing the election, in order to avoid double journeys and expenses to the deputies. Already the attention of the brethren had been called to the liberal tendencies of Prince Jerome Napoleon, as exemplified by his parliamentary conduct, which contrasted favorably with the Ultramontane votes of Prince Murat, and there is no doubt that canvassing on a large scale had been used to promote his possible candidature. The first open act of hostility was an article in the March-April number of the "*Initiation*," respecting the approaching election, and contrasting the two princes much in Hamlet's style, with regard to the Two Pictures. At some time in April a number of the Paris Masters addressed a letter to Prince Napoleon. Space will only admit of short extracts. "Whereas Prince Murat's attitude of late incapacitates him from acting any longer as the representative of the Craft, whereas we have finally decided not to re-elect him, but have cast our eyes on you, who, though not yet the representative of the Craft, have nevertheless always proclaimed its principles aloud; whereas it behoves us under present circumstances to choose a leader who will, etc., etc., we have decided to nominate and elect your Imperial Highness, and beg to remind you that being a Freemason you owe certain duties to the Fraternity, etc., etc."

The Prince's reply, stating his readiness to accept the office, if elected, was received by the Masters, April 19. About the same time, or shortly afterwards, appeared a circular of Murat to the Lodges respecting the election. It speaks of an intrigue organized amongst some Masons, desirous of utilising Freemasonry for political ends, to produce a schism on the occasion of the election. The name of an illustrious prince having been used to cover these machinations, the G.M., desirous not to enter into rivalry with a member of the Imperial family, had inquired of Prince Jerome whether he intended to stand; and this prince had answered, that having ceased to occupy himself with Freemasonry since 1852, he should certainly decline a nomination. Murat therefore warns the brethren against these intriguers, but disclaims any idea of wishing to influence the election. It appears that Jerome omitted to inform Murat of his change of views until May 17, and the latter was thus placed in a very equivocal position, because at the time his circular appeared Jerome's letter was already in the hands of the Paris Masters. On May 2 a decree of Murat suspended the author of the newspaper article in question, as being in the highest degree disrespectful to the G.M., whose civil actions it had ventured to criticise. About the same time Rexès reported several brothers for daring to *intrigue* to procure the nomination of Prince Jerome, and denounced them as factious. On May 14 *they* were consequently suspended. Two of them were members of the G.M.'s. Council. Among the names of nine others we meet with that of Jouast. This wholesale suspension of voters was certainly a curious way to avoid influencing the elections! After all this it is easy to conceive that when the Grand Orient met it was in no very equable frame of mind.

CHART No. 2.

SYNOPSIS OF FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE.

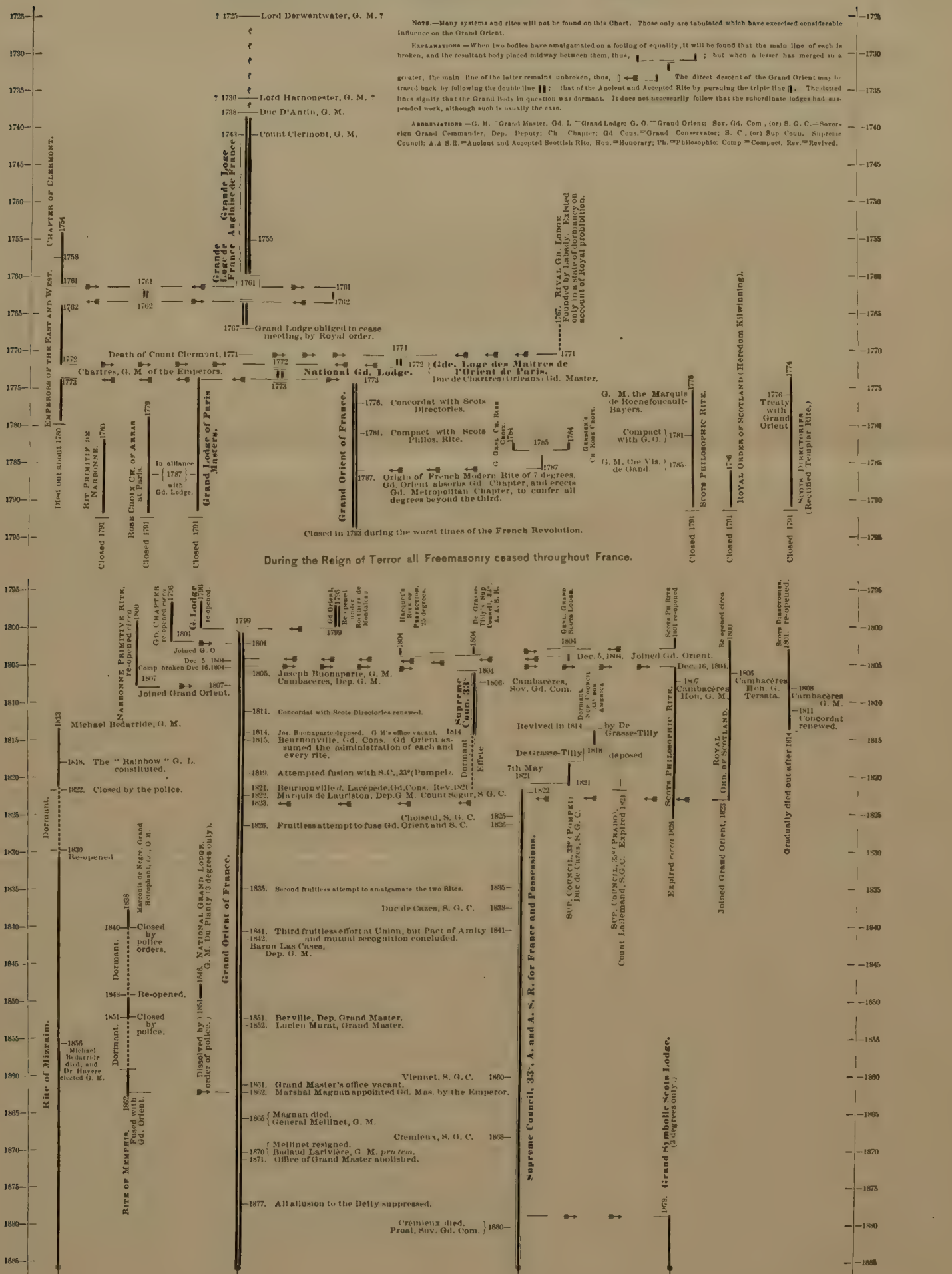


NOTE.—Many systems and rites will not be found on this Chart. Those only are tabulated which have exercised considerable influence on the Grand Orient.

EXPLANATIONS.—When two bodies have amalgamated on a footing of equality, it will be found that the main line of each is broken, and the resultant body placed midway between them, thus. ▪ ▪ : but when a lesser has merged in a

CHART No. 2.

SYNOPSIS OF FREEMASONRY IN FRANCE.



1861.—May 20.—First meeting of the Grand Orient. President—Doumet, Dep. G.M. The first business was necessarily of a routine character, to verify the powers of the deputies. Rousselle proposed that this should be undertaken by a Committee of Scrutineers nominated *ad hoc* by the assembly, as in the olden days, and not by the Grand Master's Council, as had been arbitrarily carried out since 1852. After debate Rousselle carried the day; each of the nine Boards (or Chambers[1]) of the Grand Orient named one member to form a Committee of nine Scrutineers. Only one belonged to the party of the Grand Master. From that moment the majority escaped from the control of Rexès.

May 21.—The Committee of Scrutineers, and the Boards met, and the Scrutineers commenced the examination of the mandates. Dissatisfaction became soon openly expressed, and in his excitement Hovins, the member of the Grand Master's party, so far forgot himself as to exclaim, "Your methods will produce excitement, and *the police will be called upon to interfere.*" The Boards began to review past decrees, and rejected almost all the propositions of the Grand Master. They decided that it would be wise to at once elect the new Grand Master, and were about to resolve themselves into a plenary *séance*, when a decree of that very morning was presented to them, suspending the sittings of the full Orient till the 24th, but permitting the Boards to continue sitting. A committee to interview the G.M. and procure the repeal of this decree was about to be elected, when Doumet expressed his intention of taking that duty upon himself the first thing in the morning, it being then five o'clock and too late. The meeting broke up, to resume at eight o'clock—at which hour the committee rooms being occcupied by private Lodges, all nine Boards met in the large hall in separate groups to continue their work. Whilst thus engaged, Rexès strolled into the room, struck his hand on the table to procure silence, and said, 'Sirs, I come to tell you that you are not legally assembled, the hour is unsuitable, you must retire." On being remonstrated with, he exclaimed, "If you persist I must call in the police," and withdrew. Steps were taken that one man only, should protest for all, if the police interfered, and the work was continued. Meanwhile a squad of police entered the building under the orders of Rexès. Masons leaving their private Lodges met these in the corridor, and ordered them to leave. Rexès ordered the police to clear the building. The Masons present, answered by warning the police that they were the proprietors of the building, both as shareholders and rent-payers, and that Rexès was their salaried servant. Rexès exclaimed, "Sirs, you are ruining Freemasonry." "Sir," they replied, "you disgrace it." In the end the police retired. The committees, who had meanwhile remained undisturbed, not being able to meet as a Grand Orient, had in each Board separately elected Prince Napoleon, and drawn up a minute to that effect, after which they left to meet the next day at nine o'clock.

May 22.—Doumet and the Council called upon the G.M., who, after persuasion, consented that they might announce to the assembly the repeal of the decree. The Council returned to the hall, and was about to summon the Boards to meet as a Grand Orient, when Rexès appeared and announced that the Council had misunderstood the Prince. The indignant members sent to request Murat's presence; but meanwhile Doumet was called away to the Ministry of the Interior, and as he did not reappear the Boards were not summoned. These meanwhile obtained 98 signatures to the minute of election out of a possible 152, and left in order to return at eight o'clock to resume their departmental work. On arriving at that hour they found the building closed, not only to themselves, but to

[1] *Cf. ante*, pp. 422, 430.

private Lodges whose night of meeting it was. The Lodge of the United Brothers had even prepared for a brilliant *soirée*, and were not made acquainted with the order until their arrival at the Hall.

1861.—May 23.—A deputation waited upon Prince Napoleon at ten in the morning, and handed him a written report showing that, debarred from effecting a regular election, they had had recourse to the best means available, accompanied by a minute of the election signed by 98 deputies. They were graciously received, and proceeded thence to a notary public in order to deposit with him a minute of the election, etc. They then separated to meet at two o'clock as a Grand Orient. But Rexès had meanwhile interviewed the Prefect of Police, and when the brethren arrived they found this notice on the door—"Freemasons are forbidden to meet for the election of a Grand Master before the end of next October. Signed Boitelle," etc., etc.

May 24.—The members of the Grand Orient published a formal and dignified protest against all these proceedings, attaching very naturally, and it may be justly, all the blame to Rexès, the only one interested, to the extent of 9000 francs per annum, in the then existing arrangements.

May 28.—The *Opinion Nationale* published a letter from Prince Napoleon thanking the Fraternity for their sympathy; but in view of the strike which the election was engendering, requesting that his name might be no more mixed up in the matter. Then followed decrees of Murat's. The Grand Orient will not be convoked till October. Lodges in the metropolitan department of the Seine are suspended till further notice. A third, on May 29, after many "*whereas's*," goes on to say, "All brothers who have taken part in these illegal and unmasonic meetings in the hotel of the G. Orient, without our authority and in spite of our prohibition, are hereby declared unworthy; as soon as their names shall be known, and failing a disavowal on their part, they will be suspended." [Then follow the names of 24 brothers who *were* known and consequently suspended.] Signed, Murat.

July 29.—In a long manifesto, very dignified and Masonic, but misstating the facts, Murat declared that thenceforth the duties devolving upon him as G.M. had ceased to be *pleasing*. In fact he declined re-election, and appointed a committee composed of Boubée, Desanlis, Rexès, and the G.M.'s Council to manage affairs until the election in October. I must pass over the bickerings and recriminations in the ordinary as well as in the Masonic press—but these can very readily be imagined?

September 29.—The G.M.'s Council convoked an extraordinary General Assembly for October 14. As its sole business was to elect a G.M., the sitting was to close on the same date. This was followed by a dignified letter of advice from Murat to the Fraternity, and the publication of a private letter of Prince Napoleon, begging the Craft to give their votes to some other brother.

October 10.—"We, Prefect of Police, on information received, in the interests of public security, do decree; all Masons are hereby interdicted from meeting in order to elect a G. Master before the month of May, 1862. Signed Boitelle." This naturally raised further protests, amid which October 28 arrived, and the Order was without a G.M. Murat's time had lapsed, and no successor had been elected. Under these circumstances a committee handed in the name of *three* brothers to the Minister of the Interior, as administrators of the Craft, and claimed that their legal power should be acknowledged; but Murat had already advised the minister of *five* of his own appointing, so that we now have two committees claiming to rule the Craft, and more discord.

1862.—January 11.—At last the Emperor took the matter into his own hands:—"Napoleon, by the grace of God, .·. .·. whereas, etc. Art. 1. The Grand Master of Freemasons in France, hitherto elected every three years according to the statutes of the Order, is now appointed directly by me for the same period. Art. 2. His Excellency, Marshal Magnan, is appointed Grand Master of the Grand Orient of France. Art. 3. Our Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of this decree. Given at our palace of the Tuileries, 11 Jan. 1862. Napoléon."

January 12.—Rexès waited upon Magnan to receive *instructions* for his initiation. This took place on the following day, Rexès and four others conferring upon him from the 1° to the 33° at one sitting! This of course was exceedingly irregular, and Blanche and Sauley told the Marshal so the day succeeding, when they in turn came to make arrangements. Their conversation with the new Grand Master resulted in Rexès' immediate impeachment, trial, and degradation from his office.

It will scarcely be expected that the Craft should have prospered during these troublous times. According to Rebold's lists, the Grand Orient constituted Lodges and Chapters, etc., in 1848, 7; 1849, 8; 1850, 9; 1851, 4; 1852, 4; 1853, 2; 1854, 2; 1855, 0 [about 10 had become dormant this year; the total number of Craft Lodges was only 180 active, as against 255 in 1847]; 1856, 2; 1857, 5 [and 5 relieved from suspension]; 1858, 12; 1859, 7 [and 3 reinstated]; 1860, 9 [and 7 reinstated]; 1861, 5 [and 3 reinstated].

In 1852, at the election of Murat, the bank book of the Grand Orient showed a credit to the amount of over 50,000 francs (£2000); at the close of his term, October 31, 1861, it presented a deficit of 68,446 francs.

One more and last fact to show the decadence which had overtaken the spirit of Masonry during the past lamentable period. In order to provide funds for the continually increasing needs of the Grand Orient, the Grand Master's Council had hired out a part of its premises, within the very walls of its own hotel, to serve as a ballroom for the use of the *demi-monde*. Need we wonder that thoughtful and earnest Masons, meeting within the same walls, should have grown indignant at this forced proximity of a "school of morals" to a *rendezvous* of immorality, and that, in their own corridors, the sons of light should jostle the modern representatives of Phryne and the *Bacchantes*.

At the entrance of Magnan on the scene the position of the rival jurisdictions was, as nearly as can be estimated: Grand Orient—France, 158 Lodges and 59 Chapters, Councils, etc.; Algeria, 11 Lodges and 7 Chapters; Colonies and abroad, 20 Lodges and 14 Chapters; in all, 189 Lodges, 80 Chapters. A. and A. S.R. 33°—France, 41 Lodges and 10 Chapters; Algeria, Colonies, and abroad, 9 Lodges and 5 Chapters: in all, 50 Lodges and 15 Chapters. Rite of Misraim—5 Lodges. Grand total of French Freemasonry:—244 Lodges practising degrees of the Craft, and 95 bodies—composed of Masons—playing at philosophy!

January 15.—Magnan presided over the G.O. for the first time, and appointed as his Deputy Grand Masters, Doumet and Heuillant. He was installed on the 8th February. His speeches on these occasions foreshadowed his subsequent conduct. He admitted, in so many words, that his appointment by the Emperor was an infraction of the Landmarks, but he promised to rule constitutionally, and to obtain, as soon as possible, the restoration to the Grand Orient of its privileges, and observed, "Your Grand Master is but one brother the more—*primus inter pares*." Of this Latin phrase he was very fond, often using it to define his position. Under his sway order and regularity were soon restored, and the arbitrary character of Murat's administration considerably amended. Magnan, however,

could himself occasionally play the tyrant, as his action respecting the A. and A.S.R. 33° will show. Soon after his nomination he met Viennet, the Sov. G. Com. of the Supreme Council, whom he informed that he read the Emperor's decree as appointing him to be Grand Master of *all* French Freemasons, and concluded, "prepare to receive me as your Grand Master also, I will no longer suffer *petites églises.*" Viennet smiled and retired. On February 1, he wrote kindly to Viennet, announcing his formal intention of reuniting dissenting Lodges to the Grand Orient. Viennet replied on the 3rd, pointing out that the Constitution of the Supreme Council rendered this absolutely impossible, and that as long as a single 33° man remained, he would become the head of the Rite, etc. On April 30 Magnan addressed a circular to all the Scots Lodges: "For many years a deplorable schism has desolated French Masonry, . . . a Sovereign Will desires to-day its unity. . . . and has confided to me the universal direction of all French Rites. . . . I trust you will not force me to use measures repugnant to my fraternal feelings. . . Presidents of Lodges under the ex-Supreme Council, do not misunderstand the position: it is from me, from the Grand Orient, that you now hold. . . . On June 9 I trust to be surrounded by the deputies of *all* lodges. Signed, Magnan." No satisfactory answers arriving, on May 22 he issued a decree abolishing the Supreme Council. "Whereas . . . by this decree the Emperor recognizes only one Masonic authority, that of the Grand Orient. . . . Art. 1. The Masonic powers known as Supreme Council, Misraim, etc., are dissolved, etc., etc." Viennet replied on May 25: "*M. le Maréchal,* for the third time you summon me to recognize your authority. . . . I declare I will not comply. . . . The Imperial decree named you G.M. of the G. Orient, established 1772, but gave you no authority over ancient Masonry dating from 1723. . . . The Emperor alone has power to dissolve us. If he should believe it to be his duty to do so, I shall submit without hesitation; but as no law obliges us to be Masons in spite of our wishes, I shall permit myself, for my own part, to withdraw from your domination. Signed, Viennet."

Shortly afterwards, the Emperor expressed to Viennet his wish to see a fusion accomplished. The latter replied that he could not, according to the Statutes, allow a fusion, but would dissolve the Supreme Council if the Emperor wished it. As nothing further was done, it is probable the Emperor hinted to Magnan to let the matter drop. The circular of April 30 above mentioned caused, however, the dormant Rite of Memphis to petition for admission under the College of Rites, which took effect on October 18.

1862.—March 25.—Magnan wrote to the Minister of the Interior, that as he was now the person responsible to the Emperor, he must insist on the decrees closing several provincial Lodges being annulled. To which Persigny consented on the 29th.

May 20.—Magnan summoned the Grand Orient to meet on June 9 to revise the Constitution. Accordingly, on that and succeeding days it was slightly altered, the change consisting in greatly increasing the number of the Grand Master's Council, which was made entirely elective, and vested with the administrative power, subject to a veto of the G.M. who preserved the executive functions. This was certainly a step in the right direction.[1] In 1862, 22 Lodges and Chapters were constituted, and 3 restored from dormancy to activity—a joyful sign of progress.

[1] Rebold's History closes with 1862. The only books known to me which carry the History of French Freemasonry further, are the "*Allgemeines Handbuch,*" vol. iv., presenting a mere encyclopædic sketch, and Findel's 4th German edition, which, however, is in the main a summary of the

1864.—May.—Magnan, having restored order and won the general approbation of the Fraternity, induced the Emperor to restore to the Craft its right of election, and was immediately re-elected by the Grand Orient. He died May 29, 1865.

1865.—June 5-10.—Meeting of the Grand Orient. General Mellinet was elected Grand Master. A movement in favor of abolishing all high degrees made itself strongly felt, and the motion was only lost on the 7th by 86 votes to 83—a very narrow majority.

1868.—In this year even the Supreme Council made advances towards a more liberal constitution. The lately appointed Sov. G. Commander, Crémieux, caused his appointment to be confirmed by the Lodges, and thus abrogated the hitherto existing right of a Sov. G. Com. to appoint his successor—a great blow at the autocratic nature of the institution.

1869.—July 8.—The Grand Orient passed a resolution that neither *colour, race,* nor religion, should disqualify a man for initiation. This procured the friendship of the Supreme Council of Louisiana, the first Grand Body to receive ex-slaves, but entailed the rupture of amicable relations with almost all the other Grand Lodges in the United States.

1870.—June.—At the General Assembly, Mellinet resigned the office of Grand Master, which the Grand Orient resolved to abolish, and until the confirmation of a resolution to that effect, elected and installed Babaud-Larivière.

1871.—September 6.—The Grand Orient confirmed the above resolution, the Grand Master resigned, and was appointed President of the Council. In 1872 he was succeeded by St. Jean, M.D., as President. Although it is possible that true Freemasonry might exist without a Grand Master—as in older days—subsequent events have proved that this was only the first step in a series, marking the decadence of the French Craft, and which resulted in its being ignored entirely by almost all the Freemasons of other countries. The Lodges had become filled by men of advanced socialistic ideas. Their influence made itself felt in a sphere which should have been jealously kept free from political or religious controversy; and the French Fraternity, which, as we have seen, never did possess a distinct idea of the true purposes of the Craft, or of its history and origin, gradually and surely effaced every landmark till it arrived at its present pitiful condition. One landmark, that it should not interfere in the politics of its native land, it had, from the very first, constantly overstepped; the deposition of the Grand Master—himself the type of a constitutional monarch, was the reflex action of the Republican feelings of its members. We shall next see it intermeddling in the most ridiculous fashion with international politics, and finally effacing the very name of the Deity from its records. One single virtue it retains; it still exercises great charity in the narrowest sense; charity in its divine signification, in its highest attributes, it has seldom exemplified. At various times, individual Lodges have indeed excelled in *all* that Freemasonry should be, and I regret that space forbids my doing justice to those Lodges and their works; but, as a whole, the Freemasons of France have ever been vain, ambitious, frivolous, contentious, and wanting in dignity and independence; and their representative bodies, whether Grand Lodge, Grand Orient, or Supreme Council, have been arbitrary, quarrelsome, slavishly subservient to the Government, repressive towards their Lodges, bureaucratic, and devoid of all idea of their true mission. "Englishmen look on Freemasonry with veneration, Germans with awe. Frenchmen

"*Handbuch.*" As I am not in a position to search the archives of the Grand Orient, or the files of the French Masonic press, the remaining facts to be now related are given on the authority of the "*Handbuch,*" which probably contains all matters of more than passing interest.

adopted it without thought, but with ardour; and soon it became with them a plaything on account of certain pomps; they surrounded it with the cloak of chivalry; they loaded it with multi-colored ribands or ultra-antique ceremonies; and if we seek the deepest and most serious signification of these usages, we only meet with means conducing to *external* culture; whilst the English and Germans have at all times regarded Masonry as a means to perfect *the spirit and the heart;* this is why it has degenerated in France. In that country Lodges sprout up like mushrooms, but they die out as quickly."[1]

A general Masonic Congress was projected for December 8 in reply to the Œcumenical Council at Rome in 1869, but it was first delayed, and then rendered impossible by the Franco-German war of 1870.

1871.—September 16.—Ten Paris Lodges published a most ridiculous circular, citing the German Emperor and Crown Prince to appear before them and answer to a Masonic charge of perjury! In November, another Paris Lodge summoned a convent of impartial Masons to meet on March 15, 1871, at Lausanne, in Switzerland, and try their cause of complaint against Brothers William and Frederick of Hohenzollern, *i.e.*, the Emperor and Crown Prince. All the Grand Lodges of Europe and America, those of Germany expected, were invited to attend, and in case of the non-appearance of the accused they were threatened with divers pains and penalties. It is surprising that the Grand Lodge "Alpina" of Switzerland, should have even deigned to protest, and of course nothing else was ever heard of this insane project. During the time of the Commune, many Paris Lodges united in a public demonstration against the French Government; and after the war many Lodges throughout the country excluded all Germans from their membership; even the *Loge l'Anglais, No.* 204, of Bordeaux, descended to this miserable exhibition of malevolence. The number of Lodges under the Grand Orient was considerably reduced at this time by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, and the formation of a Grand Orient in Hungary, where many French Lodges existed.

1873.—September 22.—The Grand Orient held its centenary festival. On this occasion the high degrees *as such* were refused participation by 111 votes against 99. The Chapters, etc., threatened to secede from the Grand Orient in consequence, but few really did so. The war had very much thinned their ranks and reduced their importance.

1875.—In this year the veteran academician Littré was initiated; his reception was considered in the Craft as an anti-clerical demonstration, and awakened much satisfaction in consequence. Our volatile French brethren have always had an affection for initiating men of advanced years, of which I have given a few examples in the course of these pages.[2]

1877.—September 10.—The Grand Orient resolved to alter the first article of the Constitutions of 1849. I have already pointed out[3] that on August 10, 1849, for the first time in French Masonry, it was distinctly formulated "that the basis of Freemasonry is a belief in God and in the immortality of the soul, and the solidarity of Humanity." With the consent of two-thirds of the Lodges, this now reads, "Its basis is absolute liberty of Conscience and the solidarity of Humanity." The rituals were then changed in conformity; all allusions to the Great Architect of the Universe being everywhere eliminated In consequence of this measure, the Grand Lodges of England,[4] Scotland, Ireland, Canada, and in most of the United States ceased to be in communion with the French Craft. Not that the relations between England and the Grand Orient had ever been very close. The

[1] Quoted by Rebold, p. 412, from the German. [2] *Ante*, pp. 373, 412, 434. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 437.
[4] *Ante*, p. 280.

latter was doubtless tacitly acknowledged by England as an independent Masonic power, but never formally so. No correspondence passed between the two, no exchange of representatives were ever made. But French Masons who were formerly received and welcomed in all English Lodges, can now only be admitted on certifying that they were made in a Lodge acknowledging the G.A.O.T.U., and that they themselves hold such a belief to be a pre-requisite to Freemasonry. With this mournful episode, let us close the history of the French Grand Orient. Indeed, in our eyes, French Freemasonry no longer exists. What remains is spurious, irregular, and illegitimate. I must nevertheless present a short account of a movement which began in 1879, and would have merited our approbation had it only reverted to that most ancient landmark of the Craft, the expression of a belief in the Deity.

As was the case in 1848 it was from the bosom of the autocratic Scots Rite that the cry arose for the autonomy of the Craft; it was the A. and A.S.R. Masons, who, feeling most the yoke, made one more effort to free themselves from the irresponsible rule of the high degrees.

On January 3, 1879, papers were read in the Lodge, *La Justice,* No. 133, A. and A.S.R., and subsequently printed, calling for a judicious rearrangement of the Constitutions. On March 15 following, the first Section of the *Grande Loge Centrale* (corresponding to a Grand Lodge of Master Masons) met. A Bro. Ballue of the Lodge Justice dropped a proposal of amendment into the box. On April 15, five members of the first Section, viz., the Vice-President Doumain-Cornille, the Senior Warden Denus, the Orator Mesureur, the Secretary Dubois, and Ballue, W.M. of Justice, issued a circular embodying these proposals, and calling upon Masters of Lodges for support. A few extracts from this circular will define the grievances of the Lodges, and explain the wished-for reforms. "Scottish Freemasonry in France is passing through a crisis, crushed by the dogmatic authority which rules it. . . . Without control over the finances of the Rite, our Lodges find their existence seriously menaced by the many taxes and dues which weigh upon them. All manly effort is blamed, all work inspired by the spirit of liberty censured, all initiative is rendered sterile by excessive regulations which condemn all to a fatal stagnation. . . .We ask then to be free . . . etc." The chief points of the proposal to the first Section were:—(1.) the President of the first Section to be elected by members of the Masters' Lodges; (2.) the first Section to *itself* arrange the dates of its meetings and the agenda paper, instead of this being done by the Supreme Council; (3) the Supreme Council to confine itself to governing the high degrees, but the Lodges to govern themselves, through their deputies assembled in the first Section. In a word, it was sought to establish a procedure, like that obtaining in England with regard to the Craft and the Royal Arch.

It will be readily understood that strife at once arose. The Lodge *La Justice* and the first Section were both accused of irregularity in issuing circulars without the previous consent of the Supreme Council. Their accusers, however, committed precisely the same offence, and were not reprimanded by the Supreme Council, whereas at a meeting of the first Section on May 20, 1879 (the officers having been all replaced by others), a decree from the Supreme Council was read, suspending for two years the five subscribers to the circular, closing the Lodge Justice, and forbidding the first Section to entertain the proposal of said Lodge. Hereupon ensued a scene of disorder, the President quitted the chair, the gas was turned off, and the meeting broke up.

1879.—July 14.—No less than sixteen Lodges protested against the recent proceedings of the Supreme Council, and—August 12—a circular was issued signed by 103 Masons, announcing the formation of a provisional committee of five for the following purposes:—(1.) To inform the Supreme Council of the resolution to form a *Grande Loge Symbolique* under the obedience of the Supreme Council, or temporarily outside such obedience; and (2.) to obtain as soon as possible the support of the various Lodges who had already shown themselves favorable to the movement.

Crémieux, the Sovereign Grand Commander, then intervened, and of his own accord reinstated all the suspended members, but the Supreme Council disavowed his act on October 30, by erasing the names of the six most prominent offenders. This naturally meant war to the knife, and nine Lodges issued a circular on November 20, declaring that they thereby constituted themselves into a Grand Independent Symbolic Lodge, and inviting the other Lodges to join them. Therein, they curiously profess to remain, as ever, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Masons; they do not wish to establish a new Rite, but to resume the rights and power which the Supreme Council had usurped in their despite. Their motto is thus expressed—"The government of the high degrees to the Supreme Council, that of the Lodges to the Grand Lodge." This retention of the (so-called) Scottish Rite, with its 33 degrees, has been further emphasised by a change of title to "*Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossaise*," but in Lodge or Grand Lodge no degree beyond that of Master Mason is recognized. The first constituent assembly was called for December 20, 1879.

The Supreme Council replied to this on November 29 and December 5 by erasing more names; and on February 10, 1880, all hopes of a reconciliation were destroyed by the death of the Sov. G. Com. Crémieux.

On February 12 the new Grand Lodge received the permission of government to hold its meetings, and announced its existence at home and abroad by circular of March 8. It was composed of 12 Lodges—at Paris 8, and 1 each in Havre, Saintes, Lyons, and Egypt.

1880.—March 11.—The Supreme Council, thoroughly worsted, issued a general amnesty, but it was too late. The Grand Lodge had attained a separate existence, and refused to give up its independence; but it acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Supreme Council, in all matters concerning the high degrees, over such of its members as passed beyond the 3rd degree.

Its Constitutions, approved August 23, 1880, deserve a few words of notice. The first declaration of principles reads, "Freemasonry rests on the *solidarité humaine.*" This evasion of the acknowledgment of a Divine Power places it outside Anglo-Saxon Freemasonry. It requires of its members loyalty to their country and abstention from politics in Lodge. The Grand Lodge is composed of deputies from each Lodge, who need not be *members* of the provincial—but *must be* of the Paris Lodges, and also residents in the metropolis. Three members of Grand Lodge are elected as the Executive Commission; they may not accept or hold Grand Office. A president directs the meetings of Grand Lodge, but he is not a Grand Master, having no executive power. Also—unheard-of liberality in French Masonry—no restriction or censorship is placed upon Masonic publications, whether emanating from an individual or a Lodge. The remainder of the 71 articles breathe a like spirit of liberty with order, and were it not for the unfortunate agnostic principles of this new body, the Grand Lodge appears worthy of support. Its jurisdic-

tion on November 10, 1884, extended over 26 Lodges, of which 19 were in Paris, 5 at Lyons, 1 at Havre, and 1 at Tours.[1]

In 1867 the Grand Orient of France was at the head of 250 Lodges and 86 Chapters, etc.; in 1879, 260 Lodges and 45 Chapters, etc. At the same date the A. and A.S.R. ruled over 81 Lodges and 25 Chapters, etc. At the present moment[2] the governing committee of the Grand Orient is the Council of the Order (formerly Council of the G.M.), with Cousin as its president, and its roll enumerates 294 Lodges, of which 32 have a Chapter or other body attached to them. The Supreme Council of the A. and A.S.R., with Proal as Sovereign Grand Commander, claims the allegiance of 80 Lodges, 19 Chapters, and 5 Areopagi; and the Mother-Lodge, "the Rainbow" of the Rite of Misraim, boasts of 5 subordinate Lodges. All other Rites are practically extinct, because the Grand Orient claims to have absorbed the following Rites at the dates affixed, and its Chamber of Rites is divided into 7 sections, one for each Rite:

1 Sec.	French Modern Rite, ...	created	1786,	degrees	7
2 "	Rite of Heredom or Perfection (Emperors),	. . . "	1758, 1814,	"	25
		G.O. assumed control			
3 "	Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite,	" "	1814,	"	33
4 "	Rite of *Hérédom* Kilwinning (Royal Order of Scotland),	" "	1814,	"	7
		and finally absorbed it,	1823,		
5 "	Scots Philosophic Rite, . .	G.O. assumed control	1814,	"	12
6 "	Rectified Scots Rite of Strict Observance,	" "	1814,	"	5
7 "	Rite of Memphis, . .	ceded control to G.O.	1862,	"	95

Yet for very many years no charters have been granted for any of these Rites except for the first and third; and, as will be seen by comparing the lists given by me at various times, the percentage of capitular bodies is gradually decreasing.[3] As regards the Rite of Memphis, the last two Lodges under this system reverted to the modern French Rite in 1868, so that not a single Lodge in France is now active in the 7th section, which, therefore, like most of the others, is quite useless, and exists only in name.

[1] I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Mr. G. Collar Dickey, of Paris, who has kindly furnished me with the foregoing information, comprising even more details than I have been able to find room for, together with copies of the circulars, Constitutions, etc., referred to.

[2] Cosmopolitan Calendar, 1885.

[3] This is the most hopeful sign of French Freemasonry—an increasing tendency to confine itself to the three degrees of pure and ancient Freemasonry.

END OF VOLUME III.

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